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After Nkomati — where is Southern Africa going?

Zimbabwe engineering industry • Botswana • Strikes in Europe

Special theoretical supplement: The coming world revolution

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Supplement



The Coming World Revolution

See back cover for Introductory Note

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Unite for the Southern African socialist revolution!

Imperialism has hailed the 'Nkomati Accord' as charting a path towards peace, co-operation and development in Southern Africa. In reality it will bring none of these.

Dominated by SA imperialism, working people throughout Southern Africa face a future of smaller pay packets, less jobs, worse housing, growing landlessness, and more repression.

This will intensify their struggle against their oppressors and exploiters.

But what the Nkomati Accord underlines is that victory in this struggle cannot be completed within the boundaries of any single country.

Ten years ago, the Mozambican workers and peasants won a revolutionary victory against colonialism and ended the rule of capitalism and landlordism within Mozambique itself. Yet this has not freed them from the stranglehold of South African military and economic power.

How much less chance of self-determination have the peoples of Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, or even an independent Namibia—all far more dependent on SA—while capitalism still exists in SA!

Even the masses in Zimbabwe, second most industrialised country in Africa per head of population, struggle under the shadow of SA's might.

Through its drive to exploit the many and enrich the few, capitalism has bound together the fate of all the peoples of the region.

This is a reflection of conditions on a world scale. More than ever in its history, capitalism has today integrated together all 'national' economies into a single world market and division of labour.

Over a hundred years ago Karl Marx explained how the drive for more efficient production, on an ever larger scale, requiring larger markets, would outgrow capitalism's system of private ownership and national

states.

The productive forces created by capitalism would be choked by the capitalist system itself. Society would face terrible crises, conflicts and stagnation.

To solve this contradiction, he explained, would require a world-wide social revolution, taking place country by country.

Under capitalism, larger-scale production has meant the domination of the world economy by the big imperialist powers and their multinational banks and monopolies, stretching out to oppress and exploit across the world—enslaving every weaker 'national' economy.

But the contradiction has remained. Today the US, largest 'national market', home of the biggest banks and monopolies, strongest imperialist power, no longer provides a decent living for increasing numbers of its citizens.

The present temporary boom of the US economy cannot cure the underlying problem. Because new productive investment is increasingly unprofitable for the bosses, more and more US workers are driven out of jobs and the poor are forced to line up for food on charity.

The crisis of the industrial economies is the most telling sign of the incurable sickness of world capitalism, which is condemning millions in the 'Third World' to a future of starvation, and millions in its heartlands to a future without work.

No 'national' economy can inoculate itself against this sickness. Just as Southern Africa cannot escape the sway of SA capitalism, so too SA capitalism itself is dominated by the laws of the world capitalist economy.

In every capitalist country, only the movement of the working class can provide a way forward, by taking power into its own hands, ending capitalism, and using the power of modern industry to serve human

need.

The upheavals throughout the Third World, the huge battles being fought by the working class in major Latin American countries, the swelling movement of the SA workers—and now the stirrings of the big battalions of the proletariat in major capitalist countries—these are all signs of the coming world revolution.

In the course of these struggles, the lesson is being driven home to workers everywhere that their problems are interlinked, and that there will be no final and lasting cure for them within the boundaries of any single country.

Not only will it be necessary for the working class to take control of the big banks and monopolies, but to dismantle the divisive barriers of the system of national states.

To unleash the productive possibilities of modern science and technology, to abolish poverty and starvation, to create enough work and enough leisure for all, planning will be necessary on an international scale. Socialism cannot be achieved in one country.

Under the democratic rule of the working class, this coming together will take place voluntarily, with full recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination.

This was the position explained by the Bolsheviks when they led the Russian working class to power in the October 1917 Revolution.

But, disastrously, the Russian Revolution remained isolated and, as a result, power was usurped from the working class by a bureaucratic clique led by Stalin—who proclaimed that it was possible to achieve 'socialism in one country'.

The crisis developing in Russia and Eastern Europe today is proving the falsity of those claims and vindicating the internationalist policies of Lenin and Trotsky—with consequences reflected even by the Nkomati Accord.

The Coming World Revolution

For a whole period, despite bureaucratic rule, nationalisation and planning allowed the development of the Soviet economy—until a once backward country became the second mightiest industrial power on the planet.

Now, despite a huge home market, large-scale production in Russia runs up against the barriers of bureaucratic rule, on the one hand, and the national state on the other. Growth rates have fallen to near stagnation, while wastage and corruption multiply.

It is this internal crisis which means—as explained in this issue of *Inqaba*—that the Russian bureaucracy refuses the assistance necessary for the Mozambican revolution to withstand the pressures of SA imperialism.

The way forward in the Soviet Union and other countries under Stalinist rule lies in a political revolution which overthrows the parasitic bureaucracy and restores democratic

power to the workers—a revolution foreshadowed in the 1980 movement of the Polish workers.

Thus in every sector of the world the future lies in the hands of the organised movement of the working class, which must prepare itself consciously for power, and arm itself with an internationalist understanding.

A revolution in any important country of the capitalist or Stalinist world would set in motion the workers' revolution world-wide.

In Southern Africa workers can prepare by building links with their fellow-workers, regionally and internationally.

The steps taken by trade unions to strengthen their international links, including, e.g., the initiative of the NUM to form a federation of Southern African mineworkers' unions point the way forward in the trade union field.

Also politically, activists in the ANC need to join hands with strug-

gling workers, in Southern Africa and elsewhere, to build mass organisations led by the working class on a programme for democracy and socialism.

The movement of the working class will open the way to defeating apartheid and capitalism in South Africa, and liberating the entire region from SA imperialism.

A democratic socialist South Africa would be a beacon of light to the whole of Africa, and indeed to working people world-wide.

With their right of self-determination guaranteed, the peoples of Southern Africa would see the huge advantages in linking voluntarily in a Federation of Socialist States of Southern Africa.

Linked with workers internationally, the Southern African working class can establish the real conditions for regional peace, cooperation and development, by participating in the building of world socialism.

Kopanelang bofetoheli ba ntoa ea bojammoho Afrika Boroa ka kakaretso!

Limphirialesi bo 'mampuli ba linoamali ba amohetse "tumellano ea Nkomati" ka litlatse. Ba re ke tsela e isang khotso, tšebeletsanong 'moho le ntlafatso Afrika Boroa. Bo neteng, ha ho na le e 'ngoe, ea tsena, la etsahala.

Ka tlasa bompuli ba bomirialesi ba 'muso oa Afrika Boroa, basebetsi ba Afrika Boroa e aretsang, hohle, ba talimane le kamoso ba meputso e menyane, mesebetsi ea meelloa, matlo nabe ka ho fetisisa, bosieo khafetba masimo, le khatello e tsoelang le.

Hona ho tla tlokisa boitseko ba na khahlanong le bahatelli hammoho le bahanyapetsi.

Empa hó "tumellano ea Nkomati" ho supang ke ho re tlhoko ntoeng ena, e ke ke ea phethahala ka hara meeli ea naha e le ngoe.

Lemong tse leshoma tse fetileng, basebetsi ba Mozambiki le balemi ba ile ba atleha ka tlhoko ntoeng ea bofetoheli khahlanong le puso ea bokolone, 'mé ba felisa puso ea bokapitalesi le bōramasimo ka hara Mozambiki. Empa hona ha ho ka ha ba lopolla khamong tsa tlhekefetso e ba e bakeloang ke moruo oa Afrika

Boroa le mpho ea eona, e matla.

Ka mabaka ana monyetla oa boithaopi oa batho ba Lesotho, Soat-sing, Botswana, kapa le ha e le boipuso ba Namibia, bao bohle ba nyanyang letsoeleng la moruo oa bokapitalesi ba Afrika Boroa ha bo ntso le teng, oa fokola ruri!

Esitana le matšoele a Zimbabwe, naheng ea bobeli e tsoetseng pele ho feta tse ling tsohle, ka ntlafatso bohooing ba moruo Afrika ha ho nkuoa batho ka mong, a sehla meriting ka tlasa bompuli ba Afrika Boroa.

Bokapitalesi ka tšusumetso ea bona ho ikemisetsa ho hanyapetsa matšoele le ho ruisa methoaelana, bo tlamahantse se tla etsahala ho matšoele a setsiketsi sena sa Afrika.

Hona ke seipone se senolang boemo bo akaretsang lefaatše. Ho feta linako tsohle lipaleng, bokapitalesi kajeno bo hokantse moruo oa lichaba tsohle, bo o fetotse 'maraka o le meng oa lefaatše le sohotlo se le seng sa likaronlelano tsa matla a tšebetso ea lichaba.

Nakong e fetileng e fetang lekholo la lilemo, Karl Marx a na a hlalosa ho re tšusumelletso ea ho ntlafatsa bohooi fapheng la moruo khafetsa,

e tla fekeetsa bokapitalesi le boikhabo ba maruo a boitšeka thajana ba motho ka mong joang, hammoho le linaheng tse itsekang bochaba.

Basebetsi ka mpho tsa bona tsa bohooi tse hloliloeng ke bokapitalesi li tla khangoa ke bona bokapitalesi ka seteete. Sechaba se talimane le meferefere e tšabehang, lintoa le ho thisa ha tšebetso.

Ho felisa tsietsi ena, a na a hlalosa ho re ho hlokeha ntoa ea bofetoheli ba mofuta oa bojammoho lefaatšeng hohle, bo eang ka linaha ka bong.

Ka tlasa bokapitalesi, bohooi bo bohooi bo bontšitse ho re bo fetohile 'mampuli ea laolang moruo oa lefaatše, hammoho le libangka tsa matlotlo a lefaatše tsa likoakoariri tsa matlotlo; tse nametseng hohle lafaatšeng ho hatella le ho hanyapetsa linaha tse fokolang maruong.

Empa tsietsi ena ha e hlakohe. Kajeno naha ea Amerika—" 'maraka oa bochaba" o moholo ho feta eohle, lehae la libangka tse khohle ho feta tsohle tsa bompuli, naha e matla ho feta tsohle tsa limphirialesi, e sitoa ke ho hlophela ba ahi naha ba atang ka bongata—bophelo bo botle.

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Katleho ea Amerika ha joale, ke nakoana feela moruong, e ke ke ea phekola mathata a teng. Hobane lichelete tse hlophetsoeng ho ntlafatsa mesebetsi ha li tsoale phaello e batluoang ke bo ramatlotlo. Basebetsi—khafetsa ka bongata ba tebeloā mesebetsing, 'mé bafumanehi ba tlameha ho etsa mekoloko ea ba kopang lijo ba li emetse meleng.

Tsietsi ea bokapitalesi Amerika ke *letšoao le bontšang ho se phekohe* ha bokapitalesi ba lefaatše, bo lolaeang batho ba shoang ka limileone ba naha tse atlehang ka moruo. Bo baka mehla e tlang ea lefuma. Le limileone tsa basebetsi ba sa fumaneng mesebetsi.

Ha ho na naha e itšekang thajana ka bochaba maruong e ka felisang bohloko bona. Mohlala oa Afrika Boroa e akaretsang, o supa ho re naha tse sehelaneng meeli le Afrika Boroa li ke ke tsa phela ntle le eona; ho joalo le ho Afrika Boroa ka boeona. E ke ke ea phela ka thoko ho melao ea bokapitalesi ba lefaatše.

Naheng e fe kapa e fe ea bokapitalesi, ke ka tšisinyeho ea basebetsi feela mokhoa o ka bang teng, ka ho hapa matla a puso, ho felisa bokapitalesi, le ho sebelisa matla a tsebo e ncha mesebetsing ho re e sebeletse batho.

Meferefere e teng linaheng tsa mokha oa boraro, lintoa tse kholo tse loanoang ke basebetsi naheng tsa bohloai Latini Amerika, tšisinyeho e holang ea basebetsi ba Afrika Boroa, le motsoeberebe o kubutullohang oa mekhopi ea basebetsi naheng tsa likapitalesi, kaofela ke matšoao a bontšang ntoa ea bofetoheli e tlang ea lefaatše.

Nakong ea boitseko bona basebetsi hohle ba ithuta ho re mathata a bona a hokahane, le ho re ha ho na pheko e phethahetseng e ka felisang mathata ana ka hara e le 'ngoe, e itšekile thajana.

Ha ho hlokehe ho hapa libangka le litsi tsa bo ramatlotlo feela, ho hlokeha le ho re litšiea tsa mebuso ea bochaba li heletsoe.

Ho re hlopho tse nepahetseng li be teng tse akaretsang chaba tsohle, re lokeloa ke ho nehela ka tsebo le mahlale a sejoale-joale a chorileng, ho felisa lefuma le tlala, ho etsa mesebetsi e lekanang basebetsi, le phomolo e lekanang batho bohle. Ho tla hloka hlahla lihlopho tse akaretsang lafaatše lohle ho ntlafatsa moruo. Bojammoho bo ke ba ahua naheng

e le 'ngoe.

Ka tlasa puso ea sechaba e laoloang ke basebetsi, kopano ena ke ea boithaopi, e nang le kamohelo e phethahetseng ea litokela tsa lichaba tsohle boipusong.

Boemo bona ba na ba hlaloso tjena ke Mabolsheviki ha ba eta pele basebetsi ho hlasinya matla a puso, ka khoeli ea leshome selemong sa 1917 ka ntoa ea bofetoheli.

Empa, ka tšenyehelo, ntoa ea bofetoheli ea Russia ea na ea fetoha sehlekehlekenyana, ka lebaka lena matla a puso ke ha a hlasinngoa ho basebetsi ke baikhabi ba nang ba etoa pele ke Stalin, ea nang a phatlalatsa ho re "bojammoho bo ka ahua naheng e le 'ngoe."

Motsoeberebe o kubutollohang Russia kajeno le Europa ea Bochabela o netefatsa ho fosahala ha mocha oa tšebetso ea Stalin, o tšhet-sa mecha ea thupello ea Lenini le Trotsiki e akaretsang lefaatše; e bontšang ho fosahala ha Stalini ka mohlala oa "tumellano ea Nkomati," le Maburu.

Ka nako e telele e fetileng, esitana le pusong ea boikhabo, ho hlopha moruo oa sechaba o hapeloang sona sechaba, ho ile ha ntlafatsa matlotlo a Russia, ho fihlela naha ena e neng e le morao e ba e fetoha naha ea bobeli e matla ka ntlafatso ea moruo lefaatšeng.

Joale, le hoja ho na le 'maraka o moholo ka hara naha, bohloai bo matla ha bo hola, bo khahlanong le puso ea bolaoli ba boikhabi ka hlakoreng le leng, le ka hlakoreng la puso ea sechaba.

Katleho ha e ne e lokela ho ja setsi e ea qaoa, ha ka hlakoreng le leng tšenyho le tšilafalo ea boitšoaro le eketseha.

Ke molubalube ona o ka hara naha, joaloka ha re se re hlalositse mona, ho re puso ea boikhabo ba Russia ke eona e setisang Russia ho fana ka thuso e hlokehang ho Mozambiki, ho re ntoa ea Mozambiki ea bofetoheli e hlole tšusumetso ea bomphirialeli ba Afrika Boroa.

Tsela e ka isang katlehong Soviet Union le naheng tse ling tse ka tlasa puso ea mecha ea Stalin ke bofetoheli ba lipolotiki, bo phetholang puso ea boikhabo e khokhofatsang joaloka likhoba, le ho khutlisetsa matla a puso ea sechaba ho basebetsi. Bofetoheli bo ileng ba itšoantša ka selemo sa 1980 ka tšisinyeho ea basebetsi ba Poland.

Ho joalo karolong e 'ngoe le e 'ngoe ea lefaatše. Bokamoso bo matsohong a basebetsi ba kopanetseng tsebetso ba kopantsoe ke makhotla a bona a basebetsi, a tlamehang ho itokisetsa ho nka matla a falimehetse ho etsa joalo, ka kutloisiso e akaretsang lefaatše.

Bofetoheli naheng e fe kapa e fe ea bohlokoa ea bokapitalesi kapa naheng tsa mecha ea Stalini, bo ka baka tšisinyeho ea bofetoheli ba basebetsi lefaatšeng.

Afrika Boroa basebetsi ba ka itokisetsa ho aha selekane le basebetsi ba bang, litsiketsing tse ka hara naha hammoho le basebetsi ba naha tse ling.

Mehato e seng e nkiloe ke makhotla a basebetsi ho matlafatsa kamahano tsa bona le basebetsi ba naha tse ling, e ballang mohlala o entsoeng ka boithaopi ke NUM ho aha selekane sa makhotla a kopanelo ea basebetsi ba merafo Afrika Boroa e akaretsang, ke mohlala o supang tsela e isang katlehong ea makhotla a basebetsi.

Hape, ka hlakoreng la lipolotiki, basebetsi ba ANC ho hloka hlahla ba tšoarane ka matsoho boitsekong le basebetsi, e seng feela ho bontša thahaselo ea ho sebeletsa ANC, Afrika Boroa le bakeng tse ling, ho aha makhotla a kobo anela a etiloeng pele ke basebetsi, ba ntšetse pele lethathamo la bolekanane ba bojammoho.

Tšisinyeho ea basebetsi e tla bula tsela e isang tšolong ho heletsa khethollo le bokapitalesi Afrika Boroa, le ho lopolla linaha tsohle litlamong tsa Afrika Boroa tse sehelaneng meeli le eona ka tlasa bomphirialeli ba eona.

Puso ea bolekanane ea bojammoho Afrika Boroa e ka ba sefika sa leseli, ho Afrika eohle, 'mé ruri le ho basebetsi bohle ba lefaatše.

Ha tokela ea bona ea boithaopi e metlafalitsoe ka botsitso, lichaba tsa Afrika Boroa e akaretsang li tla bona menyetla e meholo e tlišoang ke ha ba hokahane ka boithaopo ba aha selekane sa kopanelo ea naha tse ipusang ka bojammoho ba Afrika Boroa.

Bo hokantsoeng le basebetsi ba linaha tse ling. Basebetsi ba Afrika Boroa e akaretsang ba ka aha boemo bo tlišang khotso karolong ena ea Afrika, tšebeletsano 'moho le tsoelo pele, ka ho nka karolo tšebetsong ea ho aha bojammoho ba lefaatše.

1. The developing long-term crisis of world capitalism in the Western industrialized countries has resulted in an even more aggravated crisis in the under-developed world. Simultaneously the crisis of Stalinism in the deformed workers' states has deepened. The background to these crises has been sketched in previous perspectives documents. The world slump of 1979-82 has, as predicted, given way to a new 'boom', or in reality a boomlet, which possibly will extend into part of 1985. It is most likely this boomlet will be followed by an even bigger slump than that of 1979-82.

2. This boom has not solved the problems of the ruling classes in the imperialist countries. Nor has it alleviated the problems of the underdeveloped world. The most striking feature is the world nature of the crisis at the present time. The organic crisis of capitalism on a world scale is now affecting the USA where there were big strike movements in the last half of 1983. These were a dress rehearsal of bigger movements of the masses when this current boom gives way to a new and deeper slump. In practically all countries of Western Europe there has been a wave of struggle by the working class reflected in massive strike movements. A feature of this epoch is that there is a concerted conspiracy of silence by the international media to prevent the news of struggles of workers in other countries from affecting their own working class. Only the biggest strike movements have got a bare mention in the popular press.

3. Apart from the USA where the real increase in GDP was 3,4% in 1983 and could be 5% in 1984, the boom has generally been of a very limited character. In the EEC countries, the average real growth last year was only about 1%, and is projected to reach only 2% this year. In France, the attempted reflationary policy and the subsequent U-turn to an austerity policy by the 'Socialist-Communist' government has resulted in growth limited to below 1%.

4. The crisis assumes its greatest depth and ripeness in the colonial world, especially in Latin America but also in Asia and Africa. In Latin America practically the entire continent is faced with a revolutionary wave. In Argentina it has resulted in the collapse of the Generals' dictatorship. Chile cannot be long behind. Brazil and Mexico are in the throes of mass movements by the most dispossessed section of the proletariat and even the lumpen proletariat. In India one area after another has moved into action in one way or another with mass demonstrations, strikes and, because of the lack of an alternative, nationalist agitation in the Punjab and Assam. In Central America the movement of the proletariat has been converted into a guerilla movement which has been victorious in Nicaragua and is

conducting a guerilla struggle against the monstrous regime in El Salvador. This is preparing the way for the collapse of imperialism and possibly of capitalism and landlordism through the whole of Central America. In South Africa, in order to better deal with a black proletariat which is in a state of enormous ferment, the white supremacist regime has blackmailed its neighbours into some sort of uneasy compromise. The guerillaist policies of the African National Congress and of the South African Communist Party have ended up in a complete impasse. There is not a single country or a single continent which is not faced with movements of the working class.

5. The underlying crisis of world capitalism reveals itself as a slow and protracted death agony which will extend over 5, 10 or even 20 years.

6. The nature of this fundamental crisis lies in the incompatibility of the national state and private ownership of the means of production with the tremendous development of the productive forces in the post-war period. Because of monopolisation of industry, what would otherwise have been a crisis of 'over-production' reveals itself as a crisis of 'over-capacity'. Only 80% of industry's capacity can be used in booms, and in slumps it falls to 70% or below. Even with the high figures of production growth reached for a temporary period now in the United States, the capitalists there are only now using 80% of production capacity.

7. At the same time in the slump of 1979-82 there was a conscious and deliberate destruction of part of the productive forces in the developed capitalist countries. In order to cure alleged 'over capacity' (i.e. capacity they could not use profitably), the capitalists destroyed productive forces and threw onto the scrap heap millions of workers, who now face unemployment and destitution. This solution is like a man deciding to cut off an arm in order to fit into the doorway of a house. It is an indication of the completely reactionary character of capitalism at the present time. It can no longer use the productive forces created by science, technique and the labour of the working class.

8. For the first time in history there is the world phenomenon of revolutionary events unfolding simultaneously throughout the world.

9. In the last few decades the whole world has been linked into one interdependent world market on a scale that completely dwarfs the world economy which was created in the days of Marx. The world market is more dominant and all-embracing than at any other time in history. The world has become a single interdependent whole, economically and

Manyanelani Inguqulo eSoshiyalizim eMzantsi ne Afrika!



Umbuso wobukoloni usincomile "Isivumelwano saseNkomati" ngokuthi sichaba indlela eya eluxolweni, ekusebenzisaneni nakwinkqubela phambili eMzantsi ne Afrika. Enyanisweni akukho nanye yezu ezakwenzeka.

Bonganyelwe ngumbuso wobukoloni wase Mzantsi Afrika, abasebenzi boMzantsi ne Afrika uphela bajongene nengomso lemihlo ephantsi, elingenamisebenzi, elingenamakhaya, lokungabina mhlaba nelengcinezelo engaphezulu.

Oku kuza kuqinisa idabi labo lokuchasa abacinezeli nabancukuthi babo.

Kodwa okwalathwa Sisivumelwano saseNkomati kukuba impumelelo yelidabi ayina kufezwa phakathi kwemida yelizwe elilodwa.

Kwishumi leminyaka egqithileyo, abasebenzi nezimamhlaba zase Mozambiki baphumelela ukubhukuqa ubukoloni, baphelisa ulawulo lobungxowankulu nolawulo ngomhlaba kuyo iMozambiki. Kambe, oku akubakhululanga ekukhanyweni ngamandla omkhosi namendyebo yase Mzantsi Afrika.

Lincinane kangakanani ke ithuba abanalo lokuzilawula abantu baseLusuthu, eSwazini, eBotswana okanye neNamibia ekhululekileyo—onke lamazwe axhomekeke kakhulu eMzantsi Afrika—xa umbuso wobungxowankulu usemle eMzantsi Afrika!

Nabo abantu baseZimbabwe, elona lizwe lesibini eAfrika elinamashishini, bazabalaza phantsi kwesithunzi samandla oMzantsi Afrika.

Ngenxa yenkqubo yokuncukutha ininzi labantu nokutyebisa abambalwa, ubungxowankulu bubandakanye isiphelo sabantu bonke bommandla woMzantsi ne Afrika.

Oku kuyimboniso yemeko elizweni lonke. Ngaphezu kokuthi kwenzeka ezimbalini, ubungxowankulu namhla buhlanganise zonke iindyebo zamazwe emarikeneni enye yelizwe nokwahlulwa kwemisebenzi.

Ngaphezu kwekhulu leminyaka egqithileyo uKarl Marx wachaza ukuba inkqubo yokuvelisa ngokwazi-ukwenza, ngokubanzi, efuna iimarike ezinkulu, iyakusigqitha isimo somkhosi wobunayo nesobuzwe bobungxowankulu.

Izimindlela zokuvelisa ezidalwe bubungxowankulu ziya kukhanywa sisimo sobungxowankulu ngokwaso. Uluntu luya kujongana nezoyikekayo iingxaki, imbambano nobudodo.

Ukucombulula lempikiswano, ucha-zile, kuya kufuneka inguqulo yoluntu elizweni ngokubanzi, eyakwenzeka elizweni ngalinye ngalinye.

Phantsi kobungxowankulu, imveliso ebanzi ibangele ukonganyelwa kwendyebo yelizwe ngamazwe obukoloni amakhulu, zibhanki zawo nabaphangi bawo, acinezele encukutha lonke ilizwe—ekhobokisa yonke indyebo ebuthathaka yamanye amazwe.

Kodwa impikiswano ihleli. Namhla i-Melika, apho kukho imarike ebanzi, ekhayeni lezona zinkulu iibhanki nabaphangi abakhulu, nalapho umbuso wobukoloni unamandla, ayikwazi ukusindleka abemi bayo.

Indyebo entle yaseMelika ekhoyo ngoku okwethutyana ayinako ukunyanga esisifo sinzulu. Kuba ukuzalisa imali ngokuyisebenzisa ekuveliseni akwenzeli oongxowankulu inzuzo, ngaphezu koko abasebenzi baseMelika bayagxothwa emisebenzini, abahlwempuzekileyo banyanzelekile ukuba bangene emnqheni bacele ukudla.

Ingxaki yobungxowankulu baseMelika ilulona phawu olubonakalisa ukunganyangeki kwesisifo sobungxowankulu belizwe, obugwebele izigidi zabantu kumazwe 'aphantsi' kwingomso lendlala, nezigidi zabantu kumazwe obungxowankulu aphakamileyo kwingomso elingenamisebenzi.

Akukho ndyebo 'yalizwe' engazigoma ngokwayo kwesisifo. Nje ngoba uMzantsi ne Afrika ungenakuphuncuka kwisivithivithi sobungxowankulu boMzantsi Afrika, nanje ngokunjalo futhi ubungxowankulu boMzantsi Afrika ngokwabo bonganyelwe yindyebo yobungxowankulu belizwe.

Kwilizwe ngalinye lobungxowankulu, yintshukumo yabasebenzi kuphela engabonisa indlela eyaphambili, ngokuthabathela amandla ombuso ezandleni zabo, baphelise ubungxowankulu, basebenzise amashishini angoku ukusindleka imfuneko yoluntu.

Iintshukumo kumazwe 'aphantsi' onke, amadabi amakhulu aliwa ngabasebenzi kumazwe amakhulu aseLatin Amerika, ukukhula kwentshukumo yabasebenzi baseMzantsi Afrika—nokushukuma ngoku kwemikhosi emikhulu yabasebenzi kumazwe amakhulu oongxowankulu—zonke ezi zimpawu zentshukumo yelizwe ezayo yokubhukuqa ubungxowankulu.

Kule ndlela yalamadabi, isifundo siyangena kubasebenzi naphina ukuba iingxaki zabo zihlangene, nokuba ngeke ziphele gqibi phakathi kwemida yelizwe elilodwa.

Akuyi kufuneka nje kuphela ukuba abasebenzi bathathe balawule iibhanki ezinkulu namashishini abaphangi, kodwa kuya kufuneka futhi badilize imida eyahlulahlulayo yesimo sobuzwe.

Ukukhulula izimindlela zokuvelisa ezinokwenzeka zenzulu—lwazi nemishini yangoku, ukuphelisa indlala nephango, ukudala imisebenzi eyaneleyo nexesha elaneleyo lokuphumla labantu bonke, icebo lokuvelisa elizweni ngokubanzi liya kufuneka. Isoshiyalizim ayinako ukwakhiwa elizweni elinye.

Phantsi kombuso womasilingane wabasebenzi, okukuhlangana kuya kwenzeka ngentando, ngokuqonda okuzelelo ilungelo lezizwe lokuzilawula.

Le yingongama eyachazwa ngamaBholisheviki xa waye khokele abasebenzi baseRashiya ekuthatheni umbuso ngeBhukuqo ngo-October 1917.

Kodwa uBhukuqo eRashiya lehlelwa yintlekele yokuhlala lukhethekile, isiphumo kwaba sesokuba umbuso uhlu-thwe ngobumenemene ebasebenzini liqela lomaqhuzu elalikhokelwa nguStalin—owathi kungenzeka ukwakha "isoshiyalizim elizweni elinye."

Ingxaki ekhulayo eRashiya naseMpumalanga Yuropa namhla ibonisa ukungabinanyaniso kwalamabango, ixhasa inkqubo yelizwe lonke kaLenin noTrotsky—ngeziphumo eziboniswa nasiSivumelwano saseNkomati.

Kwithuba lilonke, nangona phantsi kolawulo lomaqhuzu, ukuthathwa kwetimindlela zokuvelisa zibe phantsi kwesizwe, nokuzisebenzisa ngecebo kuvumele inkqubela phambili yendyebo yaseSovi-

politically, which is economically dominated by the EEC countries, Japan and the United States.

10. The USA is the main predominant economy, but is an imperialism with feet of clay. The US capitalists' attempt to act as a world policeman has had as a consequence the weakening of the US economy. The expenditure on arms has reached a terrifying character and is an enormous burden. Despite weaknesses in its economy and the decay of important sections of its heavy industry, the USA still remains the dominant power in the capitalist world.

11. The developments in micro-electronics and automation have prepared the material basis for the construction of a socialist society, a basis which now exists on a world scale for the first time in history. There are ample resources, at least on a technical basis, to provide a life of plenty and of leisure for the entire population of the globe. The only thing that stands in the way is the outmoded ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange by a handful of monopolies.

12. In the ancient world slavery was necessary for the purposes of creating the basis for science, technique and leisure for a small minority. Now machinery and technology have outmoded wage slavery. With planned production in the metropolitan countries linked to the underdeveloped world, it would be possible to abolish want, dirt, disease, manual toil and relatively long hours.

13. The automation of production and the development of computers has been abused by monopoly capitalism for the purpose of not producing goods. For the first time in history the distinction between mental and manual labour, which is the root of the division into class society, is no longer necessary. Now it could be speedily abolished on a world scale once the working class is in control of society.

14. Marx and Engels saw the source of the contradiction in society between potential plenty and the misery of the masses in the private ownership of the means of production. This contradiction has been enormously exacerbated by the development of

capitalism.

15. The growth of the multinationals is a reflection of the fact that production has now outgrown the constraints of the national market on the one hand and private ownership on the other. It also means that the economy is now, more than ever, a world economy with the integration of the national economies to a scale which never existed in the past.

16. The world market has become essential to the production of any country. Certainly on the basis of capitalism it is not possible for any country to opt out of the world market and its effects. This explains what happened in France, one of the more developed countries of Western Europe, after 1981 when the reformists attempted to carry through reforms. They were defeated from the beginning by the pressures of the world market and world finance. The real contradiction of the outgrowing of private ownership and the national state by the productive forces is shown in that every individual economy is dominated by the world market. There can be no complete solutions on a national basis in any country of the globe, even for the USA or USSR. It is this which is the basis of world revolution and world socialism.

17. Thus the crisis of the system assumes a global character. For the first time, history becomes world history. No longer the history of one part of the world or of one continent but history of the entire globe.

18. The linking of the entire world into one world market more dominant than ever before in history, means that Internationalism becomes an integral part of the struggle of the workers of all countries.

19. The Russian Revolution was mainly a European phenomenon, with side-effects spreading over the rest of the world. Now the victory of the socialist revolution in any major country would reveal the process as a world process.

20. This is the background to the upheavals and outbreak of the class struggle on an international scale and depth never seen before in history.

yethi—ilizwe elalike labasemva labalesibini ukuba namandla amakhulu kwezamashishini kweli lijikeleza ilanga.

Ngoku, nangona kukho imariki enkulu eRashiya, imveliso inqhubana nemida yolawulo lomaqhuzu neyombuso ngobuzwe. Iminyinge yokukhula kwendyabo iwe phantsi akukho nqkubela phambili, ngelixa imosha nobusela ziphinda-phindeka.

Yiyo le ngxaki yangaphakathi eyenze—nje ngoko kuchaziwe kuyo le *Inqaba*—ukuba umbuso womaqhuzu eRashiya wale ukunika umbuso waseMozambiki uncedo olufunekayo khona ukuze ukwazi ukumelana nocinezelo ngumbuso wobukoloni boMzantsi Afrika.

Indlela eya phambili eRashiya nakwamanye amazwe aphantsi kolawulo lobu-Stalin ise nguqulweni ngobupolitika eyakuthi ibhukuqwe umbuso womaghuza ocinezelayo, ibuyisele umbuso womasilingane ebasebenzini—ubhukuqo olulathiswe ngo-1980 yintshukumo yabasebenzi basePolandi.

Ngoko ke nakuliphina icala lelizwe, i-

ngomso lise zandleni zentshukumo yabasebenzi elungiselelweyo, ema izilungiselele ngengqondo ukuthatha umbuso, izixhobise ngokuqonda inqkubo yobhukuqo elizweni jikelele.

Ubhukuqo nakuliphina ilizwe elibalulekileyo lobungxowankulu okanye lobu-Stalin luya kushukumisa ubhukuqo ngabasebenzi elizweni lonke.

EMzantsi ne Afrika abasebenzi bangazilungiselela ngokwakha amakhonco nabanye abasebenzi kummandla ngamanye nakumazwe onke.

Amanyathelo athathwe yimibutho yenyunyoni ukuqinisa amakhonco abanabanye abasebenzi bamanye amazwe, kuhlange, ukulinganisa, nesiqalo esenziwe yi-NUM ukwakha umanyano labasebenzi bemayini eMzantsi ne Afrika, alatha indlela ebheka phambili kwicala le nyunyoni.

Kwakhona ngobupolitika, izikhutali kwi-ANC kufuneka zibambane ngezandla nabasebenzi abazabalazayo eMzantsi ne Afrika nakwezinye iindawo, kwakhiwe

imibutho yomndilili wonke, ekhokelwe ngabasebenzi phezu kwenqkubo yomasilingane neye soshializim.

Intshukumo yabasebeni iya kuvula indlela yokoyisa umbuso webala nobungxowankulu eMzantsi Afrika, izakukhulula wonke ummandla engcinezeleni ngumbuso wobukoloni boMzantsi Afrika.

UMzantsi Afrika womasilingane wesoshializim uya kuba lilitha le Afrika yonke, ngokwenene, nelabasebenzi emhlabeni wonke jikelele.

Ilungelo labo lokuzilawula liqinisekisiwe, abantu boMzantsi ne Afrika baya kulibona uncedo lokuzihlanganisa ngokuthanda kwabo kuManyano Lemibuso yeSoshializim yoMzantsi ne Afrika.

Behlangene nabanye abasebenzi emhlabeni wonke, abasebenzi baseMzantsi ne Afrika bangaseka intlalo yoxolo lwenene kulommandla, yentsebenziswano neye nqkubele phambili, ngokuthabatha inxaxheba ekwakheni isoshializim yomhlaba wonke jikelele.

Verenig vir die Suiderlike Afrikaanse sosialistiese rewolusie!

Imperialisme het die 'Nkomati Verdrag' as 'n uitweg tot vrede, samewerking en ontwikkeling in Suiderlike Afrika geheet. In werklikheid sal dié nie bewaarheid word nie.

Werkende mense in Suiderlike Afrika, gedomineer deur Suid Afrika se imperialisme staar 'n toekoms in van laer lone, meer werkloosheid, erger behuisings probleme, groter landloosheid en meer verdrukking.

Dit sal hulle stryd teen hulle onderdrukkers en uitbuiters versterk. Maar wat die Nkomati Verdrag benadruk is dat die oorwinning van hierdie stryd nie voltooi kan word binne die grense van een enkele land nie.

Tien jaar gelede het werkers en landbouers in Mosambiek 'n rewolusionêre oorwinning behaal en die oorheersing van kapitalisme en feudalisme in Mosambiek beëindig.

Hoeveel minder kans vir egte selfbestuur het die mense van Lesotho,

Swaziland, Botswana en self 'n onafhanlike Namibië—almal ver meer afhanklik van Suid Afrika—terwyl kapitalisme nog in Suid Afrika bestaan!

Selfs die massas in Zimbabwië, die tweede mees geïndustrialiseerde staat in Afrika per kapita, sukkel onder die skadu van SA se mag.

Deur sy drang om die meerderheid te verarm en die minderheid te verryk, het kapitalisme die lot van al die volke in die gebied saamgebind.

Dit is 'n weerspieëling van toestande op 'n wereld skaal. Meer as ooit te vore in sy geskiedenis, het kapitalisme vandag alle nasionale ekonomieë geïntegreer in 'n enkele wereld mark en verdeling van arbeid.

Karl Marx het oor 'n honderd jaar gelede verduidelik hoe die drang vir 'n meer doeltreffende produksie, op 'n al hoe groter skaal, wat groter marke sou vereis, die kapitalistiese

sisteen van private eiendom en nasionale state sou uitgroei.

Die produktiewe magte voortgebring deur kapitalisme sal verwurg word deur die kapitalistiese sisteen self. Die samelewing sal dan verskriklike krisisse, botsings en stilstand in dié oë staan.

Om hierdie teenstelling op te los, het hy verduidelik, sou dit 'n wereld wye sosiale rewolusie vereis, van land tot land.

Onder kapitalisme beteken groot-skaalse produksie die oorheersing van die wereld ekonomie deur die groot imperialistiese magte en hulle multinasionale banke en monopolieë wat reg oor die wereld uitstrek om alle swakker nasionale ekonomieë te onderdruk en uit te buit.

Maar die teenstelling het blystaande. Die VSA, vandag die grootste nasionale mark, tuiste van die grootste banke en monopolieë,

Relations between the powers

1. The world economy ties the economies of every section of the world together. They are linked together indissolubly but at the same time antagonisms exist between different sectors of the world. The fundamental antagonism remains that between state ownership and economic planning, however bureaucratic and distorted, on the one hand, and the private ownership of the means of production on the other hand. This antagonism between the capitalist and non-capitalist states is reflected in the arms race: the insane piling up of bacteriological, chemical, nuclear and other weapons. The fear of possible conflict has been extended from the land to the sea, underwater and outer-space. There is not a single area where the enormous technical achievements of mankind are not turned into the opposite.

2. The arms race poses an enormous burden on the masses everywhere. Engels long ago said that it threatened the collapse of civilisation. That was at a time when, relative to the gross national product, arms spending was modest compared with the enormous weapons programmes undertaken by the capitalist powers and the Stalinist states now.

3. The arms race is constantly speeded up and magnified in spite of the pious declarations that the arms burden should be lowered. From \$1 million million being spent approximately every 2 years in the late 1970s, that period has now been sharply reduced and very rapidly the figure could reach \$1 million million per year. This is a perversion of science and technique for the building of all the more devilish and effective weapons of destruction. If this money alone was spent on productive purposes, then the planet could be transformed. In a decade or two the entire world could be moving in the direction of the abolition of all social contradictions, with the withering away of the state and the building of socialism for all peoples of the world. Not only in the developed countries of capitalism but also in the 'third world' there is this enormous burden of armaments. It is the antagonisms between the different capitalist classes, the antagonism with the Stalinist states and the attempts to hold back the revolutionary movements of the masses, that have resulted in a whole series of wars since 1945. The arms burden imposed on the populations of the underdeveloped countries is even more onerous than that of the mighty economies of

Russia and the West.

4. At the same time economically US imperialism has put Europe on rations and the 'third world' on hunger rations. The third world's exports do not earn enough to service their debt. The position of workers has worsened steadily from year to year and decade to decade. The imposition of high interest rates by US imperialism has had as a consequence steep increases in indebtedness in the third world. A considerable part of this debt is fictitious, resulting from the raising of interest rates in the imperialist countries. Thus the debtor countries have to pay in real cash terms for the fictitious capital created in this way.

5. All this is taking place during the current 'boom'. A new slump threatens to have absolutely catastrophic consequences for the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

6. The long post-war economic upswing saw wars which in the past would have been regarded as catastrophic, but which in the epoch of nuclear weapons have been called 'small wars', throughout the third world. The decline of the economies in the third world is a mirror, even if a distorted one, of what will happen to the major economies of the West under conditions of crisis in the future. Hunger, starvation, misery, shanty towns exist in most if not all of the countries of the third world. A great proportion of the population are unemployed without means of subsistence. Unemployment has become an organic part of society in both the underdeveloped and the so-called developed world. At the same time, the employed have to work harder for longer hours and under conditions of speed-up, simply to maintain a lower standard of living. Despite the marvels of micro-electronics and automation in the developed countries, it has not led to a cut in hours but, on the contrary, to an increase in overtime in order for workers to enjoy a tolerable standard of living.

7. Under these conditions the arms race is an absolute obscenity. More is now spent in preparation for wars than was spent on wars in the past. Thus the fruits of civilisation are devoured by the military-industrial complexes of the capitalist countries and the Stalinist states.

die sterkste imperialistiese mag, kan nie meer 'n oordentlike bestaan vir 'n toeneemende aantal van sy burgers voorsien nie.

Die huidige tydelike oplewing van die VSA se ekonomie, kan nie die ondergeskikte probleem op los nie. Omdat nuwe produktiewe beleggings meer en meer onwingsgewind vir die base is, word al hoe meer VSA se werkers werkloos gemaak en die armes gevorseer om tou te staan vir kos en almoes.

Die krisis van die industriele ekonomie is die mees onmiskenbare teken van die ongeneeslike siekte van wereld kapitalisme wat miljoene mense in die 'Derde Wereld' vonnis tot 'n toekoms van hongersnood, en miljoene in die kapitalistiese kernlande tot 'n toekoms van werkloosheid.

Geen nasionale ekonomie kan sy self inent teen die siekte nie. Net soos Suiderlike Afrika nie uit oorheersing van Suid Afrikaanse kapitalisme kan ontsnap nie, so ook is Suid Afrikaanse kapitalisme gedomineer deur die wette van die wereld kapitalistiese ekonomie.

Net die werkers-klas in elke kapitalistiese land kan die weg voorsien deur staatmag in hulle eie hande te neem, kapitalisme te beëindig, en, deur gebruik te maak van die mag van moderne nywerheid, om in alle menslike behoeftes te voorsien.

Die opheuwels deur die ganse 'Derde Wereld', die hewige strede wat geveg word in die hoof lande van Latyn Amerika, en die groeiende bewegings van die SA werkers—en nou die verroerings van die groot bataljonne van die proletariaat in die hoof kapitalistiese lande—dié is alles tekens van die komende wereld rewolusie.

Met die verloop van hierdie stryd, leer die werkers die les dat hulle probleme onskeibaar is, en dat daar geen finale en blywende oplossing vir hulle binne die grense van enige enkele land is nie. Dit sal nie net nodig wees vir die werkers-klas om beheer oor te neem van die groot banke en monopolieë nie, maar om ook die skeidende hinderpale van 'n sisteem van nasionale state af te takel.

Ten einde die produktiewe moontlikhede van moderne wetenskap en tegnologie te bevry, om armoede en hongersnood uit die weg te ruim asook genoeg werk en vol-

doende ontspanning te voorsorg, sal beplanning op 'n internasionale skaal vereis word. Sosialisme kan nie net in een land behaal word nie.

Hierdie sameswoeging sal, onder die demokratiese heersing van die werkers-klas, vrywillig plaas vind met die volle erkenning van die reg van volke tot self-bestuur.

Dit was dié standpunt wat verduidelik was deur die Bolsheviks toe hulle die Russiese werkers-klas in die Oktober 1917 rewolusie tot heerskappy gelei het.

Maar, rampspoediglik, het die Russiese rewolusie geïsoleer gebly en, gevolglik, was die mag van die werkers-klas deur 'n bureaumasie, onder Stalin se leiding ontnem. Hulle het aangekondig dat dit moontlik was om "sosialisme in een land" te behaal.

Die ontwikkelende krisis vandag in Rusland en Oostelike Europa ontbloot hierdie valse beweerings en verdedig die internasionalistiese beleid van Lenin en Trotsky—met gevolge wat ook in die 'Nkomati Verdrag' weerspieël word.

Vir 'n hele periode, ten spyte van bureaumatiese regering, het nasionalisasie en beplanning die ontwikkeling van die Russiese ekonomie moontlik gemaak—totdat 'n land wat voorheen agterlik was, die tweede mees kragtige industriele mag op die planeet geword het.

Nou, ten spyte van 'n tamaaie binnelandse mark, loop groot-skaalse produksie in Rusland op teen die struikelblok van bureaumatiese regering op die een kant, en die nasionale staat op die ander. Begroeiings vaarte het afgeneem tot feitlike stilstand, terwyl bemorsing en korrupsie vermenigvuldig.

Dit is hierdie interne krisis wat beteken, soos in hierdie uitgawe van *Inqaba* verduidelik word, dat die Russiese bureaumasie die nodige hulp—om die druk van Suid Afrikaanse imperialisme te weerstaan—aan die Mosambiekse rewolusie geweier het.

Die weg vooruit in die Sowjet-Unie en ander lande onder Stalinistiese beheer lê in 'n politiese rewolusie wat die parasitiese bureaumasie omverwerp en dit vervang met 'n demokratiese staat van die werkers—'n rewolusie voorgeteken deur die 1980 beweging van Poolse werkers.

inqaba YA BASEBENZI

Dus in elke sektor van die wereld lê die toekoms in die hande van die georganiseerde beweging van die werkers-klas, wat hulleself bewustelik moet voorberei vir werkersmag, asook hulleself bewapen met 'n internasionalistiese begrip.

'n Rewolusie in enige belangrike land in die kapitalistiese of Stalinistiese wereld sal die wiele van die werkers rewolusie op wereld-wye basis aan die rol sit.

In Suiderlike Afrika kan werkers voorberei deur bande te bind met werksgenote op 'n streeks en internasionale vlak.

Die stappe geneem deur vakbonde om internasionale bande te versterk, insluitende, byvoorbeeld, die iniatief van die Nasionale Vakbond van Mynwerkers om 'n federasie van Suiderlike Afrikaanse mynwerkers vakbonde te vorm, wys die weg vooruit op die vakbonde vlak.

Ook polities, behoort aktiviste in die ANC aan te sluit by werkers wat strewe in Suiderlike Afrika asook elders, om massa organisasies te bou wat deur werkers gelei word op 'n program van demokrasie en sosialisme.

Die beweging van die werkers sal die weg open vir die vernietiging van apartheid en kapitalisme in SA, en die bevryding van die hele gebied van SA se imperialisme. 'n Demokratiese sosialistiese SA sal 'n baken van lig wees vir die hele Afrika, en, inderdaad, vir werkende mense wereld-wyd.

Met hulle reg tot self-bestuur gewaarborg, sal die volke van Suider Afrika die groot voordele om vrywillig in 'n federasie van sosialistiese stede van Suider Afrika by een te kom, sien.

Hand in hand met werkers op 'n internasionale vlak, sal die Suiderlike Afrikaanse werkers-klas die egte toestande van vryheid, samewerking en ontwikkeling stig deur deel te neem in die bou van wereld sosialisme.

8. Despite the fundamental contradiction between the Stalinist states and the capitalist world, they dialectically complement and need each other. The US imperialists frighten their masses with the spectre of 'Bolshevism' and totalitarianism, while the Russian bureaucracy frightens the people of Eastern Europe and Russia with the danger of imperialist intervention. The Stalinists feed on the experience of the Russian masses of the intervention of the world powers in 1917-21 and of Nazi Germany between 1941-1945. Without the existence of a powerful imperialism in the form of the United States, which intervenes against revolutionary movements in all continents, undoubtedly Stalinism in Russia would collapse. On the other hand without the existence of a strong totalitarian state in the form of Stalinist Russia, US imperialism would be faced with a much more powerful movement in the West in the direction of Socialism. Without the spectre of a totalitarian regime, if they saw a workers' democracy in any important country of the world, the whole outlook of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries, including the US workers, would change completely.

9. Nuclear weapons mean that for the first time in history it is possible for mankind to be completely exterminated. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky put the alternative of either socialism or the collapse of civilisation and a new epoch of barbarism. That this is correct was shown by Nazi Germany which came very close to complete barbarism in the concentration camps and the nightmare of totalitarianism in Europe. But now there is a new alternative being posed before the peoples of the world: either socialism or nuclear annihilation. Scientists have worked out that in the event of a massive nuclear exchange, the world would be faced with a 'nuclear winter'. That would mean the blocking out of sunlight for a period which would last some years, resulting in the end of plant and animal life in the northern hemisphere and probably most of the southern hemisphere as well. Through this and a chain of other consequences, the grim reality of nuclear war would mean the extermination not only of mankind but possibly of all life on the planet.

10. The development of science, technique and the productive forces on the one hand, and the delay of the socialist revolution on the other hand, has led to the situation where even with modern 'conventional' weapons a world war could mean the destruction of whole countries within days. That is why the position of many leaders of the anti-nuclear movement is so pathetic. They put conventional weapons as an alternative to nuclear weapons, yet conventional weapons could also result in the collapse of civilisation if there were a war on the lines of the First or Second World War.

11. The 'small' wars since the Second World War reveal the destructive power of modern warfare. Nevertheless, in spite of the horror of these weapons,

since 1945 there has been a seemingly endless succession of wars. On average there have been 11 wars taking place every day since 1945. There have hardly been 17 days of peace in the decades since the Second World War. Almost as many millions have been killed since 1945 as died in the Second World War. However the question should be asked why there has been no new world war since 1945, despite the fact that the antagonisms between the world powers have reached a depth greater than that which existed prior to the Second World War? This is not because the rulers of imperialism have become pacifists, although the antagonisms were temporarily mitigated because of the economic upswing. The imperialists see the fundamentally unfavourable balance of conventional forces between their forces on the one hand, and those of the Soviet bureaucracy on the other hand since the Second World War.

12. The Warsaw Pact has more planes, tanks, guns and can mobilise up to three times as many soldiers than the imperialist powers have on the central European front. In conventional weapons the Soviet Union has an overwhelming superiority. It could occupy West Germany (which, with East Germany, is the heart of Europe) within 24 hours, Western Europe probably within a week, and the whole of Europe (including Britain) in a month to six weeks. This would be in a conventional war; a nuclear war would mean the destruction of all countries and all peoples.

13. War today is not a national question. In the past there have been wars between the major powers for markets, raw materials, spheres of influence, power and prestige. Now strategically nothing would be gained if within a few days of a third world war continents and peoples were destroyed. It would mean killing the goose that lays the golden egg. The working class, property and the means of production would be destroyed and—what is more to the point—the bourgeois themselves would be destroyed. Far from gaining from a nuclear war there would be everything to lose. The bourgeois do not go to war for ideological reasons but for material reasons, and the material situation is such that they cannot gain from a world war. On the other hand the propaganda of the West as to the danger of an incursion from the Russians is absolutely false. The Russian bureaucracy has enough difficulty in maintaining its hold over Eastern Europe and the peoples of the different nationalities within the USSR. It would be impossible for them to maintain domination over the workers of France, Italy, West Germany and Britain. Thus they would have nothing to gain by conquering Western Europe. It is for these reasons that neither the Russian bureaucracy nor the US imperialists would want world war at the present time.

14. Nevertheless the military-industrial complex in the capitalist countries finds enormous profit in the arms race and the production of means of destruction because they cannot sell capital goods due to in-

AFTER NKOMATI- WHERE IS



The signing of the Nkomati Accord has set the workers' movement and the oppressed masses throughout Southern Africa a stern test.

For the South African regime it *appears* a resounding diplomatic success, the greatest by a Nationalist Prime Minister in more than 30 years. It follows upon the victory scored by P.W.Botha and the 'verligtes' over the 'verkrampes' (now the Conservative Party) in the inner-party battle over the constitutional proposals and in the referendum. To the white population it has been presented as a reaffirmation of the NP's loyalty to the cause of defending white domination and capitalism in Southern Africa.

By the capitalists internationally, P.W.Botha has been hailed as a "wise statesman" and the Accord described as a "strengthening of the

laager", i.e. as strengthening the hold of capitalism in the sub-continent. The Accord is said to prepare the way for peace in the region.

For the workers' movement, the Accord represents a sudden and important turning point. Every revolution, every struggle, has such turning points which challenge all prevailing conceptions about the revolution, its nature and tasks, and the methods by which power will be conquered by the oppressed and exploited working class.

The Nkomati Accord requires a thorough re-examination of perspectives, programme, strategy and tactics. The test of leadership consists in the ability to recognise such turning-points and to draw from them the necessary conclusions.

For twenty years the strategy of the ANC and CP leadership has been to rely on a guerilla struggle against the SA regime, and either to neglect the mass movement completely, or subordinate it to guerilla aims. The reliance of this strategy on the facilities provided by Mozambique cannot be denied.

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By Basil Hendrickse

3rd quarter, 1984) has recently stated, "of all the valuable acts of international aid our movement has received from many countries, the facilities accorded to us by Mozambique in the past have been among the most important."

The withdrawal of these facilities by FRELIMO in consequence of the Nkomati Accord has dealt a crippling blow to the strategy of guerillaism—to the strategy of 'liberation from outside'. This is self-evident to workers in struggle in South Africa, and no brave words can cover up this fact.

The idea that the path to power lay

dustry's over-capacity. On the other hand the Russian bureaucracy is no less reactionary, in the sense that its military-bureaucratic regime needs the production of arms and the arms race for the purpose of keeping the masses in the Soviet Union in check. This gives a relative stability to both systems. Without it capitalism and Stalinism would face an immediate crisis. In the case of capitalism because the economic contradictions of its system make the arms burden unbearable and yet necessary for its survival.

15. US imperialism's post-war dream of complete world domination has been shattered by the realities of the struggles of the colonial peoples for social and national liberation, and by the opposition of the US masses to being involved in new wars. On the other hand the Stalinist states are preoccupied with the defence of their system against imperialism.

16. The Russian bureaucracy, in spite of being the second world power, is essentially provincial and nationalist. They have no intention of going to war, their preoccupation is entirely defensive. For the bureaucracy there is no gain in occupying Western Europe but only new problems. They have a fear of the future and are wrapped up and preoccupied by purely national problems.

17. The movements for nuclear disarmament constitute a step forward by mobilising millions of the youth, women and workers against the dangers of nuclear destruction. But they have limited perspectives, not linking this question up with the problem of political power. Marxism regards with sympathy the fears of the working youth, women and even of the middle class. At the same time Marxism explains that conventional war is only some degrees 'better' than nuclear war. It would still mean the destruction of civilisation, plunging mankind back to barbarism. Marxism explains the necessity of the masses understanding clearly the class issues underlying the arms race.

18. There can be no solution within capitalism on the one hand or Stalinism on the other. The solution lies in the overthrow of capitalism in the West and the re-emergence, or emergence, of workers' democracy in Russia, Eastern Europe and China. The struggle against nuclear arms and nuclear war is the struggle to change society. There can be no lasting solution within the framework of capitalism.

19. If the working class fails to overthrow capitalism and imperialism in the next decade or two, then it is inevitable that the same process which has resulted in military-police dictatorships, on a capitalist basis, in the 'third world', will take place in the developed capitalist world. An unstable military-police dictatorship in the United States would undoubtedly in desperation look for a 'first-strike' strategy and the destruction of what they would see, and already see, as the fountain-head of

all the difficulties that they face in the United States and in the world, i.e. the existence of the deformed workers' states in Russia and Eastern Europe. The constant search for a 'first-strike' capacity in the United States is an indication of the unbalanced nature of the military caste which rules the Pentagon. In desperation a military-police dictatorship in the United States might stake all on one throw and thus bring about the destruction of all life on the planet.

20. A victorious first-strike, even if knocking out all the arms of an opponent, would, through the gathering of soot, rubbish and radioactive dust due to the firestorms resulting from a nuclear war, inevitably affect the neutral countries and then the continent of America itself. Thus, while the elimination of some nuclear arms (like those of Britain and France) would be a step forward, it would not in the least prevent those countries being engulfed and destroyed as a consequence of nuclear war between the Soviet bureaucracy and US imperialism. Thus also in this question of nuclear war the fate of all mankind is linked together.

21. In the immediate or short term there is no question of nuclear or world war. Nuclear war would be a function of the class struggle, as war has always been in the past. The Second World War was inevitable once the workers of Italy, Germany, Spain and France had been defeated. A failure of the proletariat in Western Europe, Japan and the United States to take control of society into their hands in the next period, would lay the basis inevitably of military-police dictatorship and thus of the spectre of a nuclear war and the destruction of mankind. The key to the struggle against nuclear war and the monstrous piling up of arms lies in the overthrow of capitalism and in workers' democracy and socialism.

22. The EEC powers are huddled together because of the weakness of each of them, economically and militarily, in comparison with the superpowers—the USSR, and their 'ally' US imperialism. The change in Europe's position in relation to the world, particularly the end of the direct domination of the colonial peoples by the different European powers, makes a war between any of these powers virtually impossible. Hence the attempts at agreements, despite antagonisms, between France, Germany, Britain, Italy and the other powers of the European Economic Community.

23. Economic power, as Trotsky predicted, has shifted away from the European powers on the Atlantic to the powers on the Pacific basin. Already more than half of the trade of the United States is to the Pacific area and not, as traditionally in the past, to the Atlantic countries.

24. The EEC, inevitably, was still-born. At best it remains as an uneasy customs union linking its members together against Japan and the United States. Militarily it is still dependent on the alliance

SOUTHERN AFRICA GOING?

PART ONE

through the road of guerillaism was always an illusion. Now the impotence of this strategy has been mercilessly exposed.

This imposes on the leadership the responsibility of openly and honestly re-examining all the implications.

The SACP argues, in the same article in the *African Communist*, that the policies pursued by the Mozambique government are a matter for their own judgment alone—and that non-South Africans should equally not make judgments on what is best for South Africa.

This is totally incorrect.

The pivotal role of Mozambique in the guerilla strategy, first of ZANU, and then of the ANC, has been played at a terrible price—of cross-border raids by Smith's army and the SADF, of economic sabotage, and of SA-backed MRM terrorism.

Mozambican workers and peasants have been prepared to make these huge sacrifices to assist in the liberation of the Zimbabwean and South African masses from oppression and exploitation—seeing that this would remove the greatest obstacle to their own development and to the solution of the problems facing the whole region.

The difficulties that Mozambique has faced forcing it to abandon that role are thus a matter of vital concern not only for Mozambicans, but for all the oppressed in Southern Africa. In the debate about the solutions to these problems all the workers in Southern Africa are duty-bound to participate.

This reflects the reality that monopoly capitalism in SA, binding together and dominating the region, has made it impossible to work out an effective way forward in any country in isolation.

As Marxism explains, the solutions to the problems of the workers lie in action guided, not by mere wishes or desires, but by an understanding of **perspectives**—of the laws and tendencies that govern social developments.

Without correct perspectives, the

workers' movement can be led along many false trails, and up many blind alleys, with the consequences inflicted on the working masses themselves.

The foundation of perspectives lies in the laws of production, of the economy.

In the modern world, bound into a whole by capitalism, these laws of social development work themselves out internationally. For no country, therefore, can the perspectives be worked out in isolation. They depend on an understanding of processes on a regional, continental, and world scale—and the implementation of that understanding in the working out of programme, strategy, and tactics. This is particularly clear in Southern Africa.

This is why it is so mistaken to try, as does the *African Communist*, to create a separation, on a national basis, of who can make political judgments on what.

In reality, on the basis of a revolution, and a perspective confined within the national framework of Mozambique, the Mozambique government has been unable to indefinitely evade the pressures of SA imperialism.

To see why, it is necessary to begin with the Mozambican revolution itself, its achievements, and also its limits within the framework of the Southern African and world situation.

Mozambican revolution

In 1974-5, when FRELIMO and the MPLA came to power, the formal independence that had been won in other African countries had already clearly failed to fulfill the expectations of the masses.

This was because, almost without exception, the attempt by new ruling elites to develop the economies, modernise these countries, improve living standards and raise the cultural level of society was carried out on the basis of capitalism.

With the world economy already dominated by the major imperialist powers and multi-national monopolies, the attempt of these backward countries to industrialise encountered insurmountable barriers.

Imperialist exploitation of ex-colonial countries was stepped up.

What followed was a wholesale assault on democratic rights as the new ruling elites tried to persuade the people to accept the impositions of the capitalist system, i.e. poverty and starvation. Resistance was met with force, the demand for democratic rights answered with one-party states, and the hungry stomachs of the starving filled with bullets.

Mozambique (and Angola) broke not only with colonialism, but with capitalism—and offered fresh hope to working people in Africa.

How and why was this done?

Mozambique had suffered nearly 500 years of the most rapacious colonial plunder. A feeble colonial power, Portugal was outstripped by its imperialist rivals.

The other imperialist powers could change their methods of colonial domination in the face of the mass upheavals in the colonial countries, substituting indirect economic domination for direct political rule. Portugal, too weak to follow suit, clung to direct rule through military repression.

On its own, the guerilla war carried forward by FRELIMO would have taken considerably longer to dislodge this rotten regime. But the revolutionary upheavals in Portugal in 1974 which overthrew the old decrepit dictatorship reverberated throughout the furthest reaches of the creaky colonial empire.

The colonial state machine in Mozambique collapsed.

Portuguese soldiers deserted their posts, surrendered to the guerillas and, in some cases, actually joined them. By 1975, the settler population who staffed and ran the police, army judiciary and civil service, i.e. the state machine, were reduced from ¼ of a million to a mere 20 000. The numbers of crop farmers sunk from 7 000 to insignificance.

Thus almost the entire social reserves of capitalism and colonialism had disappeared.

Without this social base, although South Africa could have intervened militarily, it had no prospect of rescuing Mozambique for capitalism, and therefore held back.

The FRELIMO guerilla army thus

with US imperialism. The utopian dream of becoming one all-European power has virtually been abandoned. Separate armies, separate governments, separate currencies and separate customs barriers remain as the basis for each of these states. The vested interests of the national capitalist classes prevent any further integration of the EEC beyond the limits it has already reached. Even these are undermined by the surreptitious and covert protectionist measures which are taken when any of the industries of the EEC 'partners' are threatened. Each of the members uses non-tariff barriers as a means of keeping out the goods of the others. Thus, as the Marxists predicted, the EEC inevitably failed to become one economy because of the contradictions of the vested interests of each capitalist class in the member countries.

25. The dream of a European power block which would compete with the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan has ended up as a complete chimera. The EEC has failed to become the third world power competing with the super-powers. This is contrary to what some capitalist politicians and certain sectarians expected when they took as good coin the utopian dreams of bourgeois professors.

26. While the economy was leaping ahead in the post-war world upswing there was the possibility of the arrival at a compromise agreement and certain accommodation of EEC members' differing interests. Now, with the beginnings of organic crisis, nothing remains but the bare outlines of a customs union. The rules of the EEC are constantly violated by each power, even when their secondary vested interests

are seriously affected. The EEC powers are separately and collectively secondary satellites of the US giant, though they try and preserve their 'independent' role. Dominated by US imperialism in the NATO alliance, their interests, apart from joint neo-colonial economic domination of the ex-colonial world along with Japan and the USA, do not necessarily converge with those of the United States.

27. Nevertheless ultimately the European powers are compelled to dance to the tune of US imperialism. Thus France, Italy and Britain had to send in token armed forces to the Lebanon because of their own interests in Middle East oil and also because of the pressure of their giant 'ally'.

28. In the modern productive forces of micro-electronics, computers and information technology, Europe has been outstripped by the United States and Japan. This lagging behind will have serious consequences in the future. They are dragged into the plots and adventures of US imperialism because of the need to demonstrate their reliability as 'allies'. Hence their uneasy 'solidarity' with the USA on the occasion of its intervention in the Lebanon.

29. The problem for US imperialism is not only its rivals but also the pressure of both the US masses and the ex-colonial peoples. On this occasion the Moslem masses of Lebanon forced an inglorious withdrawal of the Western powers and the break-up of the Lebanese army, which had been carefully cobbled together by the dominant Christian Maronites with the aid of US arms, instructors and money.

took state power by occupying a vacuum. The revolutionary overthrow of capitalism was not the programme on which they had fought the war. However, the collapse of capitalism left them no option, were production to continue, but to take over the factories, farms, etc, and place them under state control and management.

Thus an essentially nationalised and planned economy was established—but not by a conscious movement of the working class. A form of workers' state was brought into being—but neither production nor society were under the democratic control of the working class. Power resided in the leadership of the guerilla army, creating the new state machine around this armed core—with mass popular support, but not subjected to the checks of workers' democracy.

"Socialism in one country"

On this basis it was inevitable that the vision and policies of the new rulers would become increasingly limited and constrained, by the very state machine they had created, to the limits of Mozambique itself. As FRELIMO began to reconstruct and reorganise production, the prevailing *hopes and illusions were vested in a 'transition to socialism' within the confines of Mozambique.*

But such a transition is impossible in any single country—especially a country with such slender resources. Moreover, consolidation of a new state on this basis, without workers' democratic control, leads inevitably to increasing bureaucracy.

It is vital for the workers movement to recognise these realities if it is to find a way out of the present impasse. That will be the only guarantee of solving the problems of Mozambican working people, as well as those of other countries.

Even if capitalism were overthrown by a conscious movement of the working class in an industrialised country, the transition to a fully socialist society cannot be achieved within that country alone.

A socialist society is a society in transition to communism—namely to a society of abundance in which the idea of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" is fulfilled; a society in which classes, and hence class conflict, have

disappeared, and in which the state, an organ for the rule of one class over another, has withered away.

Thus the condition for the transition to socialism and communism is on the one hand the development of production beyond the capacity of capitalism, and, on the other, the democratic control and management of production and society by the working class—to guarantee the progressive attainment of equality and to ensure the dismantling of *bureaucracy and privilege.*

To harness the forces of modern industry, to unlock the potential of science and technology, to liberate and develop the capabilities in every human being—the basis of advance to socialism—workers control and management will be necessary **on an international scale.**

Workers' internationalism, the programme of Marxism from its beginnings, is founded not on international brotherly love, not in sentimental concerns with the plight of workers suffering all over the world, but on the material foundations established by capitalism itself.

Capitalism created a **world market** and has bound together the economies of all countries in one indissoluble whole. But their productive potential is being strangled by the limitations imposed by private ownership—which today means monopoly ownership—and the national state.

Without the victory of the workers' revolution in the advanced countries of world economic power, a country under democratic workers' rule can begin, but cannot complete, the transition to socialism.

This was why Lenin and Trotsky—leaders of the Russian workers' revolution in 1917, which overthrew capitalism and established democratic workers' rule—explained the need for the spreading of the world socialist revolution as the only guarantee for its successful continuation in the Soviet Union itself, and as the only basis on which socialist society could be built.

The false idea that socialism could be attained "in one country"—in the Soviet Union alone—was first proclaimed by Stalin in 1924. Revolutionary opportunities for the European working class had been missed. The revolution had not spread, but remained isolated in backward Russia. In these circumstances the result was that a bureaucratic clique

usurped power from the working class in a political counter-revolution.

Economic under-development submerges the toilers in illiteracy and preoccupies them with a desperate struggle for survival day to day. It deprives them of the possibility of taking into their own hands the general management of the economy and the state. Thus the educated layer of society develops for itself a monopoly of these functions. At the same time generalised poverty and a *low level of production makes it impossible to satisfy the pressing needs of everybody, and impels the ruling elite towards establishing authoritarian control over the masses.*

The theory of "socialism in one country" stemmed from the loss of faith by the emerging bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union in the prospects for international workers' revolution, and reflected the national narrow-mindedness of a ruling elite resting on the Russian national state. Eventually, over time, it led to conscious betrayals by the Stalinist bureaucracy of opportunities for spreading the social revolution in Europe and elsewhere.

In Russia—one fifth of the globe—because the economy was nationalised and planned, and despite the absence of workers' democracy, *the bureaucratic rulers were able, for a whole period, to insulate it from the capitalist world market and develop it rapidly. They presided over the elimination of poverty, the eradication of disease, rising standards of living, health, and education. Russia became, on this basis, the second industrial power in the world.*

At the same time the bureaucracy consolidated its own wealth, power, and privilege. "Socialism in one country" meant, in reality, no genuine socialism at all.

The delay of the revolution in the West, and the desperate conditions to which monopoly capitalism condemned the millions in the colonial world led, in a series of 'Third World' countries after the Second World War, to revolutions establishing regimes modelling themselves on that of Stalinist Russia.

Decrepit capitalist regimes collapsed under mass pressures, and imperialism was powerless to prevent this. But power was inherited, not by the conscious movement of the working class, but from the start by the middle class and the educated—

The limitations of reaction

1. In addition to the arms race and the economic war against the Stalinist states there is the important 'ideological war' waged by the imperialist powers. Foreign factors have an effect on the internal politics in the so-called Western 'democracies'. The capitalists contrast the ideology and system of 'democracy' to the threat and the methods of 'totalitarianism' in Russia, China and the Stalinist states throughout the world.

2. This, however, does not prevent all these capitalist powers from supporting puppet dictatorships in Asia, Africa and Latin America—to defend their vested interests in these three continents. 'Democracy' or 'dictatorship' are methods adopted under the patronage of the imperialist powers according to their interests at a given moment.

3. However it is no accident that all the European capitalist countries at the present time are one form or another of bourgeois democracy. This is the first time for generations that there is not a single military-police dictatorship in the capitalist section of Europe. Bourgeois democracy is the most economical and safest form of bourgeois rule. They can deceive the masses better under this system than any other.

4. Despite some inconveniences, the ruling class can use the safety valve of the trade unions and the workers' parties as a means of defusing the workers' movement when it threatens to overspill the limits and levels set up by the bourgeois themselves. But when workers move out of the confines of bourgeois democracy onto the road to socialism, the bourgeois, if they could manage it, would turn without hesitation to the road of dictatorship, as they have shown in the past in some Western European countries.

5. The twilight of capitalism and the exhaustion of the economic possibilities that lie in private ownership has led the economies of the bourgeois into a blind alley. In order to try and rid themselves of the pressure of the masses, the capitalists in the advanced countries can turn in the direction of parliamentary Bonapartism as De Gaulle did in France in 1958. Thatcher and the camarilla running the Conservative government in Britain have shown a noticeable tendency in the direction of parliamentary Bonapartism. Thatcher ignores the Cabinet and decisions are

taken by a small group of favoured Ministers inclined to support Thatcher herself, without reference to Parliament. This was seen in the unprecedented demand early in 1984 that the civil servants at GCHQ, Cheltenham, should give up their union membership. The tendency towards the concentration of power in just a few hands is an indication of this process, as is the legal taking away of the rights of the workers through savage anti-union laws.

6. These developments in Britain, the home of bourgeois democracy where the ideas of 'democracy' have gone further and deeper into the masses' consciousness and which still remains one of the freest countries in the capitalist world, are a good illustration of the general processes at work. In addition to the concentration of power in the hands of a small Cabinet clique, measures are being prepared to deal with any protest on the part of the masses. The British police are being transformed and militarised. There has been the stock-piling of tear-gas, riot-shields, special police riot and weapon training and the setting up of specialised militarised police sections, like the District Support Units, etc. Thus all the signs are that, with the impasse of capitalism, the British ruling class are preparing for stormy events in the future on the extra-parliamentary field rather than purely in the field of legislation.

7. However, despite all these measures, it is unlikely in the foreseeable future that the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries will move in the direction of Bonapartist coups. The situation in Western Europe, Japan and the United States is very similar to the situation in Germany in the 1920s. After the defeat of the revolutionary movement of 1918-1923 there was a return to bourgeois democracy. However special 'state of emergency' laws remained in reserve to be used under conditions of crisis. After 'dealing' with emergencies there will be a return to an uneasy bourgeois democracy, as happened in Germany after the defeat of the 1920 Kapp Putsch and the aborted revolution of 1923.

8. It was only in the 1930s that the Italian model of fascism became the model for most European countries. The bourgeois used the on-rushing forces of the petit bourgeois to smash the organisations of the working class and set up a fascist military-police dictatorship. As explained in previous material there



Rural literacy classes in Mozambique.

leaders of guerilla armies or army officers. Their power came from, and rested on, the barrels of the guns they commanded.

On the basis of nationalisation and planning, such countries, e.g. China, Cuba, Vietnam, Syria, etc, underwent development. China's population, for example, was elevated in the space of a generation from the level of pack animals to citizens of a modern society.

In each of these countries aid from the Soviet Union—financially, and in technical skills—played an important role in this, partly insulating backward but developing economies from the pressures of the capitalist world market.

These were the models that the FRELIMO government hoped to emulate in Mozambique.

FRELIMO's development strategy

FRELIMO inherited an economy left ravaged and backward by Portuguese colonialism and monopoly capitalism.

At independence, only 7% of Mozambicans were literate. In a population of 8-10 million, only 672 000 attended primary school. At the local university, the total enrollment of 3 800 included only 40 black Mozambicans.

Only 3% of families had latrines.

The domination of the capitalist world market was most powerfully expressed in the degree of dependence of the Mozambican economy on SA—it was little more than a small screw in the SA economic machine.

The overwhelming majority of Mozambican industrial workers were employed in SA—as migrant workers. Under an agreement between SA and Portugal, 60% of the wages of these 138 000 workers was paid directly to the Mozambique government, in the form of gold priced at R29 an ounce. The government could then resell this gold at the world market price—allowing, with the soaring free market gold price in the early 1970s, a substantial surplus.

The 18m tonnes of traffic which passed through Maputo port in 1973 was very largely SA goods, carried also on the Mozambique railways. This was another substantial source of government revenue and foreign exchange.

Thus a major portion of government revenue and of foreign exchange (vital for the purchase of goods for development) was at the mercy of decisions in the hands of the SA ruling class.

Perhaps the most cruel example of helpless dependence on SA was the arrangements for the supply of electricity to SA from Cahora Bassa, Mozambique's most prestigious project. It is the largest hydro-electric scheme in Africa and potentially the 6th largest in the world.

Yet after nearly ten years of independence, Mozambique owns only 15% of the shares, the rest being in the hands of a company of the former colonial master, Portugal. Worse than this, the transfer of ownership depends on SA increasing its use of the scheme—otherwise the Mozambique government will not have the money to repay the loans from its construction.

Worst of all, perhaps, 98% of the power is consumed in SA, and Mozambique has to repurchase its own power from SA or engage in building costly new access systems.

With the idealism and dedication particularly of the lower ranks of the FRELIMO bureaucracy to improve the conditions of the workers and peasants, FRELIMO tried desperately to overcome this terrible legacy.

A free health service was introduced and in this field official statistics point to solid achievements. By 1979, up to 95% of the population had been vaccinated against measles, smallpox, tetanus and tuberculosis. Infant mortality had been reduced from 150 per 1 000 to 80 per 1 000. 47% of families now own a latrine.

In education the 93% illiteracy rate has dropped to 73%. Several hundred thousand adults attend literacy classes. Primary school enrollment has increased to 1 330 000.

The catch of fish has increased threefold. There is now greater production of clothes, radios, biscuits, salt, matches and soap than in colonial times.

Frustrated

But in attempting to go further than this, the FRELIMO government has been frustrated by fundamental economic realities.

The key to progress in any country today is the development of industry. Even with nationalisation and planning, this faces particular concrete difficulties in an underdeveloped country, with a backward peasant agriculture.

To develop industry requires on the one hand the means with which to purchase machinery and other capital goods, and on the other hand the means to feed a working population separated from the land.

The first requirement demands foreign exchange or foreign aid with which to buy the products of advanced industrial countries—for which minerals or an agricultural surplus is needed for export.

The second requirement demands also the development of an agricultural surplus—in the form of food for the towns.

For peasants, the incentive to produce such a surplus can come only from the ability of the towns to provide in exchange cheap needed goods (such as clothes or fertilisers) and

is no question today of fascism on the same lines as Hitler and Mussolini anywhere in Europe or the world for that matter. The bourgeoisie will today resort to military-police dictatorship only if there is absolutely no other recourse in the situation in which they find themselves.

9. The great capitalist powers have accumulated immense resources, partly at the expense of the colonial peoples, but mainly as a result of the post-war world economic upswing. They can use this accumulated fat to make limited, temporary concessions when the masses move into action and threaten the position of the ruling class. But the twilight of capitalism means that booms become more and more feeble as the general downswing undermines the capitalist system. The crisis of the economy and the state will increase particularly as the enormous army of unemployed saps the resources that have been accumulated in past decades. However, bourgeois democracy, which has penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the masses, will remain in the metropolitan capitalist countries for the immediate period.

10. The capitalists burned their hands seriously with the dictatorships of Hitler, Franco and Mussolini. They do not wish again to put their fate into the hands of fascist maniacs. The ruling class are prepared to use fascist bands as aids to the state forces of repression, as was shown in Chile, where the fascists were used as auxiliaries by the military in preparing for the 1973 coup. These scum acted as provocateurs, using terrorist actions to help prepare the way for the military-police dictatorship. In Italy too, for a whole period in the 1970s, the fascists engaged in terrorist actions for the purpose of trying to provoke a seizure of power by the army. They failed utterly in this because the bourgeois had no intention and no desire to move in that direction, especially as they did not feel themselves under threat from the reformist 'Euro-communists' leading the Italian Communist Party.

11. Nor can there be much enthusiasm among the strategists of capital for Bonapartist military-police dictatorships after the experience of Greece, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Pakistan, Bangladesh and other countries, mainly in the ex-colonial world. A military-police dictatorship in a developed capitalist country would not even have the basis of support with which,

for a time, the bourgeoisie has maintained military-police dictatorships in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It would inevitably prepare a new movement of the proletariat which could threaten to throw out not only the dictatorship but the bourgeois system in its entirety.

12. The bourgeois world was terrified by the movement of the French proletariat in 1968, but saw it pass off harmlessly through the actions of the leaders of the Communist Party and the trade unions. The bourgeois have evolved a method of riding out the blows of the proletariat by making concessions. In this they are assisted by the blindness of the reformists, Stalinists and the trade union leaders. The bourgeois will make concessions and then take back more than they have conceded once the wave of the proletariat's activity reaches a certain level and then begins to ebb.

13. However the proletariat is not stupid and this method cannot last forever. Despite the failure of the leadership of the workers' organisations, the decay of capitalism will continue. This remorseless decay will inevitably have its reflection in the consciousness of the advanced layers of the workers at first and then of the mass of the proletariat.

14. Over a half decade or a decade or more, the bourgeois will find the pressure of the workers' organisations unbearable. In France at a moment of serious crisis in 1958, the bourgeois turned to parliamentary Bonapartism under De Gaulle. In Britain now there have been the first tentative steps in the direction of institutionalising the possibility of parliamentary Bonapartism.

15. Similar developments can take place in all the countries of developed bourgeois democracy. The twilight of capitalism, the end of the long period of economic upswing, is also the end of the period of the flowering of bourgeois democracy. In Asia, Africa and Latin America few, even nominal, bourgeois democracies remain. However, with the acute instability and collapse of military-police dictatorships—and because of the weakness of Marxism at the same time—a new phase of bourgeois 'democracy' is inevitable, at least temporarily, in the drawn-out process of the proletarian socialist revolution.

cheap credit, and to distribute this adequately. This, in turn, demands the development of industry and transport.

A similar dilemma was faced by the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union after 1917. This was one of the most immediate and concrete manifestations of the need to spread the revolution—for the working class in Europe to take control of the advanced industry which could be the basis too for maintaining the allegiance of the Russian peasantry to the revolution.

The core of the policy of Lenin and Trotsky's government was to promote the international revolution. At the same time they explained that within Russia the question was one of pursuing policies which minimised the contradictions between town and countryside—neither squeezing the peasantry too hard to serve the needs of the working class, nor squeezing the workers too hard to produce cheaper goods for the peasantry.

Once it became clear that the European revolution would be delayed, Trotsky was the first to advance the idea of a 5-year plan to try to lift industry to a level from which a progressive solution of this problem could take place.

For this purpose he put forward a policy of **voluntary** collectivisation of agriculture.

This coincided with the victory of the Stalinist bureaucracy over the remnants of workers' democracy. The bureaucracy rejected Trotsky's policy and veered towards encouraging the unrestrained self-enrichment of the rich peasants, by exploiting the poor. Then, a few years later, the bureaucracy lurched to the opposite extreme and carried out the **forced** collectivisation of agriculture at the cost of millions of lives.

This provided the basis for the development of the Soviet Union as a modern industrial power. Despite the needless methods, the policy was governed by the law that, in agriculture as well as industry, large-scale production is more efficient. The contrary myth, of a solution through small-scale peasant agriculture, peddled today by the World Bank, bourgeois economists, and their hangers-on, is simply another attempt to divert the attention of the 'Third World' masses from the need for social revolution.

In today's world conditions, Mozambique's post-independence

dilemma has been more acute than that faced by workers and peasants in the Soviet Union after 1917.

The departure of the Portuguese settlers meant the collapse not only of large-scale agriculture but of the rural trading economy. Moreover, with independence, there was a massive drift of peasants to the towns in search of jobs and means of subsistence—which has been aggravated in the recent period by the longest and most devastating drought in living memory, and by huge floods.

Both food and cash-crop production slumped dramatically, and in most sectors, despite big efforts, have still not recovered their levels of 1973.

This does not however prove, as the imperialists are trying to argue, the 'deficiencies of socialism'—but shows the huge external constraints placed on the Mozambican planned economy by the workings of the world market.

Even with the advantages of nationalisation and planning, it is today impossible for weak and backward economies of the under-developed world to repeat the advances made in the past by the Soviet Union on the basis of its own resources.

Mozambique's independence was achieved at the time of the first

world-wide recession of capitalism of the post-Second-World-War period. The unprecedented 25 years of uninterrupted boom, the biggest in capitalism's history and indeed in the history of humanity, had run out of steam. It ushered in a new period of contraction of the world market, of ever deeper downturns interrupted only by short, weak upturns.

Mass unemployment, inflation, and attacks on the living standards of the workers were placed on the agenda in all capitalist countries.

In the sense that the 1973-4 world recession triggered off the Portuguese revolution, the Mozambican and Angolan revolutions were parts and products of the same crisis.

Even throughout the boom, 'Third World' countries had been super-exploited by the imperialist monopolies through the terms of trade. Because of the backwardness of 'Third World' production, more labour was needed to produce the same amount of goods than was the case in the advanced capitalist countries. Yet the prices of their agricultural and mineral exports fell consistently in relation to the prices of the industrial goods they imported.

This has intensified in the new capitalist crisis: prices of manufac-



Workers on a Mozambique state farm.

The economic crisis

1. In practically all countries of the capitalist world there have been systematic attacks on real wages and conditions. At the same time attempts have been made to cut state expenditure on welfare, social and education services. Expenditure on armaments has increased while expenditure on the basic infrastructure by the state has tended to fall.

2. This is because the world economic upswing is over. The proletariat succeeded with the pressure of its organisations in obtaining enormous concessions in pensions, health, social services and so on in practically all the countries of Western Europe, North America, Japan and Australia. Now these reforms are threatened by the developing world crisis of capitalism.

3. The strategists of capital believed that the post-war world economic upswing was a permanent process that would remain forever. All their calculations of reforms were on the basis of a growing economy. Now the economy is seizing up and, even when in shaky booms there is an increase in production, it cannot reach the sustained high growth rates of the past. On the contrary the capitalists are deliberately cutting down on productive capacity. That means that the bourgeois system as a system can no longer 'afford' long-term concessions.

4. The development of inflation as a consequence of deficit financing, has shattered the bourgeois' illusions in Keynesianism and deficit financing as a solution to the problems of capitalism and of the limited purchasing power of the masses. Instead of the possibilities of undreamed-of plenty, comes the need to cut and cut and cut again state expenditure and the living standards of working people.

5. The need of the bourgeois to maintain their profits has resulted in the pendulum of opinion of the strategists of capital and bourgeois professors swinging to the opposite extreme of Keynesianism. Limited deficit financing under conditions of slump has been to a large extent abandoned. Even vital and necessary state capital expenditure on the infrastructure has been neglected. Yet, because of the gains that the working class has made in the past, in securing the cushioning of unemployment by social security, etc., increasing mass unemployment places enormous burdens upon the state through the need to

keep the unemployed alive. Without these benefits the bourgeois would be faced with enormous anger and an upswing of activity on the part of the workers, both employed and unemployed. Yet in spite of all the austerity measures, for instance in the USA and all the countries of Western Europe, the share of state expenditure in the gross national product has actually increased! The mass army of unemployed means an enormous drain on state resources at the same time as the cutting of other state expenditure puts new burdens on the economy. These reductions worsen the slumps as they cut the market, because in most industrialised countries the state forms one-fifth of the total domestic market.

6. Additional contradictions are that cutting the share of the masses in the country's output also limits the market and increases competition on a world scale between the capitalist powers who, with limited home markets, seek markets further afield. Thus, limiting the role of the state cuts the market nationally and internationally.

7. The bourgeoisie is faced with an insoluble dilemma. Cutting the share of the working class and cutting state expenditure temporarily increases the profits of the capitalists—but at the cost of cutting the market and so undermining profitability further. On the other hand, increasing state expenditure and raising the living standards of the workers would decrease the share of the capitalists directly. In both cases investment, which is the key to an economic upswing, languishes.

8. The world economy now moves through rapid slumps and 'booms'. The precarious boom of 1983-4 will be succeeded by a new slump in 1985 or 1986, which will probably be deeper than the previous slump of 1979-82.

9. In all countries the bankruptcy of the 'theoreticians' of capitalism is manifest. Keynesianism or Freidmanism, deficit financing or monetarism, inflation or deflation are all merely different roads to ruin.

10. The USA with enormous resources, the biggest economy and market which has a decisive effect on the world economy and world markets, can temporarily pursue incompatible policies—higher arms and state expenditure and high interest rates, while



Bread queue in Maputo.

tures have soared, while those of primary products stagnate or decline.

These conditions, coupled with the decline of the volume of cash-crop production for export, crippled the Mozambican economy of the means to import sufficient capital and consumer goods to develop industry and improve the living standards of workers and peasants.

SA capitalism began to tighten the noose further, first reducing the numbers of Mozambicans working on the SA mines—to only 41,000 in 1977. This increased unemployment in Mozambique and reduced foreign exchange earnings. In April 1978 SA cancelled the part-payment of wages in gold. This alone, it has been calculated, cost an equivalent of US\$2,6 thousand million up to 1983.

In addition, SA started to run down its use of Mozambique's rail and port facilities. From 18m tonnes in 1973, Maputo harbour handled only 10m tonnes in 1977-9, and only 6-7m in 1983. In ten years estimated SA use fell by 84%, a loss to the economy the equivalent of US\$248 million.

Mozambique also suffered the economic costs of imposing sanctions on Rhodesia.

By 1980 the deficit of the current account—of payments for imports etc over earnings from exports etc—was US\$300 million.

The consequences, inevitably, have been severe shortages—of food and other consumer goods, of spare parts, let alone of capital goods for the development of industry.

Shortages create a struggle over resources, in which the initially more powerful win out. As Trotsky pointed out in relation to the rise of bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, when bread queues form, there will have to be officials to distribute the

bread and policemen to keep the queue in order. It is easy to see who will help themselves first—and most.

The increasing contradictions and crisis of the planned economy have also produced splits and differing tendencies in the bureaucracy—particularly with regard to agricultural policy.

The urgent compulsion to provide food for the cities has led to the concentration of resources into large-scale agricultural production, particularly the state farms, and into their mechanisation.

By 1980, for example, 85% of rice production at the GAIL agro-industrial complex in Gaza province was mechanised.

An opposing tendency in the bureaucracy argues that this is at the expense of neglecting the peasants, increasing vulnerability to spare part shortages, and reducing job opportunities.

This view is echoed by Eduardo da Silva in a recent issue of *Work in Progress*, (No.32):

"Statist and technicist notions were reflected in state economic policy. In the organisation of production, the bulk of resources tended to be concentrated in over-mechanised, poorly planned and managed state farms....Gaza was experiencing high levels of unemployment, and large numbers of workers were laid off in order to further mechanise the production process. New equipment had a very short life, while the foreign exchange shortage and failure to secure spare parts soon reduced much of the complex combine harvesters and other machinery to rusting wrecks.

"This experience illustrates the emerging planning process. Targets were set in the agriculture ministry with scant reference either to the undertaking itself and without consulting or involving workers in the planning process.

"Co-operatives and family agriculture continued to be starved of resources and

at the same time an increasing 'commandism' emerged in relations between state officials and peasants. Most basic decisions about production, marketing and revenue distribution were taken out of the hands of members of co-operatives and assumed by officials. In the subsequent demobilisation, a number of co-operatives collapsed and the general impetus for collective forms of production began to wane."

But while this correctly identifies serious problems, there is no solution to them in abandoning large-scale production and mechanisation and turning to the primitive methods of peasant agriculture.

It is completely utopian to think that a road to socialism, or for that matter a means of overcoming bureaucracy, lies in reliance on communal production at the most primitive levels of technique, and on the 'democracy of traditional African society'.

Without conscious democratic control of society by the working class, bureaucracy is inevitable on the basis of primitive technique and shortages—and its consolidation as a privileged elite is all the more inevitable with every success it achieves in developing production.

Moreover peasant production, on individual plots or in co-operatives, cannot be spurred on by will alone nor by 'commandism', but fundamentally by the material incentives which can be provided, and which the externally-constrained Mozambican economy is incapable of providing on its own.

Marx explained that, under capitalism, there was no solution to the problems of the workers either along the road of free trade or protectionism, but only through the social revolution. Equally it can be said that in the conditions of Mozambique there are no solutions to the

cutting taxes for the well-off at the expense of an enormous budget and trade deficit. The ill-effects are immediately manifest on its capitalist 'allies' and the underdeveloped world. They bear the expenses of Reagan's policy. Inevitably there will be a recoil, with the collapse of the US economy and the resurgence of inflation in the United States in the coming years. This in turn will spill over into inflation for the rest of the world.

11. At the same time 500 monopolies control, directly or indirectly, 90% of capitalist world trade and can freely move currency from one country to another in such huge amounts that they can determine the policy of governments and currency exchange rates. One million million Euro-dollars are floating around as fictitious capital.

12. Beyond the framework of the capitalist powers, even of groups of powers like the EEC and the mighty economic giants of Japan and the USA, the multinationals are today enormous powers of their own, dominating the entire world economy. Their parasitic claws squeeze the resources of the entire planet, in the interests of a handful of super-monopolists. It is they who decide the policy of governments and even of continents. The national states are made servants of this super autocracy of the super-monopolies of concentrated capital.

13. However, the fact that this centralisation and concentration of capital has reached this international scale is a further indication of the obsolete character of capitalist ownership and the national state.

14. The developing paroxysms of the world economy are reflected in the pressure of US imperialism on its weaker rivals. Not one economy of capitalist Europe can break away from the domination of the world market and the domination above all of US imperialism, even though the USA is a sick giant. The arms burden shouldered by the USA is a burden on a sick world economy, and it threatens to break even an economy as strong and powerful as that of the United States. All the governments of Europe are compelled to toe the line because of the crisis of capitalism, the domination of the world market and, super-imposed on all this, the domination of the economies of the world by the United

States.

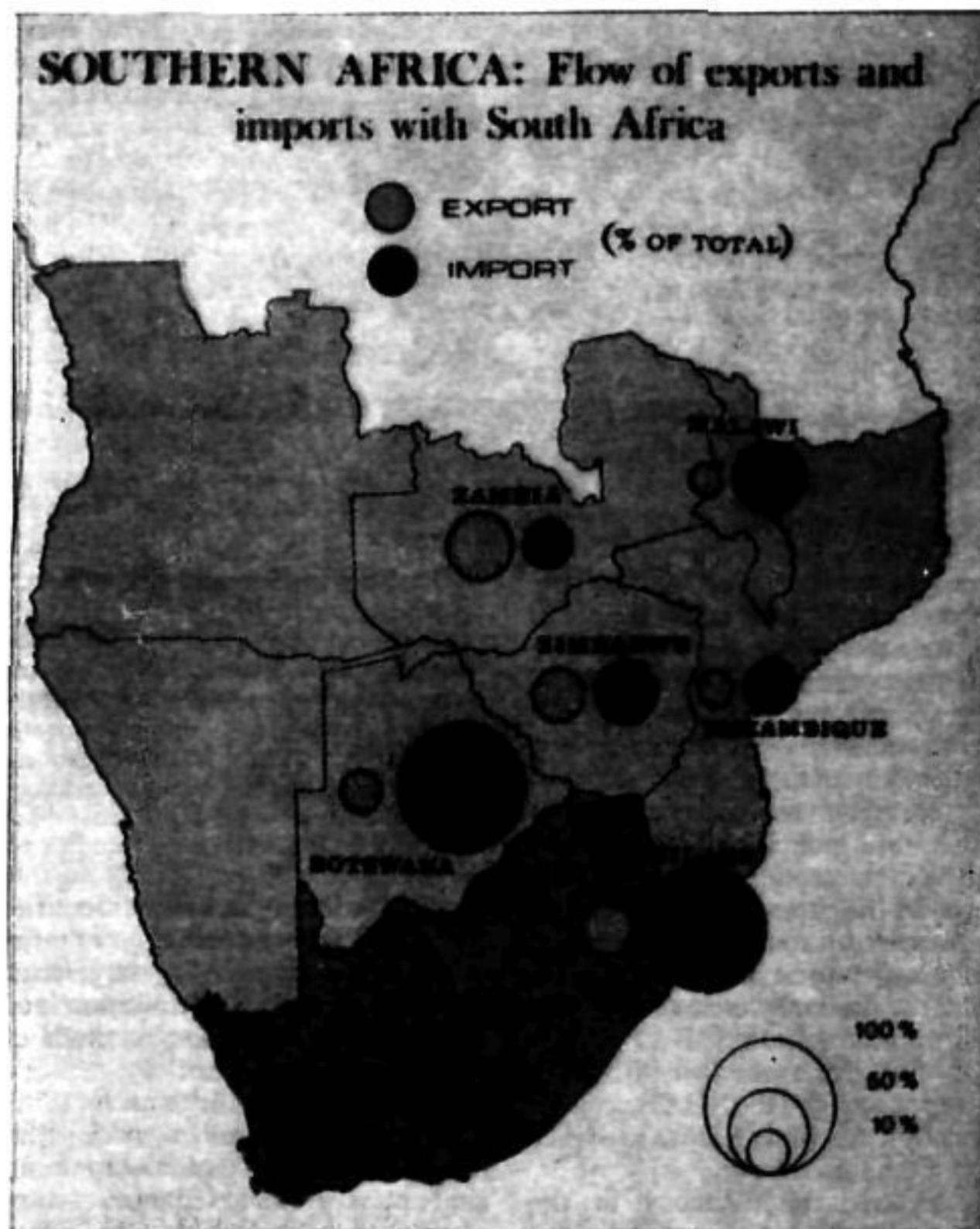
15. An indication of the super-monopolies' domination is the fact that all the governments of the industrialised capitalist world are pursuing similar monetary and economic policies.

16. The illusions of the reformists and Stalinists that there is an 'alternative' economic policy under capitalism, have been shattered by the experience of the reformist governments in France, Spain, Greece, Sweden and other countries. Without a complete break with capitalism they have no means of determining the policy of governments. The governments do not determine the movement of the economy, it is the economy that determines the policies of the governments. This cannot be otherwise in an epoch of the world market and of capitalist decline. Only within the narrowest limits can there be a different policy on the part of different governments.

17. The mirage of an easy road of reforms is shown to be strewn with obstacles. The crisis of capitalism undermined the British Labour government of 1974-1979. This moved from attempted reforms to counter reforms, from attempted 'expansion' to cuts in living standards, from policies of growth to policies of austerity, as we now see in France, Spain, Greece and Sweden.

18. The fact that all these countries in one form or another are pursuing monetarist policies means a brake on expansion, not only in the national but also in the world market, and therefore further exacerbates the contradictions. 'Orthodox' economics, or monetarism, cuts the market and cuts the economy. This means that today on the basis of capitalism there is no possibility of developing the economy to the limits of the productive forces themselves, as was partially achieved during the economic upswing between 1950-1975. On the contrary, now minor booms and worse slumps will follow in rapid succession.

19. The sickness of the world economy in turn leads to a sickness in all the economies of capitalism. It bears especially harshly on the weaker economies of the underdeveloped world. The crisis of capitalism has the effect of undermining the economies of all the capitalist countries, and by that means it will also undermine capitalism itself.



contradictions between town and country either through peasant agriculture or mechanised agriculture—but only through spreading the revolution.

The case of Mozambique provides further conclusive proof of the impossibility of “socialism in one country”.

SADCC: No way out

Trying to break from this stranglehold, one path taken by the FRELIMO leadership has been enthusiastic support for SADCC.

SADCC was established to try to break the dependence of the Southern African countries on South Africa. Praiseworthy as this initiative was, it cannot achieve these aims.

The SADCC countries have hoped that, by pooling their resources, they could face South Africa with an economic united front made up of a market of 60 million people.

But to turn this potential into an

effective counterweight to South African economic power would require truly massive amounts of investment—in agriculture, industry, transport, etc—and a huge expansion of trade amongst the SADCC countries themselves.

In 1982 South Africa's gross production was R79, 415 million—with only 6% of Africa's population. This was **80% of the entire production of the Southern African region**. SA's GDP per head of population is 14 times that of Zimbabwe, second most industrialised country in Africa.

SA produces 42% of Africa's motor vehicles, 50% of its electricity, 74% of its railway trucks, and 94% of its books and newspapers. 73% of the rail network in Southern Africa is in South Africa.

The link with SA is for each of these countries the source of their backwardness, but also the lifeline of their economies. South Africa is the main trading partner of most of them. In every case SA's manufac-

tures are vital to keep the wheels of their production turning—and, because of proximity, can usually be provided more cheaply than those from the advanced industrial countries. Total SA trade with Southern African countries—though figures are not officially published—is of the order of R1 000 million a year.

The dependence extends to basic foodstuffs. In 1980, for example, Zambia imported 250 000 tons of SA maize, Mozambique 150 000 tons of maize and 50 000 tons of wheat, and Zimbabwe 100 000 tons of maize.

Many of the weakest SADCC members are bound even more closely with SA because of their dependence on its jobs for employment of their workers. In 1980, R198 million was remitted by migrant workers in SA to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. These countries cannot afford to provide alternative jobs, nor the loss of revenue which would result from withdrawal of their workers.

The SADCC countries are without the means to finance the investment to overcome their dependence. Nor, with the crisis of the industrialised countries, can they expect to get the necessary aid.

Despite a series of well-publicised SADCC conferences with “pledges” from aid donors, what has been forthcoming has not amounted to much. In general what has been pledged is not new funds, but funds converted from existing projects in individual member countries. Even then the donors have not been very generous! Britain, for example, has promised Mozambique the same money three times over without paying up!

SADCC has made some progress in transport infrastructure (the responsibility allocated to Mozambique); but donors have not yet even responded to the list of industrial projects SADCC has drawn up.

The aims of the SADCC members to expand trade among themselves are frustrated by the barriers of private ownership and the competing ‘national interests’ of the member-states. The overthrow of capitalism and landlordism in Angola and Mozambique has made little difference to this, since their rulers are bound by the limits of “socialism in one country”.

Though SADCC projects are agreed collectively, their implementation is left up to the individual members. The philosophy is progress

Western Europe

1. Today in Western Europe it has become 'normal' that the workers' parties may gain a majority in parliamentary votes and seats. In fact it is the first time in the history of Western Europe that an absolute majority of votes and seats has been obtained for workers' parties in countries such as Portugal, France, Greece and Spain.

2. Generally the masses' movement against the capitalists swings from struggles on the industrial front, strikes and demonstrations, to assume a political form in support for the workers' parties. By way of exception there was the revolutionary situation in France in 1968, when ten million workers occupied their factories and the political movement of the masses took an industrial form.

3. The movement of the masses—on the political and industrial plane—which is taking place in many of the countries of Western Europe is a signal that the socialist revolution has begun on an all-European basis. The fact that these processes are developing in so many countries in Europe means that these are no longer merely isolated events but a tendency which will be prevalent in all the industrialised capitalist countries. These developments are an elemental stage in the masses' movement and educate them through the course of events themselves.

4. The strikes against the reformist governments in France, Greece and Spain—as in the strikes against the last Labour government in Britain—reflect an organic and elementary compulsive mood of disappointment at the failure of the leaderships of the workers' political parties to carry through measures in the interests of the proletariat and against capitalism.

5. Had these workers' parties been powerful Marxist parties, standing for a revolutionary transformation of society, then the social revolution could have been painlessly or almost painlessly accomplished throughout Europe and the world. The power of the working class means that a peaceful transformation of society, beginning with an electoral victory accompanied by the mobilisation of the masses, would have been entirely possible, needing only to be supplemented by simple 'police' measures to defend the government against attacks by reactionary

minorities. However the complete degeneration of the old 'socialist' parties, together with the 'communist' parties who have become merely a more pernicious variant of reformism, has blocked this road of an easy transformation of society.

6. Today the failure of all reformist governments to carry out reforms, or rather their move from reforms to counter-reforms—a process which is repeated in every case—is an indication that they are all in the grip of remorseless economic laws. On the road of capitalism no programme can be carried out other than the programme of the international monopolies. This is more so than at any other time in history, because of their complete and crushing domination of the world market.

7. The remorseless pressure and active sabotage by big business nationally and internationally means that it is no longer possible even to carry out major reforms without the threat of revolution. All reformist governments are basically compelled to carry out the work of big business, and not the programmes on which they won the election and the desires of their own supporters. When this occurs in so many cases, it is no longer an accident but a working out of economic law. That is why simultaneously in so many countries reformist governments behave in exactly the same way. This is despite the fact that the 'usual' argument of the reformists, that they did not have a majority, no longer holds in many of these countries.

8. On the other hand, with a longer or a slower period of delay, it is as clear that the masses are not prepared to accept the dictates of big business even from their 'own' governments. The prediction of the Marxists, that workers would not be prepared to take attacks from their 'own' governments, has been borne out by what is happening at the present time. Massive strikes, and in many cases general strikes in different cities, have been unfolding in all these countries. There have been a 6 million-strong strike of public service workers in France, 24-hour general strikes in some Spanish cities, strikes in Sweden and Greece. In addition to this has been the movement of workers against the capitalist governments in West Germany, Italy, Belgium and Britain. A strike wave of massive proportions is taking place in many countries. The only thing lacking is a powerful Marx-

through decentralisation. Where thorough regional planning and utilisation of resources would be the logical way forward, SADCC's reasoning is 'the progress of one is the progress of all'. On the basis of capitalism this can equally mean progress at each other's expense.

Zimbabwe's interest in SADCC, for example, is that it is a potential market for its industries. Therefore the hopes of Zimbabwean capitalism are tied to domination of the SADCC market. It resents competition from other members in this field. A trade war simmers between Botswana and Zimbabwe over the former's cheaper clothing production. Zimbabwe has not been willing to purchase Mozambique's electricity, because of wishing to expand output from the Hwange power station, even though that is more expensive. Botswana has decided to take over control from Zimbabwe Railways of the rail-line which runs through it to SA—even though during the Smith era they left it in the hands of the Rhodesians!

Trade

A study sympathetic to SADCC states:

"SADCC is a strategy that rejects...the creation of a free trade zone along the lines of the EEC. While wishing to increase their mutual interdependence, the states are aware that their economies are still too delicate to allow unfettered trade, which would only be achieved over an extended period. Even then it will be necessary for the relative costs of each project to be assessed. Consider, for example, the possible trade between Mozambique and Tanzania. In a free trade zone, surrounded by quotas and tariff barriers, it might be possible to exchange Tanzanian textiles for Mozambican cement. But both countries would have to assess the relative advantage of such a transaction against the possibility that it might be cheaper to import each product from Europe or Japan." (*The Struggle for Southern Africa*, by M. Plaut, E. Unterhalter, D. Ward, pp.47-8).

This exposes the inability of the aspirant bourgeois and bureaucracies ruling the SADCC countries to look beyond their narrow national self-interest. When even the EEC moves further away from, rather than closer to, being a free trade zone as the result of sharpening capitalist competition in time of crisis, still less will the weaker national economies of SADCC move together.

This is not because they are 'delicate'—which is a reason for integration—but because only regimes of workers' democracy can genuinely integrate their economies internationally through collective planning.

Expansion of regional trade is further hampered by the fact that many member countries are trying to export the same products, and by the fact that they are unwilling to receive payment in each other's weak currencies. (At the same time each has a chronic shortage of 'hard' currencies of the imperialist countries with which to settle payments).

Angola, for example, has a big and increasing surplus of oil production, which could be exported to other SADCC members. But, how the Angolan bureaucracy is viewing this is reflected in a report in the *Zimbabwe Herald*, (9/8/84): "Angola itself has to consider its own needs of foreign exchange and the ability of SADCC members to supply that need."

The potential for conflict over methods of payment hangs like a sword of potential division over SADCC—and could in the future result in severe disruption of trade.

All the evidence goes to show that, as a result of all these constraints, South African trade and economic domination has increased rather than decreased since SADCC's formation. Since 1980, for example, South Africa has replaced Britain as Zambia's main trading partner.

The unavoidable dependence of the SADCC countries on South Africa (and the comfortable privilege of the rulers of the member-states) is symbolised in the fact that, at the SADCC meeting in Lusaka early this year, the delegates dined on Cape seafood and wine, and were driven around the capital in Mercedes Benz limousines imported from South Africa!

Hemmed in by their economic backwardness, dominated by the gigantic SA economy, driven relentlessly by the logic of 'national interest', neither the 'free enterprise' system of most of SADCC's members, nor the 'socialism in one country' of Mozambique and Angola can provide a way forward for the peoples of the SADCC countries.

In this sense the signing of the Nkomati Accord is an expression of the failure of SADCC to move towards the utopian objectives which

it set itself. Indeed it opens the door to the spectre of further South African penetration of the SADCC market.

In parallel with seeking a way out through SADCC, the FRELIMO government put forward plans for accelerated domestic growth based on assistance from major Stalinist countries.

No 'Cuban Solution'

The "Prospective Indicative Plan" launched in 1980 by Machel planned for a 14.7% annual growth rate over a period of ten years, achieved by means of an accumulation rate of 30% a year to be financed mainly by external assistance expected to be provided by the Soviet Union and other Eastern countries at an average rate of interest of 6%, about half the prevailing capitalist market rate.

The PIP promised, within ten years, abundant food, adequate housing and clothing, an end to unemployment and illiteracy, "developed agriculture", and a gigantic development of heavy and light industry.

Within the framework of Mozambique alone, this was a totally utopian economic projection, as *Inqaba* pointed out at the time (No. 4, October 1981, p.18). Moreover it ignored the crisis developing in the major Stalinist countries, which totally precludes assistance on this scale.

The FRELIMO bureaucracy looked to the model, particularly, of Cuba, which, with Russian assistance since its revolution of 1959, had emerged from conditions of similar backwardness and developed to a point where disease and starvation had been eradicated, and standards of living, health and education raised to heights unattainable in an under-developed country on a capitalist basis.

But the Cuban revolution occurred in an epoch different from that of today.

Neither in Cuba, nor anywhere else in the world, did the Russian bureaucracy or its 'Communist' Party allies organise the working class at the head of a struggle to overthrow capitalism. The foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy, rooted in fear of loss of their own privilege in consequence of a workers' revolution anywhere in the world, has been objectively counter-revolutionary.

Nevertheless, at that time, the

ist current in all these countries—in Marxist terms, the subjective factor has been absent.

9. The example of France has shown there has been a rapid disillusionment of the petit bourgeois and the lumpen or semi-lumpen workers who were drawn to support the 'Socialist-Communist' government by the movement of the proletariat in 1981. Now the movement of these layers of petit bourgeois and lumpens is more in the direction of reaction, back to the conservative parties.

10. However the strikes of the workers in all these countries, and in the United States, are the heat-lightning which indicates the movement of the proletariat in the direction of the socialist revolution. New and more massive movements of the workers are inevitable, against all the governments which refuse to carry out policies catering to the elementary needs of the working class.

11. The reformist leadership's policies prepare movements towards reaction by the petit bourgeois who drag behind them the lumpen proletariat and even the more politically backward sections of the working class. This will have an effect on the electoral front. However this will be a 'democratic' reaction and will not be able to extend, in the immediate epoch ahead, to Bonapartist dictatorship because of the strength of the working class. But this sharp reaction, which will mean further savage attacks on state expenditure and on the 'social' wage and standards of the working class, will in its turn produce a counter movement by the masses. As a consequence of the experience of a reformist government, there will be a crisis in the workers' organisations. In this way the crisis of capitalism becomes also the crisis of the workers' organisations.

12. Within the trade unions and the workers' parties there will be an enormous questioning of the leadership's policies, which led the movement into an impasse, where they carried out the dictates of big business rather than the programme on which they were elected. Experience has shown time and again that workers will try again, again and again to transform their organisations which they have so painfully created. Within the framework of the coming upheavals inside these organisations, it is inevitable that Marxism will have favourable prospects.

13. Events, events and events will shape the mood and the attitude of the masses. Reaction will, in the first period, attempt to move in the direction of limiting, but not completely abolishing, the rights of the trade unions, the workers' parties and the general democratic rights obtained so painfully by workers' struggles during the course of the last century. But all history demonstrates that it is impossible to destroy the organisation of the working class or break its will to change society, merely by legal means of laws passed by parliaments. Reaction will

nibble at democratic rights but will not be able to destroy them completely at this stage.

14. During the booms and slumps that are inevitable in rapid succession in the coming period, a powerful opposition will develop within the working class and the masses generally. After a period of absorbing the lessons of the defeats that they have suffered on the political plane, the workers will move into action on the industrial plane. If it is not possible for the workers' 'own' leaders and own organisations in Spain or France to restrain the movement of the class while they are in power, it will be even less possible for the reactionary regimes like those of Kohl, Thatcher, the Gaullists or others to hold back the movement of the working class. There will be new waves of strikes, demonstrations and other movements of the working class. Even if these are defeated, the defeats themselves will harden and develop the class—particularly the advanced layers—preparing the way later for new struggles which will gain victories as well as defeats. Marx long ago explained that it is this process of struggle, of defeats and of victories, that will shape and mould the working class and prepare it to take power into its own hands.

15. At the same time new layers of the proletariat will move into action. Not only the industrial proletariat but the white-collar workers and other sections never previously affected by strike movements. Thus we have seen in Britain civil servants, hospital workers, and other sections propelled into action as a result of attacks on the living standards and conditions they have won in the past.

16. Many lulls, disappointments and periods of reaction, despair, indifference and even apathy will be succeeded by periods of even greater struggles by the working class in the industrialised countries of Western Europe. This will be the most disturbed period in the history of the working class and perhaps in the history of mankind.

17. As was demonstrated in France in 1968, parliamentary Bonapartism is a very weak straw to put against the movement of the masses when the majority are actively participating in action, in strikes and in politics. However the process we have seen in Britain of the concentration and centralisation of state power will continue in all these countries. The state will appear more and more remote from the masses, and decision-making will be drawn away from parliaments into the hands of semi-Bonapartist and Bonapartist cliques. This, at one pace or another, will be the process in all the countries of Western Europe. There will be a concentration and centralisation of power in the hands of the major monopolies and into the hands of small cliques which will in reality be above parliament, although formally subject to parliamentary sanction. While the capitalists may be compelled to retreat on this or that question, the centralisation and concentration of power, both

bureaucracy had the means, to serve its own interests, to come to the aid of the Cuban revolution once Castro's 26th of July movement had ended capitalism and landlordism. For the Russian bureaucracy, this served to raise its prestige internationally in the eyes of the oppressed and to give credibility to their dictatorship in the eyes of the Russian working class.

The assistance provided has been crucial to Cuba's ability to withstand the blockade imposed by US imperialism shortly after the revolution (and still in force today) and to partially overcome the barriers of backwardness and underdevelopment which strangle 'Third World' countries.

Since the revolution, 85% of Cuba's trade has been with Stalinist countries under fixed-price and contractual agreements. The Soviet Union has been the purchaser of the overwhelming volume of Cuba's main export, sugar, at preferential prices far higher than those on the world market.

Early this year the Soviet Union was buying Cuban sugar at about 55 cents a pound—when the world price had dropped to 7 cents a pound.

Total aid to Cuba is estimated at the equivalent of US\$9 million a day.

But, in the period since 1959, the Soviet economy itself has become increasingly engulfed in crisis. The very successes achieved by the nationalisation and planning of the economy (despite its bureaucratic rule) have prepared the way for this crisis. It underlines how, even in a country on the scale of Russia, the transition to socialism cannot be carried through in one country.

On the one hand the development of a modern industrialised economy in the Soviet Union has increased the means and the temptation for the bureaucracy to enrich themselves and bolster their privilege. On the other hand these sophisticated economies can no longer be effectively managed by bureaucratic means. Without workers' democracy, deciding and checking on the planning of production, bungling, corruption, inefficiency and wastage inevitably multiply.

The same problems afflict the other Stalinist countries of Eastern Europe, and, increasingly, China as well.

In an attempt to overcome the crisis of bureaucracy, these countries have been forced to turn back to the

capitalist world market—and with that, are importing problems of inflation, indebtedness, etc.

Because the bureaucracy in each country seeks to consolidate its own 'national' position, COMECON is unable to provide the means of harmonious integration and planning—in some ways the COMECON countries are less integrated than the capitalist EEC.

The consequence is further steps in the degeneration of the 'internationalism' of the Russian bureaucracy.

'Socialist aid' falls short

Explaining how 'socialist aid' fell short of FRELIMO's expectations, causing the abandonment of the 'Prospective Indicative Plan', Eduardo da Silva writes in *Work in Progress*, No.32:

"Socialist countries inability to provide the required investment funds was largely the result of increased military, diplomatic, ideological and political pressure put on them by imperialist countries. Moreover, given the situation in Afghanistan, Poland, the Middle East, South East Asia and Central America, Southern Africa ranked low in the order of priorities of the USSR and other socialist countries."

But these are convenient rationalisations, which conceal the underlying cause in the crisis of the Soviet economy. From the Russian bureaucracy itself come franker statements. In an interview with *The Guardian*, 28 April 1983, Professor Viktor Volsky, Director of the Latin American Institute in Moscow, cynically declared: "We have never abandoned a friendly country, but it has cost us a lot to send oil to Cuba—two tankers a day for twenty years. We wouldn't like to have to repeat that on a larger scale."

The late Russian leader Andropov clearly spelled out the consequences for 'Third World' countries looking to the Soviet Union for assistance. His message was 'you must help yourselves':

"We see the difficulties of their revolutionary development. It is one thing to proclaim socialism as one's goal. It is quite another to build it. We render help to the extent of our possibilities but in the main their economic development, just as the entire social progress of these countries, can be, of course (!), only the work of their peoples.(!)" (*Guar-*

dian, 17/6/83)

Terrified of new demands from countries breaking with capitalism and landlordism on the model of Cuba, the Russian bureaucracy (and the Cuban also) has sent signals to the revolutionary Sandinista government in Nicaragua advising them not to deliver the death-blow to capitalism.

This advice, and a lack of clear perspectives of their own, encouraged the Sandinista leadership to seek compromise with US imperialism as a means of defence—a policy which will in no way placate the imperialist wolves in Washington.

US imperialism and the capitalists in Nicaragua are engaged in a campaign of deliberate economic and military sabotage, threatening the revolution. The Sandinista guerilla army smashed the capitalist state machine and took power. But unless they complete the job and nationalise the 60% of industry, and 90% of the land, still in private hands, a counter-revolution to restore the unchallenged rule of capitalism cannot be ruled out in the next period.

The Chinese bureaucracy pursues a similar policy in its search for allies in the under-developed world. The overthrow of capitalism is no part of their conception. In fact they are against it. On his visit to Zimbabwe, the Chinese Premier warned that it would be a mistake for Zimbabwe to attempt to move too rapidly towards socialism—in other words supporting the ZANU government's compromise with capitalism which has left the Zimbabwean masses still haunted by the problems of land hunger, joblessness and starvation.

Out of the same narrow self-interest, the COMECON bureaucracies have not only failed to deliver assistance to Mozambique on anything approaching the scale expected, but have rejected Mozambique's application for membership of COMECON three times!

On any account, this is an open rejection of internationalism. But the justification advanced by the bureaucracy makes it more scandalous still—that Mozambique was too under-developed to qualify for membership! For the undernourished, apparently, the solution is starvation!

In the same vein, Ricardo Alarcon, Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister, has stated that Central America should not break with capitalism because it has not yet achieved the "historical

economically and politically, will continue at a far more rapid pace in the future. From an international point of view it is unfavourable for the bourgeois to take action against democratic rights, because of their propaganda against totalitarianism in the Stalinist countries. However, in spite of its inconvenience, this Bonapartist trend will be the music of the future in all the European countries.

18. Because of the economic impotence of the bourgeois to make their system work, they are the modern 'Luddites'. The tendency towards concentration of power is a political equivalent of the destruction of industry which has taken place in Western Europe on the one hand, and the impossibility of getting a new long-term economic upswing on the other. Of course the bourgeois still dream of a new 1950-1975 style world economic upswing which will solve their problems. But while they put forward such propaganda, at the same time they understand that this is a dream that can never be realised, and therefore they are making the preparations both economically and politically—economically to destroy part of the productive forces and politically to destroy some of the political rights that have been gained by the working class.

19. Nevertheless this first period of reaction will be mild in comparison with the monstrous reaction of fascism in the pre-war period. In its turn, it will harden and make more determined the proletariat and prepare the way for massive revolutionary waves which will make the events of 1968 seem insignificant in comparison. Ferment in the mass workers' organisations will reach a level which has never been reached before. More radical policies will have to be put forward by reformist leaders in order to retain their control of the organisations of the working class. This in its turn will prepare the way for the bringing to office of left-reformist governments. Already in Greece the previously 'centrist' PASOK party revealed itself when it came into office to be, in essentials, fundamentally no different to reformist governments in other countries. However, this in its turn is preparing pressure for even more leftward policies on the part of the working class. New 'left' governments would in reality be Kerensky type governments.

20. Coming to power under the pressure of an awakened, much more sophisticated and much more sceptical proletariat, left reformist governments would be governments of crisis. They might be compelled to go much further than they want in the direction of taking over the economy and striking blows against capitalism because of the enormous pressure of the masses under these circumstances, as occurred in Portugal in 1974-5.

21. Nevertheless the crisis would also be a crisis of the workers' organisations. It would be objectively exceptionally favourable circumstances for Marxism to grow in the trade unions and in the 'Socialist'

and 'Communist' parties. The growth of a Marxist wing in these parties is absolutely inevitable. The ferment will provide the atmosphere and milieu in which Marxism can grow feverishly. The Marxist wing will campaign for the carrying out of the programme on which the reformist governments have been elected, linking it to the urgent question of the socialist transformation of society.

22. The experience the workers undergo while in action will affect those sections of the masses who today distrust politics completely and who are apolitical. Not only the organised working class but the overwhelming mass of the workers, as we have seen in Greece in the recent period, will move into action under these circumstances. Their demands will be brought to the fore; even the lumpen-proletariat and the petit bourgeois will be affected by this movement of the proletariat to the left and they will be drawn into the workers' struggles. The white-collar workers will come closer to the proletariat than they have ever been before.

23. The fact that international capital can destabilise any government on the basis of enormous sums of capital, particularly in Europe with the Eurocurrency market, will in its turn make workers more aware of the need to extend their hands across the frontiers to other sections of workers. They will come more and more to understand the need for unity with immigrants and for unity across frontiers. This will be shown in action as the workers move not only in one country but on an all-European basis.

24. International monopoly capital will be rendered incapable of resisting the enormous movement of the masses. In the last period international monopoly capital rendered the reformist governments utterly powerless to carry through lasting measures in the interests of the working class. Under these circumstances there will be a reaction not only against national but also against international capital. It will become clearer to workers not only the need for a workers' government transforming the economies in their own countries, but also the need for unity with the workers of other countries, in a Socialist United States of Europe. Such slogans will gain enormous echoes with the advanced layers of the proletariat and then in the mass of the population. The productive forces have grown beyond the boundaries of the national state and the policies of the proletariat must take this into account.

25. When, in the 1930s, the capitalists attempted to overcome the Great Depression through imposing national limits and protectionism on the productive forces, all that they succeeded in doing was to prepare the way for the rise of fascism and the Second World War. All the attempts at the national limitation of the productive forces failed in the past, and would fail even more under the present circumstances and even more in the future. Consequently the policy of the proletariat has to be international

and economic development" necessary for true socialism. (*Financial Times*, 13/1/84). (Cuba, apparently, had achieved this level 25 years ago!)

Indeed, no more than in any other region, can the peoples of Central America achieve socialism on their own. But Lenin, as leader of the democratic workers' government of the Soviet Union, explained that it was possible for the most backward countries to leap from the stage of tribalism to that of communism—provided that the working class took power from the capitalists in the most advanced countries and opened the way to a world federation of socialist states.

But, terrified of their loss of privilege and power, the "internationalism" of the Stalinist bureaucracies is increasingly contained, not simply within the borders of their own countries, but within the walls of their holiday villas and special shops.

The very same self-interest which resulted in aid for Cuba in 1960 (which continues now only because they are already committed, and ending it would be a blow to their prestige) dictates the withholding of such aid from Mozambique and other countries today.

Against this background it is incredible to find that the *African Communist* (3rd quarter, 1984), in

response to the Nkomati Accord, draws the lesson that the future depends "perhaps above all, on strengthening the links between the forces of national liberation and national independence and the mighty bloc of the socialist countries with the Soviet Union as its heartland."!

Such advice deflects the attention of the workers from their own capabilities to focus it on a mirage.

It can only retard the consciousness of workers throughout Southern Africa and obscure from them the central lesson of Nkomati: that the workers can rely only on their own strength to overthrow the capitalist system and achieve the liberation of all the oppressed.

In reality there is no way out of the problems of the masses on the basis of a "Cuban solution" in Mozambique, nor in any other part of Southern Africa. Only a movement led by a conscious and united Southern African working class can end apartheid and capitalism in South Africa and open the way to laying the foundations for socialism throughout the region.

Mozambique's problems pile up

Starved of Eastern assistance, but faced with a worsening imbalance between the earnings of exports and the costs of imports, the FRELIMO

government has, on the one hand, resorted to curbs on consumption, and, on the other—plunged into the quicksand of indebtedness to the imperialist banks.

The problem with the quicksand of debt is that the more you wriggle, the deeper you sink. At the end of 1980, Mozambique's external debt was US\$445 million. By the end of 1983 it was estimated to be four times this. In February this year Mozambique was forced, for the first time—and it will not be the last—to make a formal request for the rescheduling of US\$242 million which had fallen due.

At the same time production for consumption has had to be subordinated to production for export. Thus although the catch of fish has trebled, the bulk of it is sold abroad to earn foreign exchange. For the masses smaller quantities of worse quality fish have to be imported.

Shortages of all products are chronic, from basic consumer essentials to spare parts. An illicit 'parallel' market has developed. The communications infrastructure is crippled, the ports and factories are permanently under-utilised.

As peasants came flooding into the cities in search of refuge from drought, starvation and death, the FRELIMO leadership has imposed forms of 'pass laws' and, from 1983, has actually been forcibly deporting 'unproductive' people back to the countryside. In addition the FRELIMO leadership has begun to admonish the population for 'expecting everything free'. A 1984 state plan proposes the introduction of charges for medical services, prescriptions and basic education, and a sharp rise in basic taxes.

Exploiting a situation it had helped to make worse, the SA regime from 1981 stepped up its support for the Mozambique Resistance Movement's programme of counter-revolutionary sabotage, terror, and de-stabilisation.

The SA ruling class sensed the vulnerability of Mozambique, and was determined also that the advantages of the planned economy should not be allowed to assert themselves on their doorstep and serve as a pole of attraction to their mortal enemy, the SA working class.

While not going so far as to drive for a complete counter-revolution, which would have faced them with the problems of propping up a puppet regime against revolutionary mass pressures, the SA ruling class was



Mozambicans—refugees from starvation—in Zimbabwe.

because the productive capacities have gone beyond the limits of the nation state. That is why the position of the left reformists and the 'Communist' parties in various Western European countries is so reactionary. They put forward the idea of tariffs and the limitation of imports as solutions to the problems that the working class faces. Import controls are reactionary and would fail utterly in their attempts, as all attempts in the post-war period have shown. If they succeeded it would result in lower standards all round and would not have the effect of saving jobs. On the contrary, it would have as a consequence economic catastrophe for all the countries involved, preparing the way for an even deeper slump than that of 1929-1933. However, in any event, a new slump of these proportions is inevitable, probably in the late 1980s, and if not then certainly in the early 1990s.

26. Thus all roads for reformism are blocked. It is an impossibility even in rich countries like the countries of Western Europe, the USA and Japan, for permanent reforms to be achieved. Temporary reforms, as a by-product of the class struggle are inevitable. Reforms will be granted because of the mass movement, and as that ebbs the monopoly capitalists will take back even more than they have granted while under pressure. Even in the past reforms have been a by-product of the pressure of the workers' organisations and the class struggle. Now the period of lasting reforms is over and temporary reforms gained as a result of the class struggle cannot assume any permanent scope. However there will be partial victories both politically and economically by the workers in the process of their mobilisation against capitalism. Small victories can prepare the way for even bigger movements on the part of the proletariat. In the struggles, in the experience of victories and defeats, the working class will come to understand that only a fundamental change of society, nationally and internationally, can serve their needs and interests.

27. It is only the leadership of the proletariat which refuses to recognise the reality of the situation. If they had a Marxist approach and attitude, then undoubtedly the whole of Europe would now be socialist. The workers will have to go through the agonies of struggle and battles, falls in living standards, falls in civilised existence as the result of the failure of the reformists and Stalinists to understand the crisis of society in the modern epoch.

28. But in the process of the struggle itself the workers' organisations will become transformed. They will move further and further to the left. The possibility will be there for the ideas of Marxism to gain a mass basis in all the countries of Europe. Of course everything will depend on the subjective factor. The masses will move towards the left, but without the guidance of Marxism they will become further disillusioned, disappointed and disoriented. Thus, an enormous responsibility weighs on the cadres of Marxism in all the countries of Europe. Monopoly capital is in for a series of painful shocks.

They believe that socialism and communism have been completely discredited by the actions of the reformist governments in the past period. They believed this also of the British Labour Party, which is now beginning to recover its support among the masses. The bourgeois cannot see that while there might be disillusionment with the 'Socialist' and 'Communist' parties for a period, there will be even greater disillusionment with the bourgeois parties as a whole as a consequence of the economic and social crisis of capitalism. That will mean that more radical workers will take over the traditional workers' organisations, pushing them towards left reformism and in a centrist direction, preparing the way for the ideas of Marxism.

29. The working class in the industrialised countries to a certain extent became a bit soft during the economic upswing. It was relatively easy to obtain reforms on wages, conditions, pensions, holidays and lower hours, as a result of the fabulous economic gains which were being made by the monopolies in the period of the world economic upswing.

30. In the downswing the struggles will become harder and sterner. Even to gain a minimum advance it will require enormous battles to win concessions. This, in its turn, will transform and harden the workers, making them fit for the task of overthrowing capitalism. The workers' outlook will be transformed and the organisations of the class, on the basis of the experience of the workers, will go through similar transformations. There will be no room for the right wing (or so-called 'moderates'). The lifeline they previously obtained by splitting and forming right-wing social democratic organisations will be cut. These split-offs will tend to disappear from the scene completely as a result of capitalism's inability even to grant minimum standards and conditions. Under the pressure of the crisis there will undoubtedly be further splits towards the right from the workers' parties, but they will have even less possibility of becoming effective organisations of the proletariat or even of the petit bourgeois than during the economic upswing. We saw in the upswing that not a single one of these succeeded in replacing the traditional Socialist and Communist organisations in Australia, Japan, Italy or other countries where right-wing splits took place. Under the conditions of crisis they will have even less hope of gaining any sort of mass basis and will tend to disappear from the scene. The polarisation of society will result also in a polarisation politically. Everywhere at one pace or another there will be a tendency for the left wing to take over the 'Socialist' parties, the Euro-Communists to be completely discredited and the 'left wing' to take over the 'Communist' parties. Thus the right wing will be broken and the trade unions will also develop left-wing leaders and policies.

31. To the advanced layers of the class, the need will become clearer to transform the unions to become viable organs of the working class in the pro-

prepared to put in the resources which would drive the Mozambican regime to its knees, and expose not only its economic impotence but also its military weakness.

To compound the problems for the FRELIMO government, the terrible conditions in the countryside rendered many peasants susceptible to the bribery, blackmail and terrorist coercion of the MNR. Besides the collapse of the rural economy, the poorer peasants had been alienated by bureaucratic bungling and favouritism towards the better off peasants.

Areas which had previously served as bases for FRELIMO during the liberation war now submitted to counter-revolution.

As a harassed FRELIMO cadre explained to a visiting journalist, "I asked a peasant why he didn't report the activities of the MNR in his area before the road was blown up. The peasant told me, 'The road doesn't bring anything. When it brings something I will worry if it is blown up.'" (Quoted, *African Business*, June 1983)

Exploiting this situation, the MNR has been able to wreak havoc in the countryside. Thousands of Mozambicans have been killed, mutilated or raped, their farms destroyed, their crops burnt and their implements smashed.

840 schools have been destroyed, 16 health centres, 24 maternity centres, 174 health posts and 140 villages with a total population of 110 000.

Carrying out the war against the

MNR, and contending with its effects, has been the single most expensive burden on the Mozambican economy, its cost estimated as the equivalent of US\$3,8 thousand million. In 1982-3 alone the cost was equivalent to US\$333 million, or two year's exports.

By the beginning of 1984 the heart of the economy was beating weakly. It is estimated by the government that over 40 000 may have starved to death in the last six months of 1983. Western diplomats put the figure at nearer 100 000. At the beginning of this year thousands of people, reduced to eating leaves, were crossing the border into Zimbabwe—to seek refuge, not from political persecution, but from the persecution of starvation.

With catastrophe threatening on all sides, desperate measures were required. The balance of forces swung the way of those within the FRELIMO bureaucracy who favoured negotiations with South Africa.

Unpredictable?

The *African Communist*, (3rd quarter, 1984), begins its editorial on the Nkomati Accord with the following words: "Once again we are reminded that the future cannot be foretold. Who could have studied the political developments of Southern Africa only one year ago, and foretold the events of the past

months."

This is an astonishing statement!

It is true that no leadership of any revolution has ever been able to foretell the **precise** manner in which events are going to unfold. Only a sangoma would lay claim to the ability to foresee the future exactly.

At the same time any leadership worthy of its name has the responsibility to analyse the likely direction of events, the possibilities inherent in the existing situation, on the basis of the generalised experience of the past—in order precisely to prepare the movement for twists, turns, and 'surprises'.

The ability to anticipate political events on the basis of the fundamental processes that are at work is not only necessary but possible. A leadership using the scientific method of Marxism is able to work out a perspective of how, broadly, events are likely to unfold, and is thereby provided with the advantage, in the words of Trotsky, of "foresight over astonishment."

No doubt, it was not possible to foresee every dot and comma of the terms of the Nkomati Accord. **But that the FRELIMO leadership would be forced, one way or another, to bow to the escalating pressures from South Africa could and should have been foreseen by the ANC and CP leadership and openly discussed in the movement—with all its implications.**

While *Inqaba* does not claim to have anticipated the Accord itself, we do not greet it with astonishment. All



Workers at Hart in Durban celebrate May Day.

cess of the transformation of society. There will be a quick rhythm of new upsurges and new crises of the economy, the state and of the workers' organisations themselves. Every step that the bourgeois takes to the right will tend to push the working class, especially the organised working class, to the left.

32. There will be no relatively permanent political or economic solution for the bourgeois, only protracted economic and political death agony. Only very reluctantly, and then as a last resort, would the bourgeois turn to open military-police dictatorships. The strategists of capital, on the basis of the experience in the colonial world, realise that such military-police dictatorships are not viable in the long term.

33. In any event, moves in a Bonapartist direction will be only episodes and would carry the danger for the bourgeoisie of possibly provoking the masses into civil war. The whole of Europe will be like Spain in the 1930s. Now the revolution assumes an all-European basis. All this of course is a question of the long-term future of capitalism in Western Europe. We will have a protracted process of tentative steps towards reaction meeting resistance by the masses, retreat by the bourgeois, in turn combining repressive measures and illusory concessions to the masses. There will be times when workers move into action and gain material concessions when the pressure of the mass movement is at its highest peak. Of course once the movement ebbs, which is inevitable at certain periods, then there will be counter-concessions extracted by the capitalist class.

34. The dialectic of the crisis of capitalism is that at the period of the highest material possibilities in history, there will be a lowering of standards and conditions. We see in many countries attacks on the safety and health regulations which have been gained by the working class. Thus capitalism moves back to the barbarism that it meant in the past, when everything had to be sacrificed to the idea of the profitability of capital. All these counter-concessions which are extracted by the ruling class will in their turn produce hatred, determination and an invincible will to change society on the part of the proletariat.

35. All that is blocking an easy overthrow of capitalism over the whole of Western Europe in the immediate period which lies ahead is the blindness of the leadership of the working class, which clings to outworn forms and deludes itself that it is possible to return to the epoch of upswing and reform. The crisis is lengthened because of the failure of the leaders of the workers' organisations to understand the impossibility of reforming a dying and putrefying capitalism. This leads to the acceptance of the mirage that a stable and prosperous capitalism will return if 'temporary' sacrifices are accepted. They believe this could then make 'their' country more capable of 'competing' and profitable at the expense of the bourgeois and proletariat of other countries.

The same delusion is fostered across the frontiers. While the bourgeois gain from sacrifices on the part of the proletariat in all these countries, the proletariat in turn loses in all these countries. Even for the bourgeois, the gains quickly fade away. This is because cuts in living standards and social spending result in a reduction in the market, so over a period of a few years the vicious circle is repeated in all these countries.

36. What this means is that the crisis is insoluble under capitalism. But in the process of the struggle and in the experience the working class is undergoing, the objective conditions are being created for a new leadership of the proletariat in its organisations at all levels, local parties and trade unions, shop stewards, factory councils and national organisations of the proletariat.

37. The whole of capitalist Europe is, or will be, undergoing a process of 'Italianisation', that is to say, upheavals and movements of the proletariat while reaction is, at this stage, too weak to gain a decisive victory. This is despite the role of the Socialist and Communist Parties' leadership. In fact in Italy for a whole historical period the ruling class has leaned on the 'opposition' Communist Party leaders to hold the masses in check.

38. The tentative movement towards reaction in Italy in the early 1960s, when the strategists of capital used the Christian Democrat right wing and neo-fascists as tools to prepare the way for military rule, was abandoned in the face of the workers' resistance. A similar situation developed in Portugal after the partial eclipse of the revolution following the events of 1975. In Portugal there has been no question of the re-establishment of a dictatorship. We predicted the possibility of President Eanes moving towards a military-police dictatorship after the successful measures against the revolution. But the pressure and power of the workers' organisations has prevented this development. Having vomited out the old dictatorship in 1974, the masses would not have been prepared to accept the return of such a regime—its bestial character was too fresh in people's minds. At present in Portugal the dirty work of attacking living standards and handing back to the capitalists part of the industries nationalised in the first period of the revolution is being undertaken by a coalition of the Socialist Party and the bourgeois 'Social Democrats'. Allowing itself the luxury of opposition, the Communist Party will continue to make big gains, as will the bourgeois parties. But it will not be possible to give a firm basis to reaction. An unstable balance of forces will swing between reaction and revolution.

39. Reaction in the main throughout Western Europe will at this stage still take a 'democratic' form or move towards parliamentary Bonapartism and not full-fledged military-police dictatorship. This in turn will provoke new mass movements, demonstrations

the ingredients which combined to produce it were there long before the actual signing ceremony.

Inqaba has consistently explained the incorrectness of a guerilla strategy, **including its unworkability** as a means of arming and carrying forward the SA revolution—and has pointed out the consequences of this strategy for the masses throughout Southern Africa.

In *Inqaba* No. 7, August 1982, we stated that:

“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.”

In an editorial after the Maseru outrage, we added:

“The response of the state to guerilla activities will be not only more and more repression in SA, but more and more frequent murderous reprisals against neighbouring countries.

Clearly these countries cannot serve as secure launching bases for an escalating guerilla war in SA.” (No. 9, February-April 1983) (Our emphasis).

In an article in *Inqaba* No. 4, October 1981, we analysed the problems faced by the Mozambique revolution and the impossibility of achieving a transition to socialism in one country. SADCC, we stated, **“is a serious but unfortunately doomed effort to free Southern Africa from the grip of monopoly capitalism.”** **“Nor is there a way out,”** we added, **“through COMECON and aid from the Stalinist states of Russia, Eastern Europe and China.** (Our emphasis) Though much new investment in Mozambican industry is from these areas, there are limits set on it by the growing stagnation of the Eastern European economies and the Soviet Union.”

We continued:

“Meanwhile the SA ruling class, its back to the wall at home and abroad, stands inevitably in conflict with the planned economy of Mozambique. Seeking to trap the Mozambican bureaucracy in its clutches, it will at the same time take every opportunity of exploiting the

weaknesses of the Mozambican economy...

“Leaning on the support of the workers and peasantry, the Frelimo bureaucracy will defend the basis of nationalised production and economic planning on which its own interests rest.

“Yet the inch-by-inch development possible within the framework of Mozambique alone will not be overcome short of the triumph of the Southern African workers’ revolution, centred on South Africa itself.

“For the people of Mozambique, for the rank and file of Frelimo, that is the way out of economic isolation, poverty, bureaucratic deformation and the unending expenditure of precious resources on military defence against SA capitalist aggression. The way forward is to link up with the working class of South Africa in the struggle to carry through to completion the Southern African revolution.

“Inevitably, however, the limited perspective and narrow national self-interest of the Mozambican bureaucracy prevent it from aiding this development and linking its future to the workers’ revolution in South Africa. Indeed, the more it consolidates its power and develops its privileges as a ruling elite, the more consciously it will become a barrier to a united struggle of the Southern African working class.”

Nevertheless it must be admitted that *Inqaba* did not predict the agreement between Machel and Botha. This failure on our part was only because we did not carry our conclusions to their logical outcome, i.e. that the advantages of a planned economy would be unable to assert themselves even within the limits that we had anticipated. This is because we under-estimated the speed with which the crisis of bureaucracy in the Stalinist bloc would express itself in their cynical abandonment of revolutionary Mozambique to its own meagre resources.

Even in a more limited sense, the ANC and CP leadership could have been prepared for the developments. FRELIMO first sought an agreement with SA during 1983, though SA was not as yet willing to accept it. By the time of Machel’s visit to Europe in October 1983, an article by Ken Pottinger in Lisbon appeared in the *Rand Daily Mail*, anticipating the lines of the Accord.

The fact that, reprehensibly, FRELIMO chose not to divulge its intentions to the ANC leadership is no excuse. The old legal maxim that **“ignorance of the law is no excuse”** has a parallel in politics. History is not forgiving of a leadership which disregards the laws governing social

development.

We call on the ANC and CP leadership to initiate a full and democratic discussion throughout the movement on the lessons and implications of the Nkomati Accord, so that the necessary conclusions can be drawn for our future programme and strategy. To promote this discussion is the responsibility of every activist in the movement.

In the second part of this article, to be published in our next issue, we will take up further questions which flow out of the Accord.

We will explain that it offers no way out of the problems facing the Mozambican people. South Africa, a weak imperialist power in crisis, unable to improve the conditions of the masses at home, is unable to develop the economies of Southern Africa.

South African imperialism will seek to oppress and exploit the Southern African masses further. But this offers no way out of its predicament to the South African ruling class. The Nkomati Accord will prove a hollow victory for them.

Already, in the results of the Coloured and Indian elections, they have suffered a fresh setback.

What is the way out for the masses throughout Southern Africa? The most vital task is the destruction of apartheid and capitalism in South Africa—only this can remove the most direct obstacles to development.

For this, we will explain, it is necessary to abandon the futile guerilla strategy, and to build the workers’ movement in South Africa—in the trade unions and in the ANC—on a programme for workers’ democracy and socialism, linking with workers struggling in the surrounding countries, and world-wide. This will provide the way forward also to the eventual mass arming of the revolution, under the democratic control of the working class.

and strikes, not excluding revolutionary movements such as that of the French workers in 1968.

40. As the crisis deepens, the proletariat in the course of great battles can change the subjective factor. This will determine the possibility of victory or

defeat. Victory to the proletariat in any Western European country will transform the situation of the entire world. It would lead to a complete transformation of the trade unions and political organisations of the proletariat on a world scale, and the victory of the proletariat and the Socialist United States of Europe and the World.

Asia

1. There has been a massive development of the economy in certain favoured countries of Asia. This is because of the support of US imperialism in giving markets and massive aid in order to build up some sort of a base against China and Vietnam in South-East Asia. As the consequence of the aid of US imperialism and the events following the Second World War, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore have had a spectacular economic development. The USA provided markets and enormous investment and, apart from Japan, all these countries remain as satellites of US imperialism.

2. Japan, which had the biggest development of all, turning her into the second major capitalist power in the world, was assisted by putting her 'defence' in the hands of US imperialism. The Japanese capitalists spent less than 1% of the gross national product on arms for decades and, by ploughing back the surplus into industrial investment, have built up a mighty industrial economy. There are other factors in addition which aided Japan's transformation and which have been dealt with by the Marxists in the past. In South Korea and Taiwan there have been at least partial land reforms which assisted their economic development. These countries, together with India, make up the lion's share of industrial development of capitalist Asia. India, with investments from British imperialism and the other imperialist powers, has in absolute figures, though not on a per capita basis, gone ahead as well. While this development has been nothing like the leaping forward of the economy in China, nevertheless in absolute terms India's industry and infrastructure is equal to and somewhat higher than Britain's.

3. The general crisis of capitalism has affected all the countries of Asia as it has the countries of the Western world. The head-long growth of the economy

in those countries particularly favoured by aid from US imperialism during the economic upswing has ended. All now have lower figures of growth. Japan's rate of growth has dropped to a 'normal' development of capitalism. The reduced growth in Western Europe is very similar to the growth of production in Japan which now does not exceed about 4%, in comparison with figures of the past which reached as high as 17% in some years of the economic upswing.

4. High US interest rates and the debt burden affect the countries of Asia, apart from Japan, and put enormous burdens even on countries with relatively industrialised economies like Taiwan and South Korea. In these ex-colonial countries the contradictions have been exacerbated by the very development of industry itself.

5. The idea of the permanent revolution retains all its force in all the ex-colonial countries. In a peculiar fashion the actual growth of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore has been due to the pressure of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions. Fear of the spread of the revolution led to the granting of aid for these countries by US imperialism, plus of course, the favourable economic climate engendered by the world economic upswing. This opening of an enormous world market, especially in the USA, to goods from these countries is the explanation of the development of the industrial revolution in these countries of Asia. However India already had quite an industrial development when under the sway of British imperialism. Once independence had been gained, India could then build on the basis of the legacy left by British imperialism.

6. The implementation of land reforms in these countries shows once again that reform is a by-product of revolution or of fear of revolution. US im-

British labour movement support for SA mineworkers

On hearing that the National Union of Mineworkers had declared a dispute with the Chamber of Mines, the LPYS, (youth wing of the British Labour Party), together with the Southern African Labour Education Project, produced the following leaflet.

Labour Party Young Socialists/SALEP.

SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN MINERS' STRUGGLE

Coal miners in Britain are in a bitter struggle to defend jobs and the future of the industry. Now, in South Africa, half a million black coal and gold miners are preparing a fight against the cheap labour system of the Chamber of Mines, South Africa's most powerful employer.

Cheap labour and mass unemployment are two sides of the same coin. They are two weapons of the bosses as they try to load the crisis of their system on the backs of the workers. To fight back, workers need solidarity, nationally and internationally.

The basic underground mine wage in South Africa is R147 (£87) a month - for 60 hours underground a week. In 1982, 792 miners were killed in accidents at work, and in 1983, 831. This is six times higher than in the UK.

Black South African miners are recruited on harsh long-term contracts, forced to live in overcrowded single-man hostels, separated from their wives and families who are not allowed to move to the cities with them.

These slave-like conditions allow the mining bosses, South African and British, to amass huge profits. They allow South African coal to be sold on the Rotterdam spot market at £31 a tonne, £12 cheaper than British coal.



This year South Africa has overtaken the USA as the largest exporter of coal to West Germany, and, through the low prices they can sell coal for because of the cheap labour system, are expecting their exports to increase.

The bosses internationally try to gain a competitive edge on the world market by driving down the wages of the workers in different countries. Clearly, attempts to set up national barriers against coal imports through import controls are no solution. This leaves workers in different countries isolated and such divisions weaken the workers, enabling the bosses to carry out redundancies and close so-called 'uneconomic' pits.

To end the cheap labour system which exists in South Africa - and which the bosses in Britain are trying to reproduce in Britain - workers in Britain and South Africa must join forces.

Distributed widely in the mining areas presently on strike in Britain, it has been used to build support for the NUM in case a national strike is called, and to strengthen future links between UK miners and SA mineworkers.

From 1946 to 1982 the Chamber of Mines, backed by the South African police, brutally repressed workers' organisation and struggle. Many black miners have died under police gunfire. Now, for the first time in more than 25 years the workers are organised.

The National Union of Mine Workers was formed in December 1982, six months after 10 workers were shot dead during a strike of 30,000 workers against the usual demagogic wage offer. Already, the South African NUM has 70,000 members, a marvelous achievement given the hostility of the bosses, the brutality of the apartheid state and the meagre resources of the black workers.

The NUM is demanding an increase of 25% in coal and gold miners' wages this year. Rather than conclude negotiations with the NUM, the Chamber has unilaterally announced its wage 'increase' - of 13.3% to 14.4% - much lower than the price rises which workers have to pay.

The NUM has declared a dispute with the Chamber, preparing the way towards possible strike action. Workers at three mines have already launched lightning strikes, during which two miners at a Vryheid coal mine have been shot dead.

A victory for the NUM in South Africa would be a blow against the cheap labour system. It would be a victory for workers everywhere.

The NUM in South Africa has declared its solidarity with British miners in their strike. It is seeking to build a Southern Africa-wide miners' federation and links with miners internationally. As the President of the NUM (SA) explained to the LPYS London regional conference earlier this year, workers everywhere have common interests against the bosses who exploit them.

Workers in Britain, particularly miners, but also those in other trade unions, in the Labour Party and in the LPYS - can show their solidarity with black miners in South Africa by:

- writing letters to the NUM (SA)
- sending messages of support
- asking what further assistance is needed

Not only will this encourage NUM (SA) members in the present dispute however it unfolds, it will lay the basis for stronger links in the future, including exchange visits between UK and SA miners. It will deepen common understanding and action in the struggles against cheap labour, mass unemployment that lie ahead - struggles that must build workers' power to end capitalism and create a socialist world.

NOW AVAILABLE:

VIDEO: "WE LIVE LIKE DOGS"

On the conditions and struggles of black mine workers in South Africa. Half-hour presentation. Ideal for meetings organised in support of South African and British mine workers in dispute. Available from SALEP.

Betamax and VHS (please specify)

LPYS and Women's sections:

Hire Fees - £10; Sale - £20

Labour Party, Trades Unions:

Hire Fees - £20; Sale - £30

SEND LETTERS OF SUPPORT TO:

The National Union of Mineworkers
P O Box 10928
Johannesburg
2000
South Africa.

BUILD DIRECT LINKS!

PUBLISHED BY LPYS AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN LABOUR EDUCATION PROJECT
(SALEP) 28 Martello Street, London E8 3PE.

Irish workers strike to support boycott of SA goods.

Dear comrades,

The Dunnes Stores empire in Ireland is recognised as having anti-worker and anti-union bosses. On July 19, a worker in the Henry Street store in Dublin was indefinitely suspended for refusing to handle South African goods.

The majority of union members—a total of 11—then began an official strike. It is the policy of their union, the Irish Distributive and Ad-

ministrative trade union, to boycott South African goods.

The strikers are young workers and 10 of them are women.

So far they have been intimidated and harassed by scabs and on at least two occasions vans have been driven at them. Indeed management have resorted to bringing in food in trucks used for dumping rubbish!

Public support is very good and business is down 56%. Over IR£80 (R128.00) a day is collected in buckets at the entrances.

The workers are aware of the conditions faced by their class brothers and sisters in South Africa. They are absolutely determined that their bosses will be taught not to stock South African goods.

A number of fellow union members in other stores are refusing to handle the goods and the bosses are afraid to do anything.

The strikers hope that workers in South Africa will learn of their struggle. They are determined to show their solidarity in the face of their own vicious bosses.

Messages of support can be sent to: Karen Gearon (shop-steward), c/o I.D.A.T.U., 9, Cavendish Row, Dublin 1, Ireland.

Fraternally,

Nimrod Sejake (Irish Labour Party) and Fergus Cassidy (Irish Labour Youth).

perialism was terrified of the spread of revolution to the whole of the Asian continent. Capitalism has developed unevenly over all parts of the world and for a whole series of reasons these countries were favoured by the economic situation and therefore could take advantage of the world market on the basis of the events which followed the Second World War.

7. However, the example of India shows that the rotten bourgeois of these countries are absolutely incapable of carrying the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution to a conclusion. Despite being the biggest country in South Asia, India shows the limits of economic development in ex-colonial countries which remain under the domination of capitalism. This is despite the progress in absolute terms which has increased the weight of the proletariat in Indian society. The ratio between the workers and the population as a whole, is better in India than in Russia at the time of the 1917 revolution. In spite of the industrial growth the rotten Indian bourgeoisie, through its party, the Congress, has shown itself utterly incapable of building a stable democracy even during the upswing. Rural indebtedness and landlessness has reached epidemic levels. Small farmers have been ruined as a consequence of the 'green revolution' as more and more rich farmers and big landowners have taken over the land. Industry has been concentrated into the hands of monopolies. The poverty-stricken peasants, thrown off the land, have been pushed in millions into cities like Bombay and Calcutta where they live on the pavements.

8. The tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution still to be completed in India are the solution of the land question, the solution of the national question and the welding of India into a single entity. This can only be obtained by dispossessing the landlords, and by solving the national problems affecting the hundreds of nationalities and languages which exist on the continent of India. The Sikh movement in the Punjab, probably the richest agricultural province, and the movement in Assam, shows that the bourgeoisie was incapable of stabilising the unity of India. India is a classic example of the failure and incapacity of the bourgeoisie in colonial countries to carry out the bourgeois democratic revolution. Independence was gained because of the movement of the workers, peasants and soldiers. It was not possible for British imperialism to maintain control, just as later all the other imperialists were reluctantly forced, after attempting to use repression, to abandon the attempt to retain direct political and military domination over their colonial possessions. The gaining of independence was an enormous step forward but was marred by the division of India into India and Pakistan. The shameful role of the 'Communist' Party leaders during the Second World War allowed the bourgeois Congress leadership to politically dominate the independence movement. This in turn

allowed the imperialists to play the old game of divide and rule. However Britain did not have the strength to maintain domination of the area and therefore independence was gained both by India and by Pakistan.

9. None of the problems which were the basis of the movement of the masses for independence were in any way solved. The failure to solve the problem of the land, to raise the masses' standard of living or to give clear democratic rights to all the national minorities, has led to a situation where the unity of India is actually threatened. On a bourgeois basis it will be inevitable at a certain stage that India will tend to break up into its component parts and result in the Balkanisation of the Indian subcontinent.

10. It was the multiplicity of problems facing the bourgeoisie which led Mrs Gandhi in 1975 onto the road of parliamentary Bonapartism as a first move in the direction of complete military-police rule. But the 'Emergency' had to be lifted because of the resistance of the peoples of India, led by the proletariat, and was followed by the defeat of Mrs Gandhi in the 1977 elections. The opposition of the working class, middle class, all national minorities and even sections of the bourgeoisie themselves was sufficient, at least temporarily, to overcome this move in the direction of Bonapartism.

11. Now for the same reason as the bourgeoisie of Europe, Japan and the United States will be very hesitant to move completely in the direction of military-police dictatorship, so Mrs Gandhi is hesitant about taking these steps, although there has been a further concentration of power in her hands. The twilight of the military-police dictatorships in Pakistan and Bangladesh could hardly invoke enthusiasm on the part of the strategists of Indian capital to follow that road. It is clear that the military-police dictatorships have not in any way solved the problems or ensured stability for these countries but, on the contrary, are preparing an enormous new social, economic and political explosion in those countries.

12. The attempt to hold Pakistan together by military-police dictatorship annointed with Muslim fundamentalism will clearly not be successful. The dictatorship of Zia will inevitably collapse. There is the possibility of Pakistan breaking up into its component parts with Sind, the North West Frontier and Baluchistan breaking away from Punjabi domination and gaining independence in the same way as Bangladesh (then called East Pakistan) broke away from West Pakistan in 1971. The only class which could prevent this development in Pakistan would be the proletariat, which if it came to power, would give full democratic rights to the population of these provinces and create a Socialist Federation of Pakistan with the perspective of linking up with a Socialist Federation of India. While standing for the right of self-determination, Marxists explain that the

Zimbabwe engineering union leader:

“The workers must initiate matters themselves, and realise that the union is themselves and is made to defend them.”

S.N.Nyamhunga, interviewed here by an *Inqaba* reporter, is chairman of the workers' committee at L.H.Marthinusen, a Harare engineering firm. He became President of the General, Engineering and Metal Workers' Union in Zimbabwe in 1981. He is presently actively involved in organising union members for the transformation of the union into a democratic organisation with a fighting programme.

Q: What is the state of the engineering industry in Zimbabwe?

A: The main problem we are facing is closure of companies. The engineering industry is the backbone of any economy world-wide, and in Zimbabwe produces many things for other industries, but now many companies are closing.

Thus far we as trade unionists have not been successful in fighting these closures. This is partly because we are inexperienced at gathering the evidence with which to fight the employers.

Now we have begun to collect information together from the workers. The workers are moving together and we are beginning to make our objectives known and felt by the employers. But we are still in the grip of the employers' tactics. I feel we need more preparation.

The employers are organised world-wide. They are well-equipped, in that they are advised by people with a university education. On our side as workers we have mainly got only to Standard 2 or 6. Very few have even got to Form 2 or 4, and we find that these are not interested when it comes to arguments to protect the workers because they have got higher positions in the companies and are well-paid.

The people with Standard 2 or 6 are in difficulty in defending their case against the employers with their

academics and world-wide connections.

So we must make sure we are fully equipped, and that we learn from the experience of workers world-wide too. Since we are the parent industry so to say, if we can fight and win that will enable other industries not to be falling down in the way that engineering is going.

Q: What other problems do the workers face?

A: An important problem is the Paterson plan, a system introduced to evaluate job content to determine the rate of pay. At present the employer is the only one who defines the job content and brings it to the National Industrial Council(NIC) which must approve it.

The employers place the emphasis on scholastic qualifications rather than on-the-job experience. This means experienced workers are underpaid.

We argued that it was on-the-job skill and experience which should determine the rate of pay. But the NIC is well-equipped to back up the employer, and the employer has all the tactics. We did not collect and submit practical documentary evidence. The failure of our union to win arguments on this led in fact to many members resigning from the union.

Now we are planning to have com-

mittees of the union which will discuss with the workers the content of their jobs, and submit the grades that are agreed with them to the NIC. It must be the workers themselves, through their union, who determine their grading on the Paterson plan.

Other grievances of the workers are the lack of training on company premises, health and safety conditions, and the attitudes of management in accommodating to the existence of workers' committees and trade unions.

Though the employers have to accept workers' committees they try to weaken them by 'buying off' the individuals who are on them. The workers need to be organised to defy these bans and the employers' divide-and-rule methods, so that the employers respect them.

Q: What has the union succeeded in doing for the workers?

A: Up to now the union has failed to take action on the workers' grievances. Before independence you could say this was the result of colonial rule and colonial mentality. But since independence it has become clear that the weakness was in the officials of the union.

In actual fact they are no more unionists on the side of the workers, but only 'unionists' to balance the NIC table.

Because they have done nothing they have led workers to think that by joining the union you are spending money for nothing. It has contributed to a lack of understanding of trade unionism among the workers.

To show the effects of this leadership we can give the example of wage negotiations in the NIC last year. We submitted wage demands to the NIC. They were challenged roughly by the employers who said they could not give any increases, because of the bad situation in the industry—and this regardless of what profits any in-

Balkanisation of India and Pakistan would not serve the interests of these peoples. The working class of Pakistan could play the leading role in transforming the entire Asian continent. But without this and with the further decay of capitalism the division between the provincial states would mean that the Balkanisation of Pakistan would be inevitable. As a consequence it would lower the standard of living in all these countries and put them in the same blind alley as Africa, which was Balkanised by the imperialist powers.

13. In India, in reality not a single problem can be solved on a bourgeois basis. 'Democracy' remains hanging by a thread, and in practice the democratic rights of the workers and peasants are assaulted in innumerable ways by the police and the army. Hardly anything remains of the bourgeois democracy which was established after the collapse of British imperialism. If India, the biggest capitalist country in Asia, cannot solve the problem then of course no other country of the continent would be able to do so. It is true that, for special reasons, Japan partially solved these problems only to be firmly ensnared in the general crisis of capitalism on a world scale.

14. Throughout Asia, the twilight of bourgeois democracy is shown by the fact that the majority of these countries are under military-police dictatorships, with a concentration of industry and the gathering together of power in the hands of either dictators or small cliques. State repression and unheard-of corruption is the norm in all these states. But in all these countries the working class is the spearhead of opposition. In India there is enormous resistance by the working class to the development of a complete Bonapartist regime. Such a regime could lead to the possible break-up of India in the same way that Pakistan threatens to break-up with the fall of Zia. Nevertheless the result will be settled by a test of forces between the workers on the one side and the bourgeois state on the other.

15. In Pakistan and Bangladesh it is the working class that is leading the resistance to the dictatorships that have been established there. But unless the working class adopts a completely independent stand from the bourgeois opposition, then inevitably a vicious circle will unfold—from Bonapartist dictatorship to an uneasy bourgeois democracy, which because of its incapacity to solve the problems will lead to a new, even more brutal, dictatorship.

16. In India, and in all the countries of Asia, the problems of oppressed nationalities, land and industrialisation can only be successfully solved by the coming to power of the working class, one of whose main tasks would be the carrying through of the bourgeois democratic revolution. The proletariat will give land to those who want it, establish state and collective farms, give genuine autonomy and equality to all the nationalities and solve the national question by unifying India on a socialist basis.

17. The method of guerilla war has been discredited in India and in most other countries of Asia. Power is clearly concentrated in the cities. The army and the police have learned from the experience of the Chinese revolution and from other revolutions in Latin America and Asia. The rise of movements of the proletariat has discredited the idea that peasants are the main force for revolution. In any event a victory based on a peasant movement can at best lead to Proletarian Bonapartism, not at all to workers' democracy in the classical form as achieved by the socialist revolution in Russia of October 1917.

18. The bourgeoisie of the metropolitan countries tries to unload the burdens of the organic capitalist crisis onto the backs of the colonial peoples. Their already low standard of living is cut further. Consequently upheavals and movements of the proletariat and peasantry are absolutely inevitable.

19. Accidental events can lead to the collapse of Zia's military-police dictatorship in Pakistan and the military-police dictatorship in Bangladesh. Whichever falls first, the other would not be long in following. Attempts at agreement between Pakistan and India are attempts to shore up the collapsing dictatorship. Which Asian dictatorship will collapse first is a matter of chance. There are many candidates for this role: the Philippines, South Korea or Thailand as well as Bangladesh or Pakistan. In all these countries the proletariat will carry on its banner the democratic demands which the bourgeoisie has utterly failed to carry out.

20. The complete incapacity of capitalism to maintain, let alone raise, living standards in the ex-colonial countries is clearly seen in Sri Lanka. Once an Asian country with an exceptionally high standard of living, Sri Lanka today is in severe crisis. This, alongside the defeats which its labour movement suffered as a result of the degeneration of the once Trotskyist LSSP, has led to the growth of communal tensions between the majority Sinhalese and Tamil minority. The 1983 anti-Tamil pogrom was instigated by the UNP which wanted a small pogrom to teach the Tamil guerillas a lesson and serve as a safety-valve for the Sinhalese masses' discontent, but the government lost control of the situation. The resulting large-scale destruction further undermined the economy and weakened the UNP regime.

21. President Jayawardene's Bonapartist plans are collapsing. The regime will be compelled to allow elections or face overthrow through the gathering disillusionment of practically all strata of the population. A turn to a complete bourgeois military-police dictatorship seems to be ruled out for the present: there is no momentum for this. New elections would seem most likely to lead to the UNP's defeat.

dividual company was making.

We fought this, but ended up divided among ourselves, because the union officials had long been dominated by the employers. My position was that our demands were on the table, and should not be withdrawn. Up to now the demands are still there.

Q: What should be done regarding wages?

A: The problem is we are faced with two fronts: not only the employers but also the government, which is not interested in getting unionists bargaining with the employers. Individual managements will not negotiate increments but insist that they need the government to introduce a new directive on wage levels.

The Department of Labour also, if it does get applications from companies for increments, says that government policy is to review wages country-wide, not on the basis of individual companies.

Q: What is your view of the government freeze on wages?

A: It is doing a lot of harm to the

workers. The cost of living is going up. Rent has gone up. Transport has gone up. Food has gone up.

The government does not freeze the price of these commodities. They are always going up. Yet when we come to government for an increment on wages, it refuses. This is doing down the ordinary man. It is a real danger-point.

Again, it is a challenge. The union needs to organise, and to collect information on these questions, on the cost of living, not only of engineering workers but, since we are the parent industry, for all workers. Then all workers can together call on the ZCTU which is the centre to raise our problems with government so we can come out with a solution.

Q: What is the cause of the problems in the engineering industry?

A: The problem is that the decisions are in the hands of the employers, who think only about their profits. Because they can't make enough profits, they are not investing but closing down. They force the worker to fight for his survival, while they sit nicely themselves.

Also the employers say they are not

investing because they distrust government policies. They don't want a one-party state. They say they will be victimised, and won't be able to take their money out of the country, that their past means of making money will be put into question, that their properties will be nationalised.

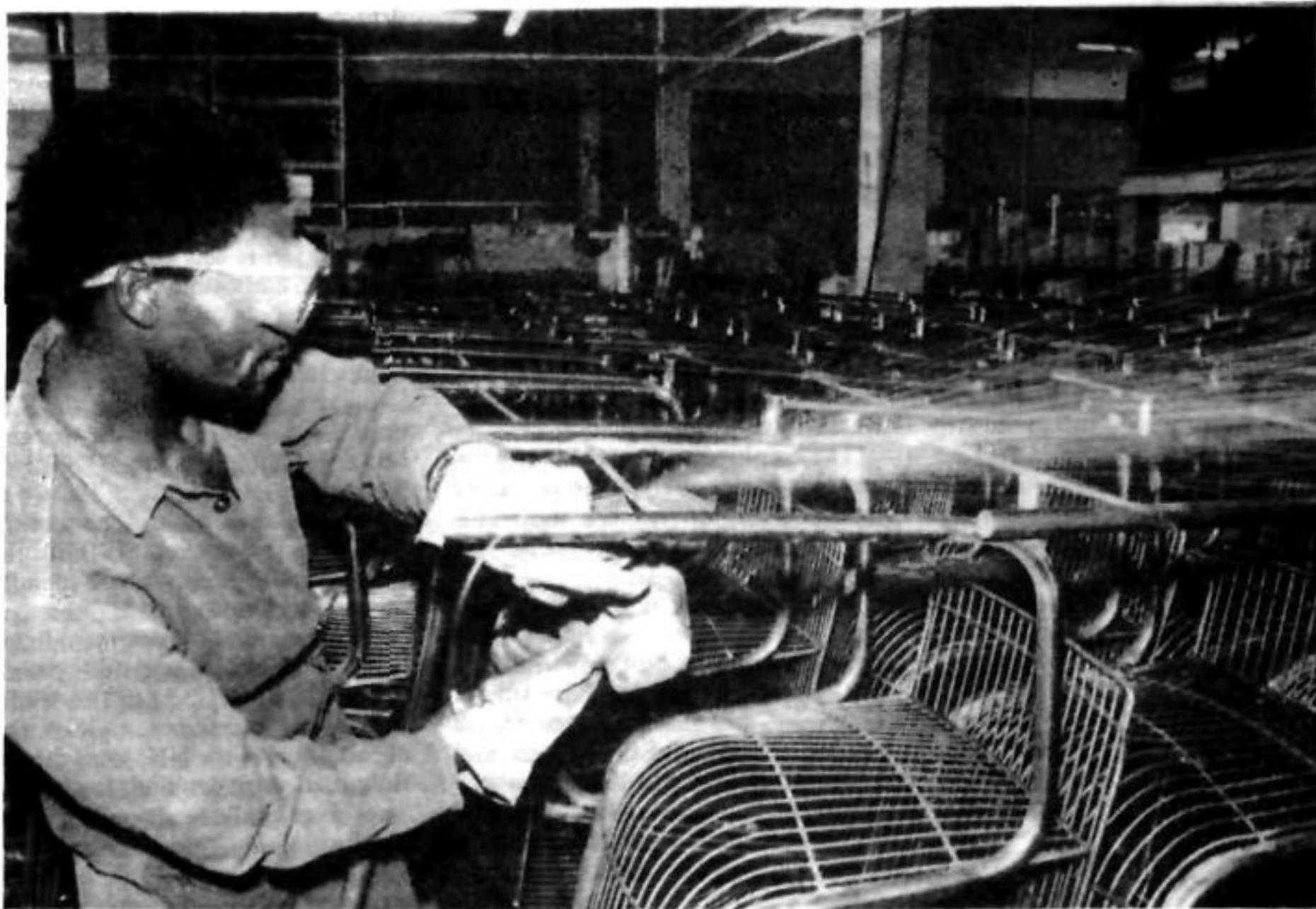
Because a one-party state will mean one-man decisions, they have doubts about what decisions will be made. Will it be popular to be a capitalist? Will it be socialism that is popular?

Because they do not have much faith in being able to do what they used to do they are trying to force the government to adopt the policies they want, trying to make the government guarantee the future of industry under their control.

Q: But would the establishment of a one-party state threaten the employers? Would it bring socialism?

A: As workers, we are struggling for socialism. Since socialism means collective action, guidance by collective thinking, the sharing of wealth, and so on, we adhere to socialism.

The question is: who is going to put it into practice. So far we have



Jayawardene now has few Bonapartist tricks left and mass opposition is growing. However, there is the possibility that, if serious concessions are not made, there will be a growing demand among the Tamils for dividing the island. Any new attempt at mass repression or genocide against the Tamils would probably precipitate an Indian intervention and partition.

22. The victory of the opposition parties would lead to an even more unstable situation. The Marxists of the NSSP would not participate in the new popular front government which is likely to be formed. The forces would gather for a show-down between the classes. A popular front government would soon face mounting opposition from the working class, the Tamils and the rural and city petit bourgeoisie as the world crisis and Sri Lanka's weakened economy undermined its programme of reforms. This could prepare the way for either the victory of the working class, led by the NSSP, or a new vicious dictatorship of capital. A popular front government could, under pressure, go further today in taking measures against capitalism than its leaders would wish. The existence of a powerful Marxist party could be decisive in the revolutionary situation that would open up, although Sri Lanka could not solve its problems without the success of the revolution in India.

23. The working class was partially crushed in many Asian countries, like Indonesia, for a whole period of time. Now strengthened due to the development of industry, it is the working class which is the decisive force in resisting the burdens which the decay of capitalism forces on the peoples. In Pakistan and in Bangladesh mass strikes, demonstrations, battles and even barricades are an indication that the working class has now put itself at the head of the nation. All the economies of Asia are linked to and under the domination of the world economy. They are subservient to the developments in the advanced capitalist countries. Even where they have succeeded in gaining a foot-hold in the world market on the basis of the most modern machinery and cheap labour, they are ultimately at the mercy of the imperialists.

24. While there was the enormous economic upswing, the rulers of the imperialist countries could look with equanimity on the fact that, in certain industries, the underdeveloped world could lay the basis for beating some of the industries of the West through competitiveness. Their home market was too small for those industries which were established in these Asian countries, partly because of the poverty of the masses. Consequently all these countries are dependent on the world market. In the most modern industries of computers, automation and micro-electronics these countries find themselves in difficulties now through competition with the West, including Japan.

25. The development of industry for world

markets in Asia was dependent on the toleration of the imperialist countries. Now that they themselves are in difficulties, the imperialist countries are not prepared to give the same measure of tolerance as when these Asian industries were developing during the course of the world economic upswing. With an expanding world economy it was quite a welcome development as far as the imperialist powers were concerned, because it also provided a market for capital goods. But with the end of the world economic upswing and the beginning of the economic downswing, there has been discrimination against 'third world' exports like textiles and electrical goods. The economies of the underdeveloped world are generally too weak to strike back, consequently the imperialists' measures increase the contradictions in these countries. The measures of imperialism, especially US imperialism, mean further unemployment in these countries, further pauperisation of the masses, high inflation and the lowering of standards of the working class and of the population generally.

26. Even in the economic upswing most colonial countries suffered a fall in living standards of the masses. Now in the world economic downswing, there is a further absolute fall and lowering of living standards among the colonial masses as a whole, with very few exceptions. In the future slumps, the fall will be even more catastrophic, pushing these peoples to the edge of starvation.

27. That is why in Asia, as in the colonial world as a whole, there has been a chain reaction of revolution and of counter-revolution. Bourgeois democracy is an exception even now. But the Bonapartist military-police dictatorships have a very weak base and consequently will collapse.

28. But the situation has now fundamentally changed. The relatively 'mild' dictatorships which were established formerly, are now succeeded by brutal military-police dictatorships which base themselves on imprisonment, torture and murder. However repression of this sort is an indication of their weakness and not at all of their strength and cannot result in any form of stability for these regimes.

29. Not a single capitalist country in Asia can avoid massive movements of the proletariat, even though in most of these countries strikes and other demonstrations are illegal. These in turn will prepare the way for uprisings on the part of the proletariat. The movement of the proletariat will be in the direction instinctively of social revolution but will, without Marxist leadership, then be derailed by the bourgeois demagogues into the channels of bourgeois democracy again. These bourgeois democracies will in their turn be of a very shaky character, as is shown by the situation in India, with martial law and states of siege as virtually permanent features in one province or another. Because there are no economic solutions in these countries the class struggle will reach

heard a lot of 'socialism' in words, but what the ordinary man wants to see is the practice.

But from what we can see now, it would appear that the one-party state could not deliver socialism. For some officials and so on it might deliver, but not for the ordinary man. Already we have suffered so much setback within a few years of independence.

Also, as a unionist who believes in democracy, I believe a one-party state has some hardships. I feel we need a political setup which enables workers to accommodate different views and test their requirements and get to know where they have failed, and where adjustments are needed.

From there after a period it may be that everyone agrees about what policies are needed. Then you would have, in reality, a 'one-party state' automatically, but based on agreement. That's a different thing from imposing it by a declaration.

Q: How can socialism be achieved?

A: Through the workers, collectively, if they organise and educate themselves, in all industries, and act together. If workers are fully involved in controlling all machinery of the state, and controlling the big factories and farms and banks, that is the road to socialism.

At present we are far from that—when we haven't even got the opportunity to have a meeting on the premises of some firms to practically voice our thinking.

Q: How can workers struggle for socialism?

A: I think we must start in the engineering union itself. We must set up study circles for workers, spread them to all the townships, to enable every person in his spare time to educate themselves.

Whether it is on the question of transport, or clothing, or housing, or education, we must be geared to understand it.

In this way our union leadership will be better enabled to present and fight for our demands. In this way, by enabling each worker to attend, we can create the best leadership.

The engineering industry can be a parent in this way as well, to generate ideas for workers in other industries to take up. We must aim to reach out into the houses and the beerhalls and to the churches, so that each and everyone will understand that

socialism is the only guidance that can solve the problems of working people.

We need study circles all over the country. The government should encourage them. Socialism should be taught in the schools so that from school a child will get the parent to pay attention and understand what is capitalism, what is socialism, how they are different.

Q: What, for you, is a trade union?

A: It means a worker. If you are employed in an industry, you are the trade union. From there you ought to unite by discussing with the man next to you, a worker as well, and then from there combine up your problems and find out ways and means to fight for your interests as the employers, on their part, are doing.

Unfortunately workers in Zimbabwe have regarded trade unions as an external thing, initiated by outsiders. It is because of the way the officials have practiced trade unionism.

My policy is to get the workers to initiate matters themselves, and realise that the union is themselves and is made to defend them.

We have to base ourselves on the principle that no leadership position is a permanent one, but that the objective is to get the best leadership among ourselves. If we all educate ourselves then there will come a bunch of leaders so that we can have a selection and build a strong organisation protected from the pressure of the employers and from corruption, and to advance the workers' interests.

Q: How do you organise as an activist? What is your wage?

A: I don't own a car, I own a bike.

I bought it in 1968 when I started working, as a general worker. I use this bike in organising work, and I believe it helps the ordinary man to find out that the union is for ordinary people.

When I started work I earned £2/19/3 a week. From my wage I was eating 19/3 and banking £2 in the post office. When I had £25 in the bank I bought my bike.

Today I am still one of the lowest paid, below Z\$300 a month, though I have nine children. It's quite little. But I had learnt that when you don't have money you have to plan.

It's the same with the union. Rather than saying that the employer is too big, and suffering defeats, it's a question of planning how to fight him.

I am confident that once the workers are equipped with enough knowledge we can solve the problems of the engineering industry, and all the problems we face.

From my own living and practice, I have seen the need for socialism. So if Marx saw it all those long years before I was born and now in practice I am seeing it then I believe it is the only economic system which can lead us out of this chaos.

That is why we need to build these study circles through the unions, based on studying what Marx said and Lenin said and so on. We have to educate ourselves through reading, and also through learning from other workers around the world, how they have taken up the problems they have been faced with, the lessons of their victories and defeats.

I feel I still have much to learn, but I am very confident that the workers will learn and prepare themselves to put socialism into practice everywhere.

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a higher stage than at any time in the past. Once the socialist revolution begins it would spread from country to country in Asia with lightning speed.

30. Because of the position of China and Vietnam, Proletarian Bonapartism has now lost its power of attraction as far as the masses in South East Asia are concerned. The spectacle of wars between 'socialist' countries, like those between China and Russia and between China and Vietnam, are repulsive phenomena. These show the national egotism of the bureaucracies of these countries and the antagonisms that exist on a national-Stalinist basis in all the countries of Proletarian Bonapartism.

31. The strikes by the Bangladesh working class are the battering ram which the population uses against the dictatorship, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population in Bangladesh are peasants. In Bangladesh, general strikes one after the other have shaken the regime. It is the movement of the proletariat in the main cities that has led to the promise of 'elections'. But the Generals' preparation for the elections is to rig the polls and terrorise the peasantry in order to get a majority. The same process is also unfolding in the Philippines.

32. In Spain in 1931 the bosses in the villages forced the peasantry to vote for the monarchists. But this was in vain as the movement of the proletariat

nevertheless toppled the monarchy in spite of the rigged votes in the villages. Pakistan, Bangladesh and other countries will see a similar process take place if elections are held on a rigged basis. The result will not be accepted by the working class nor by the living forces of the democratic movement in the villages. The peasants will realise that they have been robbed of the right to put forward their own candidates and their own parties which reflect their needs. General Zia in Pakistan has tried to use Muslim fundamentalism, after the experience of Iran, as a means of diverting the masses from the struggle for their own needs. But he will not succeed, in other words the attempt to use the peasants against the working class will fail. Marcos in the Philippines is trying the same trick. In order to give Bonapartism the veneer of democracy, Marcos offers elections. But this is in vain; the crisis of the regime and the economy are too deep-seated and, once the process starts, waves of the movement of the masses will be inevitable. They will not accept rigged parliaments, they will topple one regime after another. One victory of the bourgeois democratic revolution under the auspices of the proletariat, going on then to the socialist revolution would undermine the capitalist regimes throughout Asia. In Asia too the subjective factor is the main key to the development of history. The development of the forces of Marxism in all the countries of Asia would prepare victory throughout the continent.

Latin America

1. Latin America is a whole continent in the throes of disintegration, decay and the beginning of revolution. Practically all its countries suffer mass hunger, inflation, pauperisation, unemployment and the existence of shanty towns where the barest sanitary essentials do not exist. In addition, aggravating the situation, we have the fall in production of industry and agriculture. Like the other colonial areas of the world, Latin America is indebted to the imperialist powers, especially the United States. Latin America alone owes \$340 000 million.

2. Latin American countries are indebted—from the most economically advanced to the most backward. In practically all countries a major section of the exports is needed just to pay interest on the debts. Thus they have in common that they are deb-

tor nations. The continent is linked by one language in the main (Spanish), with one allied language (Portuguese). Latin America shows in stark forms the problems resulting from the uncompleted tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution. They have the worst division of the land of all continents, with enormous estates the size of some of the countries of Western Europe. Many estates are not cultivated because it does not profit the landowners to do so. Weeds and wild plants are allowed to grow over areas which are enormously fertile. While there is hunger in practically all the countries of Latin America, there has been a steep fall in food production.

3. Because of the failure to solve the problems of the bourgeois democratic revolution, practically all the Latin American countries were, in one form or

ZIMBABWE—**Metal and engineering industry****Bosses slashing jobs:
Workers must unite to fight back!**

“We don’t intend just to produce light goods, textiles and that kind of thing. We would want to produce capital goods, heavy machinery for the mining sector, agricultural sector, for the industrial or manufacturing sector itself.”

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, quoted in *Herald* 21/5/1984

“By world standards, the economic advancement of a nation is measured in terms of the amount and rate of steel consumption per capita...”

***Financial Gazette*, Supplement on ZISCO Steel, 9/3/1984**

Production, processing and manufacture of steel and other metals—what is called the metal and engineering industry—is a key to progress in any modern society. In Zimbabwe, as in other capitalist countries, this sector of industry is being hard hit by the crisis of capitalism.

During the years of UDI, the capitalists invested massively in building up the metal and engineering industry. They did this to produce the goods and services blocked by sanctions, and to produce what was needed to fight their war against the guerilla movement.

Between 1964 and independence in 1980 production of metals and metal products increased from a value of Z\$59,1 million to Z\$555,2 million. The volume of production in the sector tripled.

In 1981, at its peak, this sector was producing nearly one third of total manufacturing output. It employed over 40 000 workers—one quarter of those in the whole of manufacturing.

At the heart of this sector is ZISCO (previously RISCO), apart from South Africa the only integrated steel works south of the Sahara. ZISCO, in the words of the *Financial Gazette*, is “a core industry and fulcrum of all forms of infrastructure in the country.”

Around ZISCO there grew up a host of firms, engaged not simply in

By Richard Monroe

elementary forms of metal manufacture and engineering, but making increasingly sophisticated products. Both foreign (UK, US, SA) and local capital invested heavily in this sector.

But, since 1981, the metal and engineering sector—along with other parts of manufacturing industry—is being increasingly destroyed.

In industry as a whole, it is official-

FOREIGN COMPANIES

Foreign investors in metals and engineering include Acrow, Aberdare, Amalgamated Metal, BOC, William Bain, Bestobell, Brockhouse, Dunlop, GEC, GKN, Hawker Siddley, Hubert Davies, Metal Box, Lonrho, Massey Ferguson, Samuel Osborn, Rio Tinto, Stewart and Lloyds. Anglo American and other SA monopolies are also involved.

ly estimated that 30 000 workers lost their jobs between June 1982 and June 1983. The process continues without let-up.

Employment in metals and engineering has fallen by at least 10 000 from its 1981 peak, and continues to fall week by week.

These figures do not reveal the full extent of the devastation that is being caused for the economy, let alone the effects on workers’ lives.

Government legislation requires firms wishing to fire workers or close down to get permission from the Department of Labour.

But some employers seem to ignore this, so that their lay-offs may not enter official figures.

For example, when the Anglo-American-owned Zimbabwe Alloys in Gweru applied to government in September 1983 to fire 232 workers, the workers’ committee said that the workforce had already been cut from 1 500 in 1981 to 946. (*Herald*, 1/9/83)

The government has not stemmed the tide of closures and redundancies. In the last two years, numbers of engineering firms in Harare, Bulawayo, etc have closed down completely. Many more, by threatening to close, have got permission to fire workers.

Beyond this, the **norm** in metals and engineering is now short-time working, on a 3 or 4 day week, or on a weeks on/weeks off basis, with workers forced to take unpaid leave.

As Kangai, then Labour Minister, admitted in September 1983, “Applications for short-time, unpaid leave and retrenchments have been granted to large numbers of industries since the beginning of the year.” (*Herald*, 29/9/83). There is no halt to this.

Although the full details are known to the government and the In-

another, under Bonapartist military-police dictatorships, the most oppressive being the dictatorship in Chile. However the dictatorships in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil have not been far behind in this competition to see which was the most vicious. Mexico and Costa Rica are practically the only countries in Latin America which have had at least a measure of capitalist democracy for any length of time.

4. Every country in the world has, of course, its own peculiarities. But in Latin America, despite important differences between one country and another, the fundamental problems are largely the same. Events in one country can give enormous impetus to the revolution in other countries.

5. Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Mexico are the most industrialised countries of Latin America, although all have some industry and important proletariats. Even in Central America, which, due to the proximity of Cuba, is taking to the road of guerilla war and Proletarian Bonapartism, the proletariat is an important part of the population. In fact in proportion to population in the small countries the proletariat has an even more important position than that of the proletariat in Russia in 1917.

6. Much of Central America has been under the almost direct domination of US imperialism, with investors playing the role virtually of governors and the countries being almost direct colonies. In the rest of Latin America the domination of imperialism has been more indirect.

7. The revolution in Central America has taken a guerilla form, but in El Salvador and in Nicaragua it was the movement of the proletariat which was the basis for the movement of the guerillas. Had the parties which form the basis of the guerillas been Marxist Bolshevik parties, then it would have been possible to avoid long civil wars and the practical destruction of these countries by bringing the proletariat directly to power. In fact it was an uprising of the proletariat in Nicaragua which actually led to the final collapse of the Somoza dictatorship, not any guerilla action.

8. In the Nicaraguan revolution the ingredients were there for a victory of the working class in the classical form, through an uprising and the taking of power by the proletariat. A similar situation existed in El Salvador, especially in 1980. But the guerillas, bemused by the example of Cuba, tried to follow Castro's example and not at all the path of Lenin and of Trotsky. Their failure to lead the proletariat to consciously take power in 1980, led to colossal and unnecessary sacrifices. In reality the movement in these countries was a perverted form of the permanent revolution.

9. Power fell into the hands of the Sandinistas, a left split from the Communist Party, because there was no alternative in Nicaragua. Today the San-

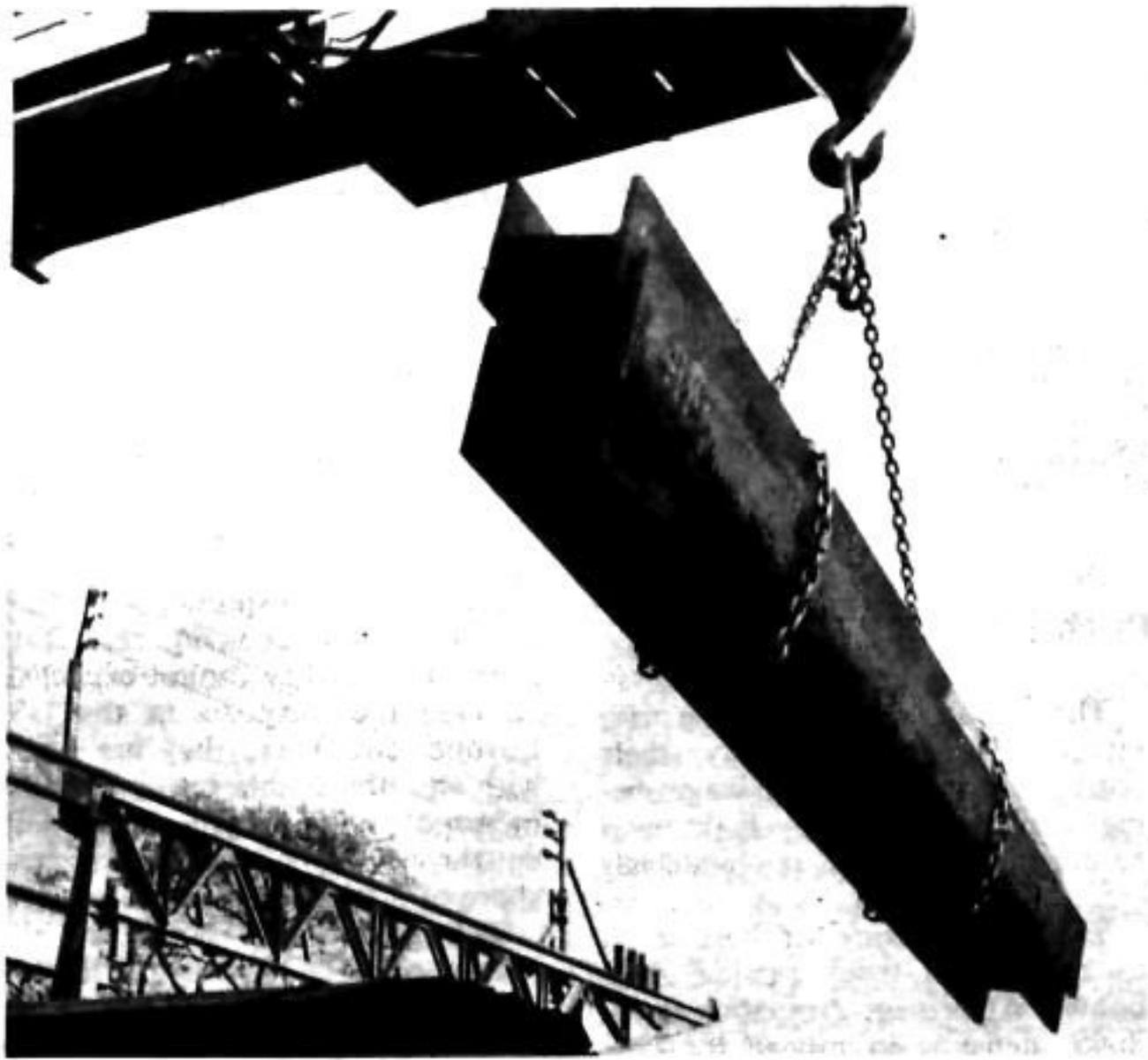
dinistas are refusing to carry the overthrow of capitalism through to a conclusion because they are afraid of intervention by US imperialism. In reality, however, this refusal has facilitated the intervention of imperialism. Their attempt to remain on the basis of bourgeois democracy will play into the hands of US imperialism. There is no basis for bourgeois democracy in Nicaragua. There are three alternatives for Nicaragua during the course of the next few years. Either the proletariat will come to power in Nicaragua on the basis of workers' democracy; or a regime of Proletarian Bonapartism will be consolidated (because there is no conscious Marxist tendency leading the masses in Nicaragua); or there will be the victory of the counter-revolution installing a new bourgeois Bonapartist military dictatorship. That is the aim for which US imperialism is working through the intervention of the counter-revolutionaries they are financing and organising.

10. However there is no doubt that it was the prompting of the Cuban and Soviet bureaucracies which led to the taking of this position by the Sandinistas. These nationalist bureaucracies refused to countenance the overcoming of capitalism and landlordism for fear of provoking complications in their relations with the United States. They are not interested in the expansion of the revolution but only in their own power, privileges and income.

11. The neo-stalinists of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in the USA, blinded by the undoubted achievements of the Cuban revolution and not understanding the perversions of workers' democracy and socialism which exist in Cuba, have given Castro virtually uncritical support. They have also enthusiastically endorsed the methods, policy and activities of the Sandinistas. In the same way they gave uncritical support to the New Jewel Movement in Grenada. Unless the revolution is carried through to the overthrow of capitalism in Nicaragua, then undoubtedly it will prepare the ground for counter-revolution, with or without US intervention, in the long run. However only a party with internationalist perspectives could build a workers' democracy, a party with perspectives of Latin American and world revolution.

12. The attempt to construct some sort of bourgeois democracy in ruined Nicaragua, even under the domination of the Sandanistas, is bound to fail in the long run. All the attempts to placate US imperialism by 'not going too far' are doomed to failure. The attempt to reconcile the bourgeois and the industrialists to the revolution in Nicaragua itself is even more certain to fail. It is no accident that the few bourgeois who remain in Nicaragua have been demanding negotiations with the 'Contras', who secretly they support.

13. Not through ill or bad will, but because of the



dustrial Councils, they are rarely reported in the TV, radio, or newspapers. These agreements between the bosses and the government are being made for the most part behind the backs of the trade unions, and even in some cases of the workers' committees.

Among those firms still in operation on which information could be discovered, Bains, Metcast, Salisbury Wire Mesh, Taurus Spring, Zambezi Coachworks, Morewear Industries, have all laid off numbers of workers.

Arian, Harare Agricultural Engineering, Oxygen Industries, PDC, Connolly's, Steelmaster are all working short-time. Powerlines workers have recently had their working week cut by half. Morewear Industries, one of the larger local firms, is employing workers on a three-months-on/three-months-off basis.

Through the whole sector, factories are probably operating only at 60% of their potential productive capacity.

In addition to this, there is a vast under-use and underpayment of skills. The industry has not shaken off the legacy of the settler period, where there were separate agreements for skilled and other workers, and where black workers, however skilled, were kept on lower grades.

At Tandem Engineering, for exam-

ple, workers with a high degree of experience in work on the braking systems of large trucks earn little more than the minimum wage.

Since independence, more than 3 000 previously "semi-skilled" workers have taken government tests qualifying them as journeymen. Yet, on returning to their jobs, some of these have been fired (at Centraflex, for example), others put on sweeping jobs, etc. Most are not given the appropriate new rates of pay, or—as at the Steel Centre of Zimbabwe—had to strike to achieve them.

Factory closures; machinery operating below capacity; unemployment and underemployment of workers—all this wastage of the resources of human beings and machinery is because the economy is controlled by the capitalist class and its profit system.

Capitalism is in crisis everywhere, and the ruling class is loading the consequences on the backs of the workers. Zimbabwe is no exception to this.

There is no way out of the problems of closures, loss of jobs—and the resulting crippling of the economy—unless there is a complete break with the capitalist system.

Trucks, pumps, ploughs, windmills, bridges and all the products of metals and engineering are desperate-

Engineering companies which have closed in Zimbabwe in recent months, or are under notice of closure, include:

IMF Electrical Company
 Kitvon Shelters and Sanitation
 Salisbury Scrap Dealers
 Fencing Enterprises
 JDC Engineering
 Radar Metal
 Central Coachworks
 Lysat Engineering
 Alloy Diecast
 Speedlock Manufacturing
 Tech-Elec Engineering Systems
 United Engineering
 Engineering and Mining Services
 Industrial and Electronic SS
 Triple Sec Engineering and Erection
 Waterfall Engineering
 I and I Engineering
 LMS Electrical Engineers
 Kew Engineering
 KYR Transport, Engineering and Construction
 Reinforcing Engineers
 Self-Reliance Engineering
 S and S Engineering
 Midlands Diesel
 Darmon Foundry
 Derwent Engineering
 Industrial Technology
 Geotechnical and Drilling Engineering
 Tony Electronics and Manufacturing
 Circaprint Electronics
 Chipinga Builders and Civil Engineering
 Powertrac
 Masimba Flexo Steel Industries
 ENC Plating
 GM Steel Industries
 Polaris Engineering and Supplies
 Lawson Engineering
 MGM Engineering
 John Turner and Sons, Engineers
 Resort Engineering
 Rusape Sheet Metal Works
 Rhode Engineering
 Kevin Engineering
 Boshoff Engineers and Welders
 Tool and Precision Engineering
 Precision Tool and Die Making
 Inter-Dependent Engineering
 E and P Engineering
 Steelcraft
 Corlord Printing Engineers
 KSK Engineering
 Brockhouse (Central Africa)

material interests involved, neither the bourgeois of Nicaragua nor the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries can accept the revolution in Nicaragua, even in a half-finished form. The US imperialists understand that both their strategic and material investments in Central America are affected. The very existence of the Nicaraguan revolution provokes revolution in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatamala, Costa Rica and the other countries of Central America. Not only that, the US imperialists are terrified of the growing revolution in all Latin American countries. They see that revolution in Central America would be an example to all Latin America and would undermine the position of imperialism on a world scale.

14. Consequently the US imperialists are financing the counter-revolution in Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatamala. It is the national limitations of neo-Stalinism in the form of the Sandinistas which is blind to the implications of the process which is taking place. The US imperialists could never reconcile themselves even to a half measure of revolution but are determined to restore the same rotten regimes as existed in the past.

15. The only road for Nicaragua is the expropriation of the ruling class and the putting of democratic control of industry and society into the hands of the working class, i.e. the socialist revolution. This of course would not solve all the problems of Nicaragua; it could only be a step in the direction of the Latin American revolution. It would then be a question of holding power, striving to improve the standard of living of the workers and peasants by organising a democratic plan of production, and appealing to the masses in the rest of Latin America for aid, succour and support in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

16. However, in the general movement towards revolution in Latin America the revolution in Central America will be seen almost as a sideshow. Though important, it cannot be as important as the revolution in South America as a whole. The decisive movement will be by the proletariat of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Mexico. However, movements of the proletariat have taken place in Peru, Equador, Bolivia and Columbia. There is hardly one country in Latin America in which an enormous movement of the proletariat has not been manifest in the course of the last few years. These movements of the proletariat have shaken the dictatorships and 'democratic' regimes. The collapse of the Junta in Argentina, which together with Brazil, Mexico and Chile have the most powerful proletariats in Latin America, marks a real definitive beginning of the revolution on a continental basis.

17. Fearing revolution and in order to try to save themselves, the military-police Junta in Argentina had to give way to elections and a 'democratic' regime. In reality what it means is that the socialist revolution has begun with a cloak of bourgeois

democracy. It was the previous 'democratic' regime's inability to solve the problems of the workers, peasants or middle class which led to the victory of the dictatorship in the first place. However the decay and the inability of the system to guarantee a minimum standard of living to the masses ultimately led to the undermining of the dictatorships.

18. In Chile without the hampering restriction of the workers' organisations, the so-called 'Chicago Boys' had a ready-made model to carry out their ideas of 'monetarism' and 'Friedmanism' without the check of any movement on the part of the masses. This has resulted in a catastrophe, with mass unemployment and the ruining of sections of small industrialists, preparing the way for pauperisation of practically the entire population, apart from a thin segment of the ruling class and its hangers-on in the state machine at the top. Thus the complete inability of capitalism on a world scale to get out of the impasse of the system is crudely reflected in the problems of Latin America.

19. The dictatorships' complete incapacity to develop the productive forces, the virtual or partial collapse of industry and the ruin of agriculture were all preparing the way for a mass response on the part of the working class. This has the sympathy and support of the peasants and middle class in the towns. However the absence of strong Marxist currents, the complete inability of the 'Socialist' and 'Communist' leaderships in these countries to understand the problems with which they were faced, and the experience of the dictatorships means that enormous illusions in 'democracy' have been engendered. The masses cannot but compare the nightmare existence under the dictatorships with the situation which existed in Chile, Argentina, Brazil and in other countries before the generals seized power. For the ruling class democracy and dictatorship are methods of rule. But for the proletariat the rights and liberties which they have under a bourgeois democracy are enormously important. There is an instinctive understanding on the part of the proletariat of the differences between these regimes. However there is no economic basis existing in any of the countries of Latin America for trade union and political rights. In reality in all the countries of Latin America the bourgeois system cannot afford democratic rights.

20. Yet, dialectically, we have the situation where the bourgeoisie is compelled, at least for a period, to tolerate these rights. The military-police dictatorships have been completely discredited and become a shambles, a nightmare of corruption, torture, repression and economic chaos. Thus the bourgeois, or at least sections of the bourgeois, in an endeavour to save themselves, are prepared, once the masses begin to move, to return to bourgeois democracy.

21. What this demonstrates is that capitalism has completely outlived itself, especially in the countries of the colonial world. Because of the blood-sucking

ly needed by the people throughout the country. Yet, on a capitalist basis, not enough are being produced.

In 1974, 18% of the population had regular employment for cash wages. Now, because of economic crisis and population growth, the figure is down to 13%. To recover the 1974 position alone, it would be necessary to create 400 000 jobs, totally impossible on a capitalist basis. And this ignores that there are new job-seekers coming up each year from the schools—80 000 this year, for example.

The capitalists are squealing that lay-offs, etc., are inevitable, because there is a fall-off in local 'demand'.

Yet these capitalists are the same ones who have continually applauded the government's policy of holding wages down—which sets the basic limits to local 'demand'. Unless workers have money in their pockets to buy goods, consumer goods production will fall, and then, in its turn, production by those who supply the consumer goods industry, and so on.

But the capitalists cannot agree to raise wages and increase local demand for goods, since they are competing for profits and so always try to force wages down.

At the same time, the capitalists are flooding the government with requests for price increases. But this only makes the situation worse. With their prices increased, the capitalists temporarily make more profits—but goods at higher prices only soak up the market more quickly. The capitalists will over-produce, or be able to sell less goods—and in both cases want to fire more workers.

As the local economy stagnates, production becomes ever more dependent on export markets—but

now these markets are drying up too because there is a **world crisis of the capitalist system**.

There is no way out of this vicious cycle until capitalism is overthrown.

Take the case of Lancashire Steel. Late in 1982, running losses of Z\$140 000 a month, it effectively went bankrupt, and announced it had no money to pay wages. But, despite being granted a 40% price increase for its products, it lost more than Z\$2,2million during 1983! Again in December 1983 the management threatened to close down the plant.

Price increases

The capitalists are demanding price increases because, they say, their costs are increasing. With wages being held down, this is largely the costs of machinery, spares, raw materials etc.

The basic pressure for these prices to rise comes from outside Zimbabwe. At present Zimbabwean industry depends on imports for 25% of its raw materials, and 70% of machinery. Because prices of these goods are rising throughout the capitalist world, they do so in Zimbabwe also.

This is an important way in which the crisis of capitalism in Zimbabwe is bound up with the crisis of capitalism world-wide.

The government complains that manufacturing industry is the largest consumer of foreign exchange for imports. But this is inevitable. The economy in Zimbabwe cannot be an island, insulated from world trade.

In fact, if industry were to develop more, this integration with, and dependence on, the world economy

would also increase. More sophisticated imports from the advanced industrial countries would be necessary. "Import-replacement" at one level creates a demand for imports at a more sophisticated level.

On a capitalist basis, Zimbabwe cannot shield itself from world-wide inflation, and from the consequence of an effective 'shrinking' of the local and world markets.

The government urges the capitalists to compensate for the lack of internal demand, (and also to earn more foreign exchange) by increasing their exports.

But where can exports go to? Zimbabwean manufacturing capitalists are clear that they cannot expect to increase their exports in the US, Europe, etc. There they are faced with the unbeatable big imperialist monopolies, themselves engaged in cut-throat competition for the best share of a stagnating world market.

The government points to the market of SADCC. It is true that its industrial development has given Zimbabwe a certain market in countries like Malawi, Zambia, Botswana, Burundi, etc. But this is not going to increase to any great extent. These are poor countries, also beset by capitalist crisis, overloaded with debts to imperialist banks, short of foreign exchange.

The arrangements possible in the Preferential Tariff Area (PTA)—by which firms can buy and sell on a credit basis between countries, settling up the final balance later—ease this situation slightly. But this cannot compensate for the basically small size of the PTA market, within which there is increasing competition.

As a recent RAL economic report states (March 1984): "The fall in local demand has led to active canvassing of export markets, but where manufacturers have been successful in securing export orders these have invariably been achieved in the face of heavy competition particularly from high volume exporters in the far east where the most up-to-date production equipment is in use and hence profit margins are extremely small."

Other capitalists believe their only potential export market is South Africa. Even though South African industry operates on a bigger scale which gives a cost advantage, they argue that Zimbabwean industry can compete because of cheaper labour and raw material costs. (Steel, for ex-



Lancashire Steel in Kwekwe, where the workers have fought militantly against the bosses attempts to close it, forcing the government to take it over. But jobs are still under threat.

role of imperialism, Latin America has enormous resources which are undeveloped. Thousands of miles of rich agricultural land is left to the weeds, hydro-electric resources are untapped, mineral resources are not developed, an El Dorado of resources is completely neglected because the bourgeois system is completely incapable of using them. At the same time, the human resources are left to rot. Falling living standards and the rule of the parasitic ruling class dependent on the benediction of imperialism is the lot of most of the countries of Latin America.

22. Thus there are the ingredients for the greatest explosion ever seen in the whole of history on a continental scale. It is in this context that the role of the leadership of the 'Socialist' and above all of the 'Communist' Parties of Latin America assumes the most reactionary form. Even if in one country of Latin America Marxists gained majority support in the working class, the whole situation of Latin America would be transformed. Once the socialist revolution begins and a workers' democracy is installed, the revolution in Latin America would assume continental dimensions. The key countries in this regard are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. The revolution which we are facing in Latin America is not a 'democratic' revolution but, on the contrary, the proletarian revolution on a continental basis.

23. All the objective conditions have matured for the development of a socialist revolution on a continental scale. We see the basis of the permanent revolution in the events throughout Latin America. Not one single problem—whether that of the Indians, the agrarian problem or that of raising the standards of the masses—can be solved on a bourgeois basis. The decline in the productive forces under the pressure of imperialism, the ruin of the middle classes, the actual incompetence of the capitalists and the generals to solve the problems of Latin America, is an indication that here too capitalism has become a gigantic fetter on the productive forces.

24. Latin American capitalism cannot afford concessions except for very short periods of time. The proletariat has to struggle for the bare necessities of existence. In Brazil, sections of the masses, faced with virtual starvation, have actually been raiding the supermarkets and taking all the food from the shelves. That shows the ripeness of the socialist revolution. It is an indication of the fact that without the organisations of the proletariat giving a lead, the masses are compelled to take semi-anarchist or even anarchist actions in order to keep themselves alive. The proletariat's consciousness is lagging behind the objective situation. That is because of the complete lack of understanding of the situation of capitalism both on a world scale and in their own countries by the leaders of the workers' organisations. In fact one can say without exaggeration that the leaders of the mass organisations in Latin America are the most conservative force on the planet.

25. Especially disastrous in this context is the role of the Stalinist bureaucracies of Russia, China and Cuba. Their national limitations and their selfish national interests determine their policies, outlook and attitudes. As a consequence there has been the development of guerillaism in Latin America which, alongside the opportunism of the sects, played a disastrous role in assisting the coming to power of the military-police dictatorships in Uruguay in 1973 and Argentina in 1976.

26. All the objective conditions are there for a revolution on the model of the Russian Revolution. What has been lacking has been a Bolshevik party and leadership. But in the process of the unfolding struggles it is inevitable that the ideas of Marxism will gain support throughout the continent of Latin America. The understanding of the permanent revolution will form the basis of the work of Marxism in Latin America. Only the proletariat can give leadership in the developing revolution and carry through the revolution to a conclusion. The proletariat can come to power and carry out all the democratic tasks to a conclusion, including the unification of Latin America on the basis of a Federation of Workers' States. The objective conditions have accumulated on an international scale for the world revolution. The world situation has become such that revolution can begin in any part of the globe. At the moment, Latin America is in the most favourable situation because of the developing revolution on a continental basis. However the process will not be simple, it will be a protracted process, not because of the objective situation, but because of the weakness of the leadership of the proletariat and the weakness of Marxism. Events, events and further events will change the consciousness of the masses. At present the subjective factor is weak, but it can become enormously strong on the basis of the experience of the masses in the countries of Latin America.

27. A Latin American revolution on socialist lines would be an enormous beacon to the masses in North America. The 15 million people of Latin American origin in the United States, together with the blacks and others, would give it an enthusiastic response. The working class, perplexed by, and even hostile to, what they think is 'socialism' in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers' states, would give enormous support to a genuine socialist revolution in Latin America. It would undermine the power of US imperialism completely. It would be a beacon to the entire world and would have even greater effects than the Russian Revolution itself. The entire globe would reverberate to the effects of the revolution in Latin America.

28. With one language dominant in the whole of Latin America (except Brazil and some countries around the Caribbean), the perspective exists of a continental plan of production on the basis of the unification of these countries in a Socialist Federa-

Capitalists' investment strike!

In 1982, after making a survey of 157 firms (producing 50% of turnover in manufacturing), the Chamber of Zimbabwe Industries claimed that manufacturing investment was over Z\$170 million.

(In the same year, however, the multi-nationals exported Z\$350 million in profits and through transfer pricing.)

But this investment was made in 1982 on the expectation that the 1980-81 'boom' would continue. What is the position now?

The March RAL merchant bank survey states that "Reports emanating from industrial companies in recent months generally refer to reduced profit levels and declines in real turnover. Many have been forced to reduce operations in line with market demands, and despite these and cost-pruning efforts, some have incurred operating losses...The outlook for the rest of 1984 is not optimistic."

After-tax profits have in fact

declined from a peak of 15% in 1981 to less than 6% in 1983. "International financial experts say when this figure...drops below 10% it signals a serious situation with severe repercussions for investment...investment was probably static if not lower in 1983 than in 1982 while investment outlook for this year is equally bleak." (*Herald*, 5/4/84)

Since independence, only about Z\$60 million has been directly invested in Zimbabwe from abroad. Now, states the Zimbabwe Economic Society, "No matter how hard Zimbabwe tried to lure foreign investment, it would take nothing short of a return to pre-independence labour and wage regulations to satisfy their requirements for profits." (*Herald*, 5/4/84).

Privately, capitalists say that anyone wanting to invest from abroad would need their heads examined! The same conditions apply for local investment by the capitalists.

Nor is the slack in private invest-

ment being taken up by the government. Under the pressure of the IMF, the government is slashing its capital expenditure and other spending (thus also further shrinking the local market).

As the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development admitted in December 1983, "Zimbabwe has been eating away at its capital base as neither the public nor private sector has done any replenishment investment of any magnitude." (*Herald*, 1/12/83)

Yet the Chamber of Zimbabwe Industries itself estimates that, to keep the manufacturing sector viable, and excluding investment in fresh plant etc., Z\$287 million would be needed in 1984, and Z\$341 million in 1985!

The capitalist press blames this situation on the 'socialist' policies of the ZANU government. In reality these conditions exist because the government has not carried out the overthrow of capitalism.

ample, is currently about Z\$100 dollars a ton cheaper in Zimbabwe than in South Africa).

But they are worried that the SA capitalists, facing economic crisis too, will raise import barriers against Zimbabwe even more than at present.

They are therefore discussing behind the scenes the possibilities for South Africa to become part of SADCC and of the PTA!

There is nothing the SA capitalists would like better. They are looking for ways to ease their own economic crisis by grabbing markets throughout Southern Africa. This is one of the main reasons why they signed the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique.

SA monopolies

While, on this basis, some firms in Zimbabwe might be able to sell in SA, the overwhelming effect would be the swamping and destruction of industry in Zimbabwe by the more powerful and more efficient SA monopolies.

Invariably machinery in Zimbabwean industry is older than that in SA—and often discarded from SA!

For example a nut-making machine in Zimbabwe turns out 60 nuts a minute, while a corresponding one in SA turns out 400 a minute.

The first signs of this dismal future for Zimbabwean industry in competition with SA are to be seen in the "deal" being proposed for Lancashire Steel. Because of pressure from the workers, it has now been taken over by ZISCO and the IDC. But the plan, essentially, is to try to close it down. Purchase of its wire export production by Haggie Wire and Rope, the SA monopoly, is a prelude to this. Squeezing out its other SA competitors, Haggie can then cancel its contract with Lancashire Steel, drive it under, and capture the entire Zimbabwe and SADCC market.

Thus, far from expanding its exports, Zimbabwean industry, including metals and engineering, is more likely to face being drowned by South African imperialism. SADCC, intended as a means for the surrounding countries to reduce their dependence on SA—and as a captive market for Zimbabwean industry—could become merely a larger stamping-ground for the SA monopolies.

On a capitalist basis, therefore, the

metal and engineering industry will continue to wind down.

The capitalists are suffering other 'pinpricks' too. Even profitable companies, with orders on the books, complain of a shortage of foreign exchange allocations to buy raw materials, spares, etc.

Crisis

This is because the capitalist crisis is forcing the government increasingly into debt. More and more money has been borrowed from the IMF and the big imperialist banks—and huge amounts of foreign exchange are being diverted to pay interest, and repayments, on these loans.

Industry is being squeezed to pay off the finance capitalists. Overall, manufacturers have had their allocations of foreign exchange cut to about 30% of those of three years ago.

This is the reason also why the government has taken into its hands foreign shareholdings of residents, and is freezing repatriation of profits.

Given all these conditions, there is absolutely no question of major new investment by the capitalists. New in-

tion. While even the revolution succeeding on a continental scale would not be able to fully solve the problems of the masses, as the example of the revolution on the continental land mass of Russia has demonstrated, nevertheless it would offer immense possibilities to the proletariat. It would be a beacon for the proletariat of other continents to join in the process of socialist construction.

29. Marx once said that revolution is the locomotive of history. But dictatorship is a gigantic brake on history. That is because the proletariat has been thrown back and tends to develop enormous illusions in the possibility of solving their problems simply by the overthrow of the Generals. Therefore the Latin American revolution will be a protracted process. Although there is no economic basis for it, bourgeois democracy can survive for a period in countries like Argentina. The masses have been through the terrible experience of a military-police dictatorship alongside the decline, disintegration and decay of capitalism. As a consequence of the complete discrediting of the military-police dictatorships, even in the eyes of the bourgeois and of the generals themselves, the military are very weak at this stage and unable to launch a counter-attack on the masses. Just as after the collapse in 1974 of the Colonels' regime in Greece there was no possibility of the army immediately turning towards dictatorship again, so the situation will be the same in the countries of Latin America. The lack of a basis for military-police dictatorship means that the generals are very weak at the present time. Trotsky long ago explained that with the military-police apparatus alone in a modern industrial country it is not possible to rule for very long.

30. Any attempt to re-establish military-police dictatorships in the immediate future would result in an uprising on the lines of the Spanish proletariat's action in July 1936. Any attempt at a premature dictatorship would prepare the way for civil war in these

countries, a civil war in which the bourgeois are not certain they would be victorious. Thus the protracted period of death agony of capitalism in Argentina and in other countries of Latin America will, for a time, take the form of 'democracy'. However, in the long term, if the masses do not learn the lessons of the past events, then inevitably the ebbing of the movement can prepare the way for even more ferocious military-police dictatorships which would make Pinochet and the Generals in Argentina seem mild humanitarian experiments by comparison.

31. What we have seen in Europe in the struggle of the working class will be completely eclipsed by the movement of the masses in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, after a period in which they will digest the lack of reforms and the lack of a solution under bourgeois democracy. Enormous strikes, demonstrations and upheavals have already taken place in Brazil and Argentina.

32. All the organisations of the proletariat will be put to a decisive test in the coming revolution. Reformism and nationalism will be pitilessly exposed in all their inadequacies. In Latin America, as in other continents, the proletariat will attempt to transform and re-transform its organisations again and again. Thus what opens up is the most disturbed period in the history of Latin America, a period of upheavals, of movements of the proletariat, of defeats and then further movements—a period of 5 or 10 years of terrific battles which will transform the consciousness of the proletariat and prepare the way for Marxism.

33. The ideas of Marxism will become the ideas of the proletariat. Armed and organised with these ideas the proletariat will be invincible. As Marx long ago explained, once an idea becomes the idea of the masses then it becomes a material force with which the transformation of society will be possible.

Africa

1. Africa remains the most economically and politically backward continent. All economic forms from tribalism to semi-feudalism to modern capitalism exist there. At one extreme there are countries of Proletarian Bonapartism in Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia; at the other extreme there is the white supremacist dictatorship of South Africa.

2. The economic poverty of Africa and the lack of an industrial base means that the attempts to set up bourgeois democracies have in most African countries failed completely. There are dictatorships based either on Proletarian Bonapartism or on aspirant national capitalist classes like in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Zambia, or run by compradore

vestment is the essential key to development of the economy. Yet the capitalists are on an investment strike. (See box, previous page.)

While it is possible that there might be a slight recovery of the Zimbabwean economy on the tail of the weak world capitalist upturn, this will give only a small breathing space for workers to try and recover some of what has been lost.

Recovery will rapidly be cut across by a further and deeper world downturn, with more severe repercussions in Zimbabwe.

Only by removing the control of the capitalists over the economy can this situation be changed, and production be organised to serve the needs of working people.

The ability to do this lies in the hands, and only in the hands, of a movement united under the leadership of the organised working class.

Already it has been shown that, where workers have mounted resistance, their power can partially check the tide of attacks by the bosses.

After demonstrations by Harare Morewear workers against redundancies in February 1983, government intervention 'reduced' this to enforced unpaid leave. Workers at L.H. Martinussen also successfully resisted redundancies last year (see *Inqaba* No. 10).

Workers at Lancashire Steel in Kwekwe have resisted redundancies and closure since 1982 through tight organisation, unity and determination. Workers at Kew Engineering in

Engineering workers need powerful national organisation, mobilising struggles around common demands, and preparing and educating all workers for the task of removing capitalism.

Gweru stood firm against closure of the plant, but were ordered by the Department of Labour to accept the decision.

At Zambezi Coachworks, workers secured redundancy payments of Z\$5 000 for those with five years or longer service.

Even in these isolated struggles, some partial victories have been won. But, so long as the capitalists control the factories, they will try to take back any gains the workers achieve.

On the basis of a capitalist economy, the butchering of industry will continue.

To be effective, resistance needs to be organised on a much wider basis, around a programme capable of tackling the root of the problem, the capitalist system itself.

Metal and engineering workers need powerful national organisation, mobilising struggles around common demands, and in these struggles preparing and educating all workers for the task of removing capitalism.

Unfortunately, in the trade union field there is a history of division and weakness. As a result of manoeuvring by the government, the ZCTU and union leaders, there are two competing unions: the older, registered General Engineering and Metal Workers' Union, and the post-independence breakaway, the Zimbabwe Iron, Steel and Engineering

Workers Union. 6 000 workers at ZISCO are supposed to join yet another separate union.

No union leadership has been giving a clear lead to workers struggling for jobs and decent wages, or explained to workers that capitalism lies at the root of their problems.

This has created an enormous mistrust among workers not only of the union leaders but even, disastrously, of trade unions. At factory after factory workers speak of 'the union', not as their organisation, but as a clique of bureaucrats, cozy with the bosses, whose only contact with the workers is to collect their joining-up fee.

It is hardly surprising that less than one third of metal and engineering workers are members of unions at all.

Nevertheless there is no way forward to fight back against the bosses except through the workers re-uniting in struggle for their common demands under the single banner of an existing union.

The GEMWU is the largest union, and the main negotiator with the bosses on a national basis. In recent months the rank and file membership of the GEMWU has begun to mobilise a struggle to transform the union into a body democratically controlled by the workers, with 100% membership, around a clear programme of workers' demands and a leadership capable of fighting for them.

They have called, at the same time, for unity in action among all metal and engineering workers—whether GEMWU or ZEISWU members, or presently unorganised—in a struggle against the bosses. In July, the National Council of the GEMWU voted to suspend the present General Secretary, and call new leadership elections.

The election of a new fighting leadership would give fresh hope to metal and engineering workers.

At the same time the key to reuniting metal and engineering workers in struggle lies in the extent to which the programme put forward by the workers' committees who have led this struggle becomes part of the lifeblood of every union member, as a guide to collective action.

This will involve a campaign of



Workers' slogans at the 1984 May Day rally, Harare.

bourgeois servants of imperialism as in Zaire.

3. In the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the movement for national liberation developed such force that the imperialists were forced to give at least nominal independence to their former colonial possessions in Africa, and retreat from direct domination to the yoke of economic neo-colonial exploitation. This was the case in all the ex-colonial areas of the world after the Second World War.

4. Trotsky had observed in the pre-1939 War period that the military cost of controlling the Empires was outstripping completely the tribute that the imperialists gained from their domination of the colonies. Thus it was far less expensive to allow the nominal control of the colonies to pass to either the local bourgeoisie or a thin layer of petit bourgeois who would act as agents and tools of imperialism.

5. If anything, the yoke of imperialism is tighter now than it was in the past. There is the collective exploitation of the ex-colonies by the EEC, Japan and the United States. Through the IMF the bankers are absolutely pitiless, in spite of semi-starvation conditions existing in the countries which have borrowed money from the imperialist powers to help in their development. The IMF and the World Bank are instruments of colonial domination of the great imperialist powers. The IMF's demands for cuts in subsidies on the absolutely basic commodities needed to keep the masses alive, has resulted in riots in Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia. In these countries there was an elementary movement of the proletariat which headed the movement of the masses. Thus the working class assumes its rightful place in these countries at the head of the nation. In those three countries, for the present, the government has been compelled to retreat and the imperialists have had to acquiesce in this retreat for fear of an absolute explosion and revolution.

6. Imperialism has presided over the ruin of most of the countries of Africa. Like all the colonial areas, the price of the goods they sell have fallen steeply during the world slump of 1979-82, while the cost of goods they buy (mainly capital and durable goods and food) continued to rise. As a consequence the 'scissors' between the price of raw materials and foodstuffs exported by these countries, and the price of the goods that they import has widened considerably. The result is that it is almost impossible for these countries to service their debts to the usurers of the West.

7. In a continent that is overwhelmingly agricultural and the most rural area of the world, food production has fallen steeply. The population has increased at a faster rate than in other continents. So the disparity between food production on the one hand and the need to feed the population on the other hand has increased enormously. Practically all the countries of Africa are compelled to import food

either from the capitalist powers or, in the case of Southern Africa, from white-dominated South Africa.

8. In addition to all the other calamities there have been disasters of drought, disease and the spread of the deserts in many areas in Africa. The failure to organise irrigation schemes, because of the poverty of these areas and the rottenness of the regimes, and the overgrazing of grasslands, has prepared the way for desertification of whole areas of Africa. Apart from drought, these are man-made calamities. They are a direct consequence of the domination of imperialism and the way in which the transition to a money economy occurred in the past.

9. The outlook for Africa is one of absolute disaster which will involve the death of millions during the course of the next 5, 10 or 20 years. The ecologists and economic experts of the OECD and the United Nations have declared that there is a possibility of 50 million dead in the next 20 years because of hunger.

10. The imperialists Balkanised Africa, the state boundaries cutting across the living bodies of tribes and nations. These have remained in being; indeed one of the principles of the so-called Organisation of African Unity is respect for the boundaries imposed by imperialism!

11. The national states which have been created since independence are partially genuine and at the same time semi-puppets of the West. They all have come into existence too late to be able to compete with the capitalist powers of the West. In Kenya, which is the country most favoured by the imperialists, there was a boom for a certain period of time, but now Kenya is faced with the same problems as the rest of Africa. The governments are corrupt and degenerate; a thin layer have enriched themselves at the expense of the mass of the population as compradores and as agents of the big powers and monopolies.

12. Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, was lucky to have oil and has had some development. But the fall in the price of oil has undermined the development of the economy which depended completely or almost completely on the export of oil to the West. The fact that the price of oil fell while industrial goods went up in price, has left Nigeria in an impossible position as far as its deficit in the balance of payments is concerned. On top of that the corruption of the ruling clique has been such as to have completely choked the development of the economy.

13. The capitalist crisis of 1979-82 bore very heavily on the countries of Africa as for the rest of the colonial world. Thus, even though there were large industrial projects in Nigeria, the local capitalists are utterly incapable of using this industry for the pur-



Workers at the 1984 May Day rally in Harare.

mass recruitment, education of the membership (which is the basis of real democracy), and mobilising struggle around the common demands of metal and engineering workers.

In this way a fighting GEMWU could become a beacon for the whole trade union movement in Zimbabwe, and beyond.

It is through the experience of struggles, in defeats as well as victories, that the mass of workers will come to the understanding that, to solve their problems, it is necessary for them to remove capitalism. Through the same experiences they will gain the confidence, experience, and organisation required to achieve this. Assisting this process, and ultimately decisive for its success, is a clear programme charting the road ahead, presented by the active workers.

Programme

Among elements of the programme which is being put forward within the GEMWU for rallying and uniting the broadest mass of workers, and preparing them for the task of ending capitalism, are the following:

● **"No redundancies. A shorter working week, paid at no less than the weekly national minimum wage!"**

"We must be organised to resist all attempts by the bosses to fire workers or lay us off temporarily...."

"Instead of redundancies or short-time working, etc, workers' committees and the trade union must put for-

ward the demand for a **shorter working week, paid at not less than the weekly national minimum wage.**

"If orders are short, the available work must be shared out among the greatest possible number of workers. This will ease unemployment.

"At the same time, just because workers have to work less hours, they and their families cannot afford to starve. No workers' weekly pay should be less than the national minimum weekly wage."

● **"A living wage for all workers! Proper payment for skills!"**

"With prices rising at the moment at the rate of over 30% a year, the minimum wage of 115 dollars is not enough for workers and their families to live on. The basic minimum wage must be raised to 150 dollars a month, and regularly increased to meet increases in the cost of living."

● **"Nationalise bankrupt companies!"**

"If the bosses claim that they cannot 'afford' to continue operating, then the government must nationalise these companies, and bring them into the democratic control of the workers.

"Workers cannot afford to lose pay or jobs because of the bankrupt character of the capitalist system! The nation cannot afford to lose essential resources for production and development!"

"The government must nationalise these companies without paying compensation to the bosses. If the bosses claim they are bankrupt, then their companies are worth nothing on the market. If the government does not

take them over, then the bosses may well try to take valuable machinery, etc., out of the country.

"These companies could be run by committees with one third of the members appointed by government, one third by the trade union movement, and one third by the workers' committee in the company."

Nationalised

In May 1983, after the managing director of Fencing Services in Harare had fled the country and the workers' had assumed control of the company, the government nationalised it as a workers' cooperative—under the Emergency Powers (Control of Goods and Services) Regulations of 1979. This shows what is possible!

In taking over bankrupt companies, government must also guarantee their overdrafts, and cancel interest payment on their debts.

Struggling for these and similar demands, metal and engineering workers can unite their forces, and build their confidence and power.

"To fight for these demands", states the programme of the GEMWU workers, "full workers' control of union policy and union officials is vital.

"There must be regular trade union meetings, at national, regional and branch level. The development of local and factory branches must be encouraged.

"All officials must be regularly elected, and paid no more than the average wage of metal and engineering workers, (with necessary expenses, fully accounted for, in addition)...."

But all this will not be enough to save jobs, save the metal and engineering industry, or reverse the run-down of the economy. For the government merely to nationalise loss-making firms will just saddle it with burdens.

ZISCO, for example, just over 50% government-owned (and the rest distributed among Anglo American, Messina, Lancashire Steel, Stewarts and Lloyds, and Tanks Investments) is currently being subsidised by government **at the rate of Z\$1 million a week.**

Government ministers have pointed out that industries which have been nationalised are still faced

pose of competing on world markets. Like all the countries of the world they have been indissolubly connected to the world economy and the world market and, on a national basis, there is no solution for the economies of any of the countries of Africa.

14. The national bourgeois and petit-bourgeois cliques who have come to power in the African countries are utterly incapable of seeing beyond their own frontiers. Even the limited economic common market of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda collapsed. Kenya, which is a bit more developed economically than the other two, gained the main benefits from this and was not prepared to share them, so Uganda and Tanzania broke up the common market.

15. The solutions put forward by the bourgeois economists both of Africa and of the imperialist states are entirely utopian. On a capitalist basis there is no way out of the nightmare of hunger, death from starvation and privations for the majority of the population of the entire continent.

16. It is no accident that hardly a single country of Africa is a real bourgeois democracy. They are one-party states or open Bonapartist military-police dictatorships. The economic and social contradictions are too great to allow the development of bourgeois democracy. There is no economic basis for social reforms. The contradictions in the economies of the African countries, their position in Africa and their position on the world market are such that it would be impossible for a bourgeois democracy to survive, at least for any length of time. Apart from any other consideration, there is the pressure of imperialism on all these countries. The imperialist powers are intimately linked with the compradore cliques which control most African countries as, for example, the French imperialists are still linked to the former French colonies.

17. Apart from all the other problems there is the problem of the economic disparity between the top layers of the population, who have their nose in the trough of the state, and the mass of the population. In Zaire, for example, which is potentially an enormously rich country with massive mineral and other resources, Mobutu, a former Belgian Army sergeant, has turned himself into one of the richest men in the world. It is reputed that he has up to a \$1 000 million stored away in the banks in Switzerland! That is one of the more glaring examples of corruption, but to a greater or lesser extent it is endemic in practically all the African countries. Corruption, oppression and repression are the only methods of rule that these shaky bourgeois or semi-bourgeois regimes can have.

18. The imperialists prefer to rule in the metropolitan countries with formal bourgeois democracy. But in the colonial world, and particularly in Africa, they engineer and support the most ferocious military-police dictatorships and one-party states as the method of rule by their agents and tools.

They close their eyes to the enormous corruption, waste and mismanagement of their proteges because they see no other way in which the rule of imperialism can be maintained over Africa. In the metropolitan countries it was possible, at least for a whole historical period, to mask the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, by giving concessions. In Africa, and throughout the colonial world, the contradictions are stark and naked and therefore the imperialist bourgeoisie are compelled to prop up and support such regimes as Mobutu's in Zaire, who regards the state as almost a milchcow for the benefit of him, his family and the pack of courtiers and cronies around him.

19. The achievement of national states in Africa was a progressive step forward in comparison with direct colonial rule. But in the modern epoch, these states had hardly come into existence before the national state on the one hand, and the development of productive forces on a world scale on the other hand, came completely into contradiction. Thus merely the form of colonial exploitation and oppression has changed, not the substance.

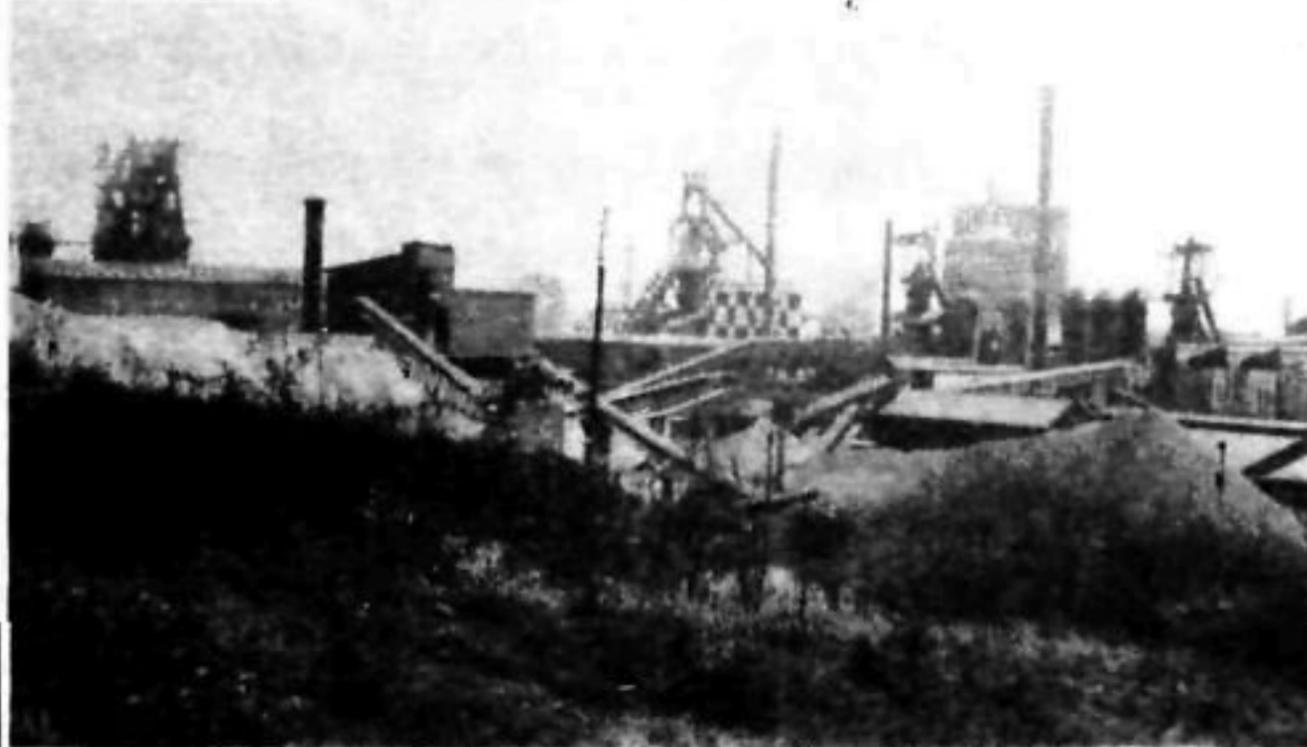
20. Because they were held in forcible oppression by the imperialist powers for generations, the collapse of colonial rule has come too late in Africa and Asia for the native bourgeoisie to play a progressive role. The national state on a world scale had already become outmoded and was playing a reactionary role. In these countries the 'national governments' are a horrible caricature of the governments in the imperialist countries.

21. In the 19th century the national state could play a progressive role in the unification of countries like Italy and Germany. But in Africa today it plays a very pernicious role. Each small country has its own tariffs, its own army and its own national airline. As a consequence, what productive forces are developed find themselves hemmed in by the constriction of the limits of the national state. On a bourgeois basis there cannot be a development of the productive forces under these conditions.

22. These nation states have appeared too late for the growth of a powerful bourgeois class on the lines of the development of the bourgeoisie of France, Italy, Germany and Britain in the last two or three centuries. While preserving a nominal independence, each is dominated by the imperialist powers—particularly Britain, France and the United States. They are all at the mercy of the unscrupulous multinational monopolies which dominate the world market. The goods which are banned and forbidden in the countries of the West, because of their effects on health, are dumped at high prices into the colonial countries, particularly in Africa.

23. Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa are the key countries of the continent. Developments in these three countries would have effects in the whole of the

ZISCO



As an integrated steel plant, ZISCO's capacity is far too large to serve the existing Zimbabwe market (limited by the cheap labour system of capitalism).

ZISCO therefore presently exports 77% of its production—which earns Zimbabwe valuable foreign exchange, amounting to Z\$70 million in 1983.

Nevertheless, it is presently exporting at a loss. This is because on a world scale steel-making capacity is far larger than the capitalist market can absorb. Everywhere steel com-

panies are operating at a loss, forced to cut prices, shedding jobs, and working below capacity—even though there are vast needs for steel in the world.

Meanwhile the remaining 23% of ZISCO's steel is sold locally, but at a much higher price than the export price. The local steel price alone (increased by 25% in July 1982, and with another increase intended soon) has been a major factor in driving local factories to bankruptcy.

Against the cut-throat competition of major world steel producers, there

is no hope for ZISCO to increase the amount or profitability of its exports. And there are limits to increasing the domestic steel price.

The perspective, on a capitalist basis, is for increasing losses by ZISCO. Sooner or later, rather than pouring in huge subsidies, the government will have to reduce costs at ZISCO—by attacking the jobs and wages of ZISCO workers.

Under capitalism in Zimbabwe, as the crisis deepens, it is not ruled out that ZISCO, employing 6 000 workers, and with an estimated 150 000 dependent on its output, might be forced out of business altogether.

But even in a Zimbabwean workers' democracy, based on nationalisation and planning, steel production in Zimbabwe would still be subject to the external constraints of capitalism.

ZISCO's production could be turned to serve the expanded local market—but at the cost of losing foreign exchange. Export production would continue at a loss. Both ways, huge subsidies would be needed against the competition of capitalist steel producers.

This shows why socialism cannot be built in Zimbabwe alone, and why Zimbabwean workers need to link up with the struggles of workers internationally for socialism.

with severe problems.

It is true, for example, that even though the Industrial Development Corporation owns 100% of Willowvale Motor Industries (which assembles Ford vehicles and Scania trucks), this firm has still suffered 95 redundancies out of 500 workers, and 100 more are threatened. Equally F. Issels and Co (51% IDC-owned, and 49% by Portland Holdings) has been operating on short-time for over two years.

Moreover, capitalists still in business are looking around for places outside Zimbabwe where they can produce more profitably. A number of clothing firms have already shifted production to Botswana—with the aim of exporting back to Zimbabwe. At least one other engineering firm, Steelforce, previously in Bulawayo, has done the same.

All these problems will continue so long as the big and profitable factories, mines, banks and farms remain under the control of the private

capitalists.

“What is needed”, explains the GEMWU workers' programme, “is for the government to take over, under workers' control, the big and profitable companies, and the big banks. This is where the important decisions about the metal and engineering industry, and investment in the whole economy, are being made.

Democratic plan

“On this basis, it would be possible to draw up a democratic plan of production for the metal and engineering industry, and for the whole economy, based on the needs of working people.”

Idle machinery and those without jobs could be brought together to expand production of the goods needed for development. All the talents and ingenuity of the working class could be used for the service of working people.

But even these measures would not

solve all the problems. Because the economy of Zimbabwe is interlinked with, and dependent on, the economy of the whole Southern African region, and on world capitalism, socialism cannot be built in Zimbabwe on its own.

Not even the largest countries of the modern world—neither the capitalist USA nor the bureaucratically-ruled workers' state of the Soviet Union—have large enough markets in isolation, even were the workers to take power, to exploit all the opportunities of modern technology and human ingenuity in order to create the abundance of wealth which is the basis of socialism.

The socialist revolution which is now on the agenda throughout the world will be carried through, country by country, as a **world** revolution.

A workers' democratic government in Zimbabwe, organising and planning production, would still be limited by all the external constraints of capitalism. Foreign exchange, for

rest of Africa. They all have a powerful proletariat. South Africa is the most industrially developed and the position of the proletariat in the economic and political life of the country is therefore potentially the most powerful of any of the African countries. The industrialisation of South Africa has prepared the way for the grave-digger of white supremacy.

24. The problems of the bourgeois democratic revolution in South Africa go hand in hand with socialist tasks. There is no possibility of achieving full democratic rights for black South Africans except by the overthrow of the capitalist regime and the installation of a workers' democracy.

25. The black African majority in South Africa, overwhelmingly proletarian, are denied any democratic or civil rights and are ruled by a privileged racial 'aristocracy' of whites. There are certain social parallels with the slave-based 'democracy' of ancient Greece and Rome, and certain similarities also with the regimes of the Iron Heel sketched out in Jack London's book. The foundation of the racist system is capitalism and the exploitation of the proletariat. It is a modern industrial society in which, for historical reasons, superimposed on wage slavery there is what amounts to a collective chattel slavery of the black proletariat in the shape of the pass laws and other archaic and slave-like controls. The black proletariat carries the burdens of chattel slavery and of wage slavery without the 'advantages' of either.

26. However, there are going to be some unpleasant surprises for the bourgeoisie of South Africa. The South African workers have been hardened by a struggle against a nightmare regime. They are learning in struggle the need for collective battle against their oppressors. The organisation of a section of the proletariat into unions, and the potential organisation of the majority, means that the bourgeoisie will be compelled to tolerate the existence of black unions, partially because of pressure from abroad. The attempt to regulate and control this movement of the blacks in South Africa will turn against them in the future. The industrial proletariat of South Africa will gain the hegemony of the vast majority of the African, Coloured and Indian masses. With correct tactics and strategy, it would be entirely possible for the black proletariat to win over or neutralise at least a section and even possibly a majority of the white workers.

27. Unfortunately the African National Congress, dominated by the SA Communist Party, has been mesmerised by guerilla struggles in Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique as well as in Asia and Latin America. The ANC has attempted to use guerillaism as its main strategy. But in reality there is no big peasantry in South Africa—on the contrary there is a rural reserve army of labour. The rural working population is part of the proletariat. The ANC organised the bases for their raids into South Africa

on the frontiers of neighbouring states. Now the white South African regime has succeeded in blocking the way to a guerilla movement with its deals with the ruling bureaucracies in Angola and Mozambique. The Proletarian Bonapartist states of Mozambique and Angola have not received the succour and aid which they had expected from the Stalinist states of Russia and Eastern Europe. This put them at the mercy of the South African regime, which organised counter-revolutionary movements of thugs and murderers to carry out an alleged 'guerilla' war, in reality bandit incursions, in Mozambique and Angola. The economic difficulties resulting from drought, bureaucratic incompetence and dictatorial regimes super-imposed on backward societies led these countries to chaos. Without a Marxist internationalist approach the only course open to these regimes, after having appealed to the Eastern European bureaucracies for aid and not receiving much, was to try and come to a compromise and agreement with South Africa.

28. This means that the base which the ANC found in these countries for armed guerilla bands has now disappeared. This will probably force a realignment and a readjustment of tactics by the ANC. They have not realised that the proletariat is a far more powerful weapon if organised. The proletariat in industry would be a far more powerful weapon of struggle against the apartheid regime than the feeble attempts at building a guerilla movement.

29. There have already been massive movements on the part of the South African proletariat. All these are anticipations of the mighty movements of the future. All Africa will be rocked once the masses of South Africa move into action. The stupidity of guerillaism was that it tried to impose individual heroes against the regime instead of the collective might and mass of the organised black proletariat. A victory in South Africa would mean the collapse of the capitalist regimes in the whole of Southern Africa, and possibly the collapse of the Proletarian Bonapartist states in Angola and Mozambique. It would prepare the way for the mighty movement of the Nigerian and Egyptian proletariat, and of the entire proletariat of Africa.

30. The development of the proletariat in Nigeria, which is possibly the biggest proletariat now in Africa, would prepare the way for the permanent revolution. The elements of feudalism and semi-feudalism in the north of Nigeria could only be broken by a movement of the proletariat leading the peasantry in all the states of Nigeria and preparing the way for a socialist federation of states in Nigeria. This would be capable of solving the democratic problems, the national problem and lay the basis for solving the economic problems by the coming to power of the proletariat. This in its turn would have a decisive effect on the whole of Africa.

31. Similarly in Egypt a movement of the pro-

letariat would prepare the way for the collapse of the semi-feudal, semi-Bonapartist, semi-capitalist regimes of the sheikhs in Saudi Arabia, Oman and the Gulf states. This would prepare the way for the unification of the peoples of the Middle East (who already mostly speak one language, Arabic) and lead to a revolutionary movement in Asia on the one side and in the rest of Africa on the other side. Egypt in effect joins two continents together—Asia and Africa—and through it the movement will spread also into Europe and the rest of the world.

32. The economic and political effects of the revolution on the African continent would be stupendous. In whichever continent or country the socialist revolution begins, it would immediately begin to spread outwards. It is impossible for democratic socialist revolution on classical lines to be isolated in the modern epoch.

33. Thus the same processes that we see in Latin America and in Asia are also on the order of the day in Africa. All today's tasks are combined. The theory and process of the permanent revolution and the policies that go with it are the only solution of the problems of the entire African continent. Beginning with the democratic tasks, the masses will turn to the socialist tasks in one or another of the nations of Africa and then to the international tasks. Victorious as a socialist revolution in one country, the revolution could rapidly spread to the whole of Africa. All the conditions on an entire continental

basis have ripened as a result of the failure of the national cliques and the national bourgeoisie to solve the problems of their own countries. The proletariat is the only unifying force in these countries themselves and the only force capable of unifying Africa.

34. However the first beginnings are the most difficult. On the one hand the psychology of the masses is determined by the objective situation and the policy of the traditional organisations of the proletariat. In addition, in Africa, the policies of the nationalist movement were directed against imperialist oppression of the past and its radical phraseology also still has some effect today.

35. In Africa there will be protracted struggles. There is absolutely no way forward on the road of capitalism. The objective situation is such that first the advanced workers, then the mass of the workers will begin to understand the need for socialist policies on the one hand, and for international solidarity on the other. The ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky will become the ideas first of sections of the proletariat, then the mass of the proletariat in certain countries, and then from this will come the idea of the unity of the international working class. The proletariat is the only force which can lead the peoples of Africa to the socialist transformation of their continent and to the formation of a world federation of socialist states.

The Middle East

1. The Middle East is now a bubbling cauldron of contradictions. It is a microcosm of all the problems of the colonial world. This is an important, if not decisive area—strategically, economically and politically. Oil is the key. It is this black gold which is vital to the economies of the EEC, Japan and the USA.

2. It is this which dictates the policy of Britain, France and above all US imperialism, which regards the Middle East as a vital area. In the past Britain and France dominated the area. Now US imperialism regards it as vital for communications and oil.

3. The artificial nature of the campaign of US imperialism against the 'expansionism' of the Soviet

bureaucracy is indicated in the fact that Russia could occupy the Gulf in just three hours! But if they did this, it would mean a nuclear war, and so the bureaucracy has no intention of getting involved in this way. In fact, it was the Moscow bureaucracy which prevented the overthrow of capitalism in Egypt in 1967, because of fear of the social effects throughout the Middle East and its repercussions on the relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and US imperialism.

4. The explosive contradictions in the area are indicated by the war unleashed by Iraq upon Iran. Because of the contradictions in Iraqi society—where a majority of the population nominally adhere to the Shi'ite sect of Islam—Saddam Hussein invaded Iran.

Botswana— Strangled by SA capitalism

By Abe Arnold



Capitalist crisis—unemployment, high prices and poverty—combined with the worst drought in a century, is creating a hell on earth for millions in Southern Africa.

Daily, desperation is forcing thousands of workers into struggle against low wages, homelessness, landlessness, joblessness and oppression.

Social crisis is undermining the stability of every regime in the region. The death of Sobhuza in Swaziland has opened up a political crisis as sections of the ruling elite scramble for power, at the same time tightening the dictatorship over the workers and peasants.

Jonathan in Lesotho increases the terror, arrests and murders of Basotho as his hold on power is threatened.

The ruling cliques increasingly find themselves forced to lean more and more openly on the SA government and the capitalist class it protects, to hold in check the anger of the people.

The SA regime is making use of this instability and turmoil to pull the 'front-line states' more closely under its heel.

Unleashing the armed bandits of the MNR and taking advantage of the social catastrophe caused by drought, SA has succeeded in forcing the Nkomati Accord on Mozambique. A similar agreement has existed with Swaziland for two years. The LLA and other pressures are being used by SA to keep Jonathan in line, and try to force him also into an Accord.

While these agreements and accords are presented as deals to prevent access by ANC guerillas to the

'front-line states', they are intended to go further than that. Increasingly unsure of its own rule, the SA ruling class is seeking new bases for stability—through tightening repression and a 'new' constitution inside, and Nkomati-type deals outside.

More and more the regime wants to bring under its control the regulation of the class struggle throughout Southern Africa as a whole. It will do so not only through 'accords' but also by means of the economic stranglehold that SA capitalism exercises over the whole of Southern Africa.

Call the tune

In a country like Botswana, for example, with which no 'accord' yet exists, SA can call the tune because of its total domination of the country's economy.

Every aspect of life in Botswana is linked back in one way or another to dependence on South Africa.

The diamond industry, backbone of the economy, is effectively controlled by De Beers, the SA mining giant. Even though Debswana is 51% government-owned, De Beers calls the tune. De Beers controls the Central Selling Organisation, which lays

down what quantity of diamonds Botswana can sell and at what price.

So a commodity which contributes 65% of export earnings; the money the country uses to feed and clothe itself; which provides employment and has been the engine of growth, is dominated both in production and sale by a South African monopoly.

In places like Orapa and Jwaneng, De Beers imposes the same conditions as it does on its mines in SA. A worker in Orapa knows the meaning of permits, passes and police raids even though he may never have visited SA.

SA's economic stranglehold is not just in diamonds—it can be seen in every aspect of production. Construction, trade, hotels and finance are dominated by SA companies.

In communications, and in transporting goods to and from countries abroad, Botswana is completely reliant on SA rail and communications networks, and heavily dependent on importing electric power as well.

Government revenue, spent on schools, hospitals, roads and dams in Botswana, comes in large part from SA through the customs agreement. The biggest single item of government revenue comes from this source—P158 million, or 31% of total government revenue.

To feed and clothe themselves, Batswana are forced to buy goods and services from SA. The present drought has reduced local crop production to 10% of national needs—the balance must be imported from SA, together with milk, eggs, groceries and other manufactured items.

He was afraid of the effects of the spread of the obscurantist movement led by Khomeini's caste of Mullahs, which seized power on the back of the Iranian revolution.

5. This reactionary religious caste, harking back to the Middle Ages, in reality defeated what was a socialist revolution. The Iranian revolution was in essence a movement of the proletariat, a spontaneous uprising similar to February 1917 in Russia. However, in the absence of a Marxist leadership, it was side-tracked onto the lines of religious obscurantism.

6. Starting off with democratic and socialist aims, the masses were striving in the direction of a transformation of society. But, with the proletariat lacking a Marxist leadership, the Mullahs were able to push the revolution back towards a dictatorship even more frenzied and murderous than the regime of the Shah. Thus, the revolution became deformed on the lines of a peculiar variant of unstable bourgeois Bonapartism. The war has resulted in a strengthening of the military caste. The army is still virtually intact, leaving the most dangerous fighting to the 'revolutionary guards'. When the religious frenzy dies down, and with the impasse of the regime, particularly after but even before Khomeini dies there may be a military coup setting up a new capitalist 'orthodox' military-police dictatorship. The imperialists, especially Britain and the United States, are working towards this end. On the other hand, there is an accumulation of discontent within the working class, which can move towards a new revolution.

7. The disastrous consequences of Stalinist policies are to be observed throughout the Middle East. In the 1950s and 60s, in line with the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet bureaucracy, the Tudeh (Communist) party in Iran first temporised with the nationalists and then even with the Shah's dictatorship. At that stage, the revolutionary movement bore a secular character in most of these countries. But the failure of the Stalinists, obsessed with the 'theory' of two stages—'first' a bourgeois-democratic revolution and 'then', in the dim and distant future, 'socialism'—led to these revolutions being distorted and twisted in the interests of the landlords, capitalists and merchants. Lurking behind the 'ideology' of religious frenzy are the interests of these classes.

8. Hussein's attempt at quick military victory in the Iran-Iraq war failed. The Iranian masses rallied to the defence of their revolution and also to the defence of their nation against a foreign invader. National feelings are still profound in all the countries of the world. Thus Hussein miscalculated and the Iraqi armies were driven back to within their own borders.

9. Like most of the countries of the area, Iraq is

ruled by a military-police Bonapartist dictatorship, inherently unstable and charged with contradictions. The Shi'ite majority of the population include the poorest sections. Even in its distorted form, the Iranian revolution was a mortal threat to the Iraqi regime. This is the fundamental reason for Hussein's military adventure.

10. Imagining that the revolution had disorganised Iran and undermined the army, Hussein thought he would gain an easy victory. He completely overlooked the effect the revolution would have on the consciousness and morale of the Iranian masses. He failed completely even to win over the Arab population of Iran. The Arab Iranians also rallied against the foreign invader. Thus, again, the national factor was predominant.

11. Having driven back the Iraqis, the Ayatollahs then proceeded to make the same mistake. The Iraqi Shi'ites were indifferent to the blandishments of what they saw as a foreign conqueror. Despite their hatred of the Hussein dictatorship, the masses rallied to defend 'their' territory, because there was no enthusiasm for the alternative posed.

12. The crushing superiority in manpower of Iran was partly compensated by the Iraqis' superior equipment—and the fact that Khomeini had no particular appeal for the masses in Iraq. The great powers complacently looked on as Iran and Iraq fought themselves to a standstill, secretly welcoming the fact that the conflict would weaken both sides. They were indifferent to the hundreds of thousands of casualties and the enormous destruction in Iran and Iraq. They acted like mere spectators, as long as their interests were not directly affected.

13. The war has become a war of attrition, where it is unlikely that either side will achieve a breakthrough. At the moment Iraq is fighting a defensive war. Desperately trying to provoke the intervention of the great powers, Iraq has threatened to bomb the Iranian oil ports in the Gulf. As a reply, the Mullahs have threatened to drag the whole area down into a *Götterdämmerung*-style conflagration by retaliating to the attacks on shipping in Iranian ports with attacks on Saudi Arabian and Kuwaiti-bound vessels. This threatens to involve the whole area in war.

14. The Ayatollahs are furious that the feudal-reactionary obscurantist regimes of the Gulf are financing Iraq's war. These regimes are thus fighting a war against Iran by proxy at a distance which, however, is anything but comfortable!

15. The Iraqi regime cannot win the war and wants 'peace', to settle the conflict. The imperialist powers have shown themselves incapable of putting pressure on Iran to compromise, and therefore Baghdad wants to involve them in the war.

The importation of foods and beverages, almost entirely from SA, is the biggest single item in the country's import list—19% of total imports. This is greater than the money spent on machines, or on fuel, which also come from SA.

Not only do Batswana depend for jobs on SA companies operating in their country—they depend also on jobs inside SA itself. Between 30 and 40 thousand migrants from Botswana work in SA's mines and factories.

All these factors underline Botswana's dependence on SA—as dependent, in economic reality, as any Bantustan.

In previous issues of *Inqaba*, we have looked at the situations in Lesotho and Swaziland, and shown how the fate of the workers and peasants in those countries is completely bound up with that of the working people of South Africa.

Vast country

The same reality exists for Botswana, even though as a country it is bigger than the other two countries combined, and has considerable mineral wealth.

Botswana is indeed a vast country, nearly the size of France, yet its population is only around 900 000. 84% of the population still live on the land, where the majority still use traditional methods of agriculture and cattle herding.

The low level of development is the result firstly of the attitude of British imperialism when it controlled Botswana, which was seen solely as a reservoir of cheap labour for SA's industry; and secondly the pressure of SA capitalism in the post-independence period, which has assisted mining development but restricted industrial development in ways which will be looked at later.

The low level of development is reflected in the small size of the working class—in 1981 only 97 000 were in formal sector employment, and only a quarter of this number in the towns.

This backwardness has provided the basis for a certain degree of social stability in Botswana, unlike in Swaziland and Lesotho. It explains why up till now SA has not needed to interfere openly in Botswana as it has done in Lesotho and Swaziland.

But this situation must inevitably change as the ravages of capitalist crisis in SA and internationally bite deeper, as the rural economy in Botswana is further eroded and the towns become concentrations of the landless and unemployed.

And as the people take up the struggle against these conditions, they will find themselves up against not only an increasingly dictatorial state in Botswana, but the boot of SA as well.

Already Botswana government ministers have warned that the country's "democracy" is not to be taken "for granted".

While discontent is more obvious at the moment in the urban areas, it is in the rural areas that the situation is most desperate. Drought has devastated herds and forced thousands onto famine relief. Even when the good rains come, these people will never be able to recover their former position.

According to a 1974/5 survey, 45% of rural households were without cattle. This percentage must now be higher and growing, further skewing the distribution of cattle ownership.

At the time of the 1971 census, the bottom 44% of cattle owners held 4% of the total herd; the top 15%, over 75%. 0.6% of the cattle producers (the rich Ghanzi and Tuli block farmers) have supplied 50% of the Botswana Meat Commission's in-

put since independence, while most of the other half has been supplied by the largest 10% of freehold farmers.

The rich farmers, with greater resources, are able to withstand drought better than the poor. They will be able to hold and consolidate their wealth while those at the bottom face worse poverty. This will open up further the class divisions which have emerged in the rural areas.

Rural poor

While the rural poor have looked to the government for some relief from their plight, nothing has been forthcoming. Government policies since independence have favoured the rich at the expense of the poor.

This can be seen clearly in the Tribal Grazing Lands Policy, the largest government agricultural project since independence. This policy is in some ways similar to the enclosure movement which took place in Britain when capitalism arose, when emerging capitalists set about grabbing the peasants' land for themselves.

That movement was directed against communal land, where ordinary people grazed their livestock. The rich landlords moved on to this communal land, fencing it off for their own use and depriving poor people of access to land.

The effect of TGLP is much the same—to fence off certain tracts of land and open them up to commercial farmers at very low rentals—4 thebe (cents) per hectare payable after 3 years. Only 3% of rural households are able to put up the capital to qualify for a ranch.

The government's intention was to encourage the rich to take their cattle out of the communal areas and herd them on the massive new ranches. What has happened in practice



Botswana: vultures feed off cattle killed by the terrible drought.

16. French imperialism's interest lies in an Iraqi victory—or, at least, in avoiding defeat—because of its investments, projects, arms trade, oil agreements, and so on. Dabbling in blood, Paris provides sophisticated arms, like Exocet missiles, to Baghdad. The Soviet Union too, after some hesitation, has supplied Iraq with fresh arms shipments.

17. However, an attack on Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the other Gulf states or Oman would immediately involve the USA, France and Britain. Although France and Britain would like the US to do the dirty work, they would have no alternative but to participate. This would be a war, at the outset, of naval and air forces. But at a later stage, the commitment of ground forces would seem to be inevitable.

18. They wish to avoid this because of the unpredictable consequences which it would produce among the masses—especially in the colonial world, starting with the Middle East, but also in France, Britain and the USA.

19. Even more apprehensive are the feudal rulers of the Gulf and Saudi Arabia. The social structure of these countries is still feudal. As in Iran, the laws of the Middle Ages still apply—stoning for adultery and lopping off of hands and feet for theft. In spite of the fabulous wealth from oil, they are submerged in barbarism. The oil wealth has turned a few cliques of sheikhs into multi-millionaires. For fear of the reaction of the masses, they have carried out certain reforms in housing, education and welfare, but the social structure remains basically what it was in the Middle Ages.

20. This wealth arose from the soaring oil prices of 1973-4. The price increased fourfold. However, even this did not bring about an equality of exchange between the products of the imperialists and their victims. Despite squeals of agony from the former, in reality the price of industrial goods and machinery had increased fivefold in the preceding period. Neo-colonial exploitation by the EEC, Japan and the US is carried out through the terms of trade, exchanging the equivalent of less labour for more labour. The protests of these Shylocks when the price of just one of the products of the colonial world began to approximate to the price of their exports were completely hypocritical. Likewise, the attempt to place the blame for the ensuing recession on the 'greedy Arabs' was without foundation.

21. The effects of the Gulf War can spread, causing a ferment among the masses in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. These states are dependent on the labour of immigrants with less rights than the native masses—who, in reality, also have no rights. As a result of the change in the economy, revolution is inevitable and could break out at any time—although a certain delay is also possible. The feudal cliques in these countries are terrified of the social consequences if they get involved in the war. Even in the

event of a victory, it could lead to revolution. The explosive discontent of the masses could be triggered off by involvement in a war.

22. Afraid of relying on their own troops, which could involve them in a Nasserite coup, the feudal clique in Saudi Arabia prefers to pay enormous sums to the gangster regime in Pakistan to provide their palace guards. These mercenaries provide the bodyguards to protect them against their own people.

23. The imperialists are hoping for an Iranian defeat, as do the Gulf states. But the latter are even more terrified of a US intervention because of the unpredictable effects on their own people, who hate the imperialists. The imperialists themselves do not want to go in, except as a last resort. They fear the effect on their oil supplies and the repercussions throughout the world. But despite all this, they will be forced to intervene in the event of a major attack on Saudi Arabia or the Gulf states.

24. Not least in the calculations of the imperialists are the effects of direct military involvement of US forces in the colonial world. The mood of the masses in the USA is against such an involvement after the bitter lesson of Vietnam. Even so, they could get directly involved both here and in Central America because decisive US interests are at stake.

25. In the event of a new Iranian offensive, Iraq has threatened a devastating attack on Kharg Island, Iran's main oil terminal. From that a whole chain of consequences would ensue. The Iranians would react by attacking the Gulf states and that would drag the imperialist powers in. Oil is the life-blood of the West. It is perhaps the most vital factor of all in this period. Now that their vital interests are threatened, the Western powers are frantically exerting pressure to prevent this. However, the only calculation which could stay the Mullahs' hand is the fear that they might not succeed in getting a breakthrough in the war, and the effect of a failure on the masses inside Iran. If the imperialists are drawn into the war, the consequences for the Middle East—indeed, for the whole world—would be incalculable. It would open the road to new revolutions throughout the Middle East.

26. The imperialists have plans to occupy only a thin coastal strip in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states where the oil wells are situated. Even this would provoke disturbances throughout the region and have repercussions in the entire colonial world.

27. The Middle East is an area of continental dimensions stretching from Africa to Asia. Owing to the baneful effects of imperialism and monopoly capitalism, its industrial and agricultural development has been stunted and the rotten feudal regimes of the past have been propped up.

28. The imperialists divided the Arab world along



Jwaneng diamond mine—South African owned.

is that the rich have taken the ranches, but they spread their herds between the ranches and communal areas to minimise the effect of drought, so that the communal lands remain overcrowded and overgrazed.

So the rich benefit and the poor get poorer.

In the Arable Lands Development Project the government has again in practice favoured the rich over the poor farmer. This project was launched in an attempt to stimulate local grain production and lessen dependency on SA.

Poor farmers have great difficulty in engaging in arable agriculture. They lack labour, credit to buy implements, access to water, and cattle for ploughing. Only 8% of rural households own 50 or more cattle, their own borehole, ploughs and sufficient land to produce a surplus. 70% of households don't own enough cattle even to put together a ploughing team.

Under ALDEP the government offered loans to buy donkeys for ploughing, equipment, water tanks and fences, and promised to improve transport and producer prices.

But the policy has failed. Not only because of the drought, but because in practice it is only the already wealthy who can take advantage of it. The farmer has to put up 15% of the total amount advanced, and has to provide security.

Rather than fall into debt, the poorer farmers simply continue in the old manner, or don't plant.

The Presidential Commission on Economic Opportunities confesses that ALDEP "has fallen short of what was planned. If ALDEP does not live up to expectations, the social, economic and political consequences will be far-reaching."

This statement could equally well be made, not only in regard to ALDEP, but to the general conditions in the rural areas.

Government agricultural policies, far from uplifting the poorest section of the population, have strengthened the position of the rich and widened the class divisions that have emerged between rich and poor.

Rural crisis

Vice President Mmusi has sounded a warning about the implications of this accumulating rural crisis:

"Government leaders must increasingly be aware that unless they take immediate steps to develop their rural areas through widespread involvement of their rural poor, they will likely face unrest, violence and even revolution."

Increasingly unable to eke a living from the land, thousands are flocking to the urban areas in search of jobs. There they see more starkly the class differences that are increasingly dividing society.

There the rich, expatriate and Batswana alike, live it up in large houses, with swimming pools, teams of servants and fleets of expensive

cars. While many of these houses rent out at P1 500 per month, 87% of industrial class workers are earning below the poverty datum line.

The acute housing shortage is forcing thousands to 'squat', and they find, like those in Gaborone earlier this year, that they are being treated just like squatters in South Africa—bulldozers, policemen and demolition squads.

Houses are difficult to find—jobs even harder. Those fortunate enough to have jobs battle daily to stretch their pay packets to cover the mounting price rises in food and other necessities. Before the 10% increase in wages announced in April, the minimum wage in manufacturing and construction was 48 thebe an hour—for nightwatchmen, 37 thebe an hour.

Moreover in practice many employers evade the minimum wage legislation, without government taking any action against them. Minimum wage legislation does not apply to agricultural workers at all.

The 10% increase announced by the government provoked widespread hostility, because it was no increase at all. It doesn't even cover the increase in prices.

It is becoming increasingly clear to workers that society is divided into two groups—the haves and the have-nots—and the role that government is playing is to protect the position of the 'haves'.

The government's intention is to lay the ground for the exploitation of workers—by holding down wages and strictly controlling trade unions.

As the biggest employer of labour, the government is able to determine wages throughout the economy. Private employers won't pay more than government if they can help it!

The government justified the 10% "increase" in April on the grounds that it didn't want to give more because to do so would create too large a gap between what urban workers and people in the rural areas get.

But that is no argument. By holding wages down, the government is not helping village people. It is making their desperate poverty even worse, because they **depend** on family wage earners working in the urban areas to support them.

The government is holding wages down at a time when the budget and the balance of payments are showing a surplus!

artificial lines. But it still remains largely unified in the sense of a common spoken and written language (though with important minorities and dialects), common culture, history and even religion. It is one nation, divided into artificial nation-states, in the same way as the Germans and Italians were divided in the past. In reality, the difference between Egyptians, Syrians, Iraqis, Saudis, Tunisians, Moroccans, etc, is no greater than the difference between Saxons, Bavarians, Prussians and Rhinelanders in the past, or even now.

29. Despite the ceaseless and pious protestations of Arab unity and the need to unite, it is absolutely impossible to achieve this on the basis of the present landlord-capitalist regimes. All the attempts to do this were doomed in advance to failure.

30. Ghadaffi's attempts to organise federations of Libya with Egypt, Sudan and Chad have always broken down. Likewise the attempt to unite Egypt and Syria collapsed ignominiously. Even the countries of the Maghreb (Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco) have been unable to unite. The war in the Sahara and the artificial state of Mauritania are indications of the impossibility of uniting even this area on the basis of the present regimes because of the vested interests of the capitalist, landlord, feudal and bureaucratic cliques.

31. The whole area has been poisoned by the Arab-Israeli conflict. Zionism serves as a malignant outpost of imperialism—and in particular of US imperialism. There is a dialectical irony in the role played by the Jews. In the past, because of persecution, many Jewish intellectuals played a radical, progressive and revolutionary part. The majority of Jewish workers were associated with socialism and the revolutionary cause. Now, the reactionary role of the Zionist military state in the Middle East—the strongest military power of the area and an ally and tool of US imperialism—is plainly revealed.

32. They support every reactionary regime in the world—the Shah, Pinochet, the South African racist regime, Mobutu in Zaïre, and all the monstrous dictatorships in Africa, Asia and Latin America. At the same time, they promise peace and prosperity to the Jews in a 'safe' land of their own. In fact they have turned this panacea into a nightmare. 'Peace' is turned into endless wars—six in forty years. Armaments swallow one-third of the budget. Trotsky warned before the Second World War that the setting up of the state of Israel would be a cruel trick played on the Jewish people. His warning has been borne out to the letter. The Zionist paradise on earth has turned into a hell.

33. The roots of the conflict lay in the attempt of the Jewish settlers to dispossess the Arab peasants from their land in Palestine. The failure of the Arab armies to defeat the Jews and prevent the setting up of the state of Israel in 1948 sowed the seeds of

revolution in Egypt and other countries.

34. Imperialism had to retreat from Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Algeria and Morocco, but left behind it a legacy of national divisions of the Arab people. The Palestinians were pushed out in a new 'diaspora' of Arabs scattered throughout the Middle East.

35. This laid the seeds of the attempted revenge of the Arabs against Israel, translated into five wars. Each time the Arabs were defeated because of the social contradictions in their own countries, and the existence of a 'levée en masse' (a kind of nation-in-arms or citizens' army) in Israel.

36. The wars turned out to be a few days' titanic battles which the Israelis always won. US imperialism exerted pressure on Egypt when, after the death of Nasser and the 1973 war, Sadat turned to the right and established a 'peace' with Israel on the basis of Egypt's recovery of Sinai.

37. The dispersed Palestinians, unlike the Germans expelled from Eastern Europe after 1945, were not absorbed into the populations of the Arab countries—on the one hand, because of the very low level of economic development and prevailing poverty; on the other hand, because the existence of masses of Palestinian refugees in the camps provided the ruling Arab cliques with a convenient way of diverting the attention of the masses in those countries away from their own misery and oppression towards the Zionist enemy.

38. As a result of the blind alley in which the Palestinian people found themselves, the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation) expanded and was radicalised after the 1967 war. This could have played an important role in cementing together the forces of the Arab revolution, and achieved the emancipation of the masses in Palestine, if they had adopted Marxist policies and tactics. Unfortunately they were mesmerised by the perspective of guerilla warfare, and, even worse, of individual terrorism. They did not raise class issues, either in relation to Israel, or within the Arab states, or among the Palestinians, but remained straitjacketed by nationalist and Stalinist ideas.

39. Originally they even toyed with the idea of 'driving the Israelis into the sea', although this line was toned down at a later stage. But the tactics of individual terror—indiscriminate assassinations and bombings carried out by small groups infiltrated into Israel, and against Israelis and even individual Jews abroad—were totally counter-productive.

40. They completely alienated the Israeli masses, pushing them firmly behind their own government. It was, in any case, a futile illusion to imagine that it was possible to tackle the most powerful and firmly-based military machine in the entire area by

Holding down wages simply allows private employers to make more money, which they don't even reinvest in Botswana. Vast sums are sucked out of the economy each year by expatriates, to whom goes 41% of the total wealth produced in the country in any one year.

Not only does the government create healthy conditions for the bosses by limiting wages—it places strict controls on the functioning of trade unions as well.

The Trade Union Act, for example, strictly controls the registration and functioning of trade unions: the election of personnel, the control of finances, and who may qualify for membership. The aim is to keep trade unions tightly under government monitoring and control. The Trade Disputes Act places such stringent limitations on the ability of workers to take strike action that they are made effectively illegal.

The small, scattered nature of the working class (in 1976, of 1 368 private employers, 97% employed

100 workers or less) makes trade union organisation more difficult. 14 trade unions are registered, but many exist only in name.

The weakness of the trade unions is also, however, the result of a mostly tame and corrupt leadership, who use their positions to advance themselves with employers and the government. Mr G.U.S. Matlabaphiri, for example, previous Chairman of the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions (and General Secretary of the BDP Youth) is now an Assistant Minister.

Avenue for struggle

Workers are looking for an avenue for struggle—for a decisive leadership that will organise the class and take them forward. While they feel hampered at the moment by a sense of their own weakness in relation to their own leadership and the government, worsening conditions will inevitably force them into greater uni-

ty, with a greater determination to transform and build their unions. Poverty will offer them no alternative.

Previous struggles have shown how workers have had to confront not only their employers but also the state in trying to improve their conditions. Leaders who have taken a militant stand have been victimised.

In May 1968, the General Secretary of the National Union of Government Manual Workers (a union with a record of militancy) was sacked. Workers went on strike for 10 days in protest, and even though the government declared the strike illegal and threatened to sack all union members, it continued.

Eventually the government backed down and a Commission of Inquiry was set up which found in favour of the General Secretary who was reinstated. (He was later transferred to the BFTU as an organiser, and then sacked from there.)

In April 1972, 400 miners at Orapa struck for nine days against the policy of white managers who favoured employing blacks from SA. In 1974, workers struck again, this time for higher wages. Even though management was prepared to pay them, the government refused.

In 1974 also, striking bank employees were threatened with instant dismissal if they did not return to work. In July 1975, 1 000 workers at Selibi-Phikwe went on strike for equal pay with SA miners. Wage differentials between skilled and unskilled were greater than on SA mines, and black wages about one third less. The average miner's pay was well below the urban Poverty Datum Line.

Management responded by sacking the entire work force and selectively rehiring, with the active support of the government and Botswana Mineworkers' Union leaders.

34 miners were arrested, tried, and sentenced and a union activist was publicly thrashed in front of the then Vice President Masire, whose car had been shaken by workers.

Wages were subsequently increased, but not to the level demanded by the workers.

Workers are conscious of their present weakness, their small numbers, and the previous betrayals of their trade union leaders. But whereas for a long time this situation has been accepted with apathy and resignation, now conditions will compel it to

Evictions in Gaborone—South African style.



means of pinpricks of this type, which merely served as grist to the mill of the Zionist ruling class.

41. The PLO leadership hoped to come in on the tanks of the Arab rulers in a joint military victory over the Israelis. This was doubly false because US imperialism would never have permitted the defeat of its most important ally in the region. An outright military victory over Israel by these means was thus always out of the question.

42. In order to carry out this tactic, the PLO subordinated itself to alliances with all the Arab ruling cliques, accepting subsidies from the most reactionary governments of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. But he who pays the piper calls the tune! The Palestinians were reduced to fighting exclusively on the basis of bourgeois-democratic slogans. Nor could they support or link up with the struggle of the Arab workers and peasants in the other countries of the Middle East.

43. Thus, the armed Palestinians in Jordan—the population of which is overwhelmingly Palestinian and not Bedouin—were stronger than the forces of the state. They could have overthrown King Hussein and taken power. If the Palestinians had been prepared to take power in Jordan, and then make a revolutionary class appeal to the rest of the Arab world and to the Israeli masses, then the whole of the Middle East could have been transformed. Instead, they allowed Hussein to gather his forces, armed by the imperialists, and, in 1970, crush the PLO in blood, expelling them from Jordan.

44. It was in this atmosphere that the Black September organisation was formed, representing the most blind and futile kind of individual terrorism.

45. After the Jordanian debacle, the PLO moved to Lebanon, where the same process was repeated. The existence of a formidable force—what amounted to an actual Palestinian army—in the Lebanon gave a pretext to the Maronite reaction to begin a struggle which resulted in the civil war. Once again there existed the possibility of the victory of the leftist forces which could—if armed with the program of socialist revolution—have transformed the whole situation in the Middle East.

46. But, because of their links to bourgeois and feudal reactionary states, the PLO leaders had no perspective of a socialist revolution. Their ties with the Soviet and Syrian bureaucracies only confirmed them in this blindness. Their policy led to an impasse. The consequences have been the unending nightmare of civil war, foreign military intervention, and the virtual destruction of the Lebanon. The break-up of the country, and the intervention of Syria in the situation, combined with new acts of individual terror within Israel, gave Tel Aviv the excuse to embark upon its invasion of the Lebanon.

47. The country has been virtually partitioned between the Druze, Shia, Sunni and Christian enclaves, with Syria occupying one large chunk on its borders and Israel occupying another big area on its frontiers. The forces of the PLO have been scattered, and the organisation riven with violent splits.

48. In this way, the approach taken by the PLO towards Middle Eastern politics has led to one disaster after another.

49. The policy of the Arab rulers, blinded by their own vested interests, has likewise been disastrous. After the 1948-9 debacle, they forced the emigration of a million Arab Jews (who previously had not been Zionist), delivering them into the open arms of the Zionist reactionaries. Despite their second-class status within Israel, the Arab Jews have provided important reinforcements to the extreme Israeli right.

50. The PLO, subordinated to the feudal-bourgeois forces in the Arab world, never had a hope of rallying support among these or any other Jews. For the same reason they cannot mobilise a revolutionary movement among the Arab masses.

51. Not only do the Arab ruling classes use the Palestinian question as a lightning-conductor, to divert the social tensions in their own countries. They have also used their support for the PLO as a convenient screen to cover up their own crimes. At the same time the nationalist policies of the PLO leaders are required by the Arab rulers in order to separate the Palestinian workers and peasants from their class brothers and sisters. Where the Palestinians work in other Arab countries, they are organised in different unions to the workers of the countries concerned.

52. The only alternative to this policy would be a Marxist, internationalist policy, based on linking the liberation struggle of the Palestinians against Zionist and imperialist oppression with the Arab Revolution throughout the Middle East. To conduct a successful war against Israel would itself require that the struggle be placed firmly on a social basis. If it remained a merely 'national' war, it would only serve to push the Israeli masses behind their rulers.

53. The Israeli rulers were a million times more shaken by the 1982 mass movement on the West Bank than by all the 'military actions' of the PLO put together.

54. Israel's brutal policy on the West Bank is one of imperialist annexation. Using the religious obscurantism of extreme Jewish orthodox sects, they have planted settlers in what they claim is Israel—on the grounds that 2 000 years ago it formed part of the Jewish state! Thus the Israeli masses are increasingly entangled in the policies of imperialism.

change.

Low wages, poor housing, but most dramatically the crisis of unemployment will lay the basis for this.

At present, the labour force is growing by about 13 000 per annum. New formal sector jobs are being created at around 3 000 per annum. There is already massive un- and under-employment, and it has been estimated that 16 000 new jobs will have to be created every year for 10 years to make up the shortfall!

Meanwhile job opportunities in the cattle industry are falling at around 1 000 per annum, and the number of migrants to SA by 4 000 per annum.

As the government itself says, "Even taking an optimistic view, it is very unlikely that the formal sector will employ even half the national labour force before the turn of the century."

Even though the mining industry continues to grow, with the opening up of coal deposits, the capital-intensive nature of mining means that *although huge amounts are invested*, few jobs are created. At Jwaneng, for example, P100 000 has been invested for each worker employed!

While new deposits may open up, existing mines like Orapa and Selibi-Phikwe could face extinction by the 1990s.

The horror of unemployment will grow and grow. Policies like the Financial Assistance Policy, which is intended to diversify the economy away from mining and agriculture as well as providing jobs, has already shown its limitations.

One estimate suggests that only 1 700 jobs in total will be created for citizens over 5 years! One FAP project, involving P500 000, will create only 187 jobs.

So FAP, while helping the small business class, will do nothing to ease the burdens on the workers.

The question inevitably arises: why can't Botswana, with its wealth in diamonds, use this wealth to develop the economy? Why can it not be used to build factories etc, providing not only jobs, but also goods and services at the moment imported from SA?

Botswana, like all poor capitalist countries, is dependent on a few primary goods which it exports—

beef, copper, nickel, and, most importantly, diamonds. Beef makes up about 20% of exports; the mining sector as a whole nearly 70%. Mining contributes 37% of the GDP.

The imported machinery and other equipment necessary for development must be bought with the earnings from exports.

But, in selling on the world market, Botswana is forced to sell at going prices. Because the prices of manufactured items tend to rise more quickly than those of primary commodities (which very often fall!), Botswana has had continual problems on its balance of payments. This places severe restrictions on imports, and on development.

Government

The fall in the diamond price and the slump in diamond sales affected the whole economy. In 1981 sales were down 43% over 1980. GDP fell by 5.3% in 1981-2. Combined with the drought, the government decided to freeze wages, cut government spending, tighten credit and devalue the Pula.

So the fate of one commodity affects the whole economy.

Is it possible that dependency on one or a few commodities can be overcome, and a wider base of production created?

Botswana is a capitalist country, and decisions whether to invest there or not lie in private hands. Investors are looking for infrastructure (power, roads, water, communications) and a ready market for the goods they produce before they will be ready to invest. By comparison to SA and even Zimbabwe, Botswana does not have these things. That is why the industrial production of the country is so small—87% of total value-added in manufacturing is accounted for by the Botswana Meat Corporation abattoir!

The domestic market in Botswana is tiny. Any goods which could be produced locally on a significant scale can or could be produced in SA more cheaply, where the bigger market and more developed infrastructure allows for the reaping of economies of scale.

The Customs Agreement means that SA capitalists have free access to

the Botswana market so, rather than build factories there, they build them in SA and sell their goods to Botswana anyway.

A very clear example of Botswana's impasse under capitalism because of its lack of infrastructure and of economies of scale can be seen in relation to the copper-nickel mined in Selibi-Phikwe.

The ore is sent to the USA and from there to West Germany for final processing. Yet when Botswana needs, for example, copper wire and substances like fertilizer which contain sulphur (a by product of the mining process) it must buy from South Africa.

But South African capitalism itself, while a giant within Southern Africa, is a dwarf in relation to the major capitalist powers. Its own market is limited, and under constant threat from the imperialist monopolies fighting for a share of a world market stagnating because of the crisis of capitalism.

SA capitalism's relative weakness *only increases its determination to dominate the whole Southern African market*. One illustration of this is the case of soda-ash.

The whole regional market, on a capitalist basis, can sustain only one soda ash venture. So although Sua Pan in Botswana is capable of producing economic amounts, it faces competition from South Africa, where AECI, Anglovaal, and the IDC have set up a synthetic plant in the Cape. (Anglovaal owns Consolidated Bottlemakers, which use large quantities of soda ash for making bottles.) In this competition Botswana is likely to lose out.

Opposition parties like the BNF have raised the demand for Botswana to sever the Customs Agreement with SA, erect customs barriers to keep SA goods out, and use diamond revenues to develop the economy.

The BNF leaders have not understood that all 'national' economies are completely bound together in a world economy, and that the more any 'national' economy develops, the **greater** is its integration into a world economy.

Thus their scheme is completely utopian, and could not be carried out even in the unlikely event that they came to power.

Were it to be attempted SA would retaliate by cutting Customs Agreement revenue (one third of government revenue), repatriating migrant

Low wages, poor housing and the crisis of unemployment will compel workers to struggle.

55. The only viable policy and perspective for the PLO would have been based on the organisation and arming of the Arab masses on the West Bank and of the Palestinians within Israel, and then a class appeal to the workers of Israel and the whole Middle East.

56. Instead of working patiently and systematically to prepare and develop a struggle on these lines, the 'practical' empirical policy of the PLO led to disaster and destruction—first through defeat at the hands of the Israeli army, and then through the split in the PLO itself, aided and abetted by their Syrian 'allies' who aimed to turn the PLO into an obedient tool of Damascus' foreign policy.

57. Having started out with implacable criticism of US imperialism, Arafat (who nevertheless based himself on the hand-outs of the agents of the USA in the Middle East), then proceeded to effect a 180-degree somersault. He sought to do a deal with King Hussein, the organiser of the massacre of the Palestinians in 1970! Even if this had been successful—and that is almost inconceivable—this would only have led to the setting up of a puppet state on the West Bank which would have been subordinate to Jordan, or Israel, or to the USA, or to all three. It would have been completely unstable and could not have solved any of the problems of the Palestinians.

58. It is clear that the Israelis are pursuing a *de facto* annexation of the West Bank and that US imperialism—if only reluctantly—will be obliged to back Israel, as their one firm anchor in the Middle East. Whoever wins the next election in Israel, the annexationist policy on the West Bank will go ahead. The only difference is that it may assume a more 'creeping' character. Even without annexation, however, Arafat's manoeuvre was still-born because it was immediately rejected by the Palestinian National Council. This gave Syria the opportunity to move in and take advantage of the split to help to crush the forces remaining loyal to Arafat in the Lebanon.

59. The PLO, deprived of a genuine armed base in the Middle East, is now completely defunct as a serious fighting force. The remnants in the Lebanon are now really instruments of Syria, firmly held in check by their masters. Even the 'Jordanian option' has faded away. The USA has once more changed its policy. Hussein is afraid to push too hard on this front, since he feels himself to be shaky in Jordan itself. Meanwhile, all these disasters have had a demoralising effect on the Palestinian masses in the West Bank, Jordan, Gaza and Israel. That is the result of the 'practical' limited policy of nationalism and Stalinism in contrast to the allegedly 'utopian' and 'impractical' policies advocated by Marxism!

60. The movement of the masses in the countries of the Middle East has provided many revolutionary

opportunities in the past, and will provide many more in the period ahead. A victorious socialist revolution, leading to a workers' democracy in any major country of the region, would put the Zionist rulers of Israel completely on the defensive against the Palestinian and Israeli working class. The workers of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Iraq, Syria, etc., have the key to the Middle East in their hands. The Israeli working class is another key. But it is impossible to appeal to any of these workers—particularly the Israeli workers—along nationalist lines.

61. The argument that the Israeli workers are completely reactionary is shown to be false not only by the opposition that developed against the invasion of Lebanon, but also by the recent wave of strikes. Mass demonstrations, demands for peace, for withdrawal from the Lebanon, etc, show that the Israeli working class is fundamentally no different from any other working class.

62. The only thoroughly progressive class, in the Middle East as elsewhere, is the working class. In colonial, semi-colonial and ex-colonial countries, the tasks of the national and bourgeois democratic revolutions can only be carried out by the working class.

63. The bourgeois are incapable of carrying out a thorough transformation or abolishing the remnants of feudalism. Neither can they conduct a serious fight against imperialism. But not only this. The national state is outmoded and reactionary. Although the gaining of independence by the former colonies was a tremendous step forward, nevertheless it is an empty gain because of the economic domination of the world by the great imperialist powers and multinational monopolies. All these states—large and small—are linked through their economies to the world market which holds them in thrall.

64. Not a single country of the Middle East can solve its problems alone. Even the national unification of the Middle East into a socialist federation—which would represent an enormous historic conquest and give a titanic impulse to the development of the productive forces in the area—would not be a complete solution. Only the world socialist revolution could finally solve the problems.

65. The virtual partition of the Lebanon between Syria, Israel and the different religious factions and militias shows precisely that nominal independence is treated as a fiction when the vital interests of the great and even the lesser powers are affected. Nonetheless, the national feelings in the area are so strong that (partly under the pressure of its own people) Israel has been forced to beat a partial retreat. At the same time, the Lebanese events mark a partial defeat for imperialism. The US and other imperialists were compelled to carry out an ignominious retreat. However, Beirut and the rest of the Lebanon is in ruins. It is a frightening picture of the devasta-

road and power links with the world.

Companies like De Beers, the banks etc would either pull out or do all in their power to sabotage the economy.

So long as capitalism holds sway in SA, Botswana, like Swaziland or Lesotho, will be gripped in a cycle of poverty and dependence. Only through the struggle of the workers throughout the region to root out capitalism completely from its heartland in SA can the basis begin to be laid for real development and self-determination.

Even then, the struggle for workers' democracy and socialism can be completed only together with the victory of workers over capitalism in the advanced countries.

The workers of SA are finding a way forward through unity in action: the building of trade unions, the organisation of strike and community action, and the struggle for their class independence in order to lead the fight against apartheid and capitalism.

While the workers of Botswana have many obstacles in their way to reach the same levels of organisation, vital steps can be taken in the same direction. The developing social crisis is laying the basis for this.

Through taking up the task of building organisations under their own control, on a programme of fighting for workers' demands and against capitalism, Botswana workers can begin to establish their own class independence.

Transformation

The most important way of carrying this work forward in the first stages is through the rebuilding and transformation of the trade unions into fighting organisations, taking up the daily problems of the workers, on the basis of a leadership committed to a struggle against capitalism throughout the region. The workers in the trade unions need to link up with workers in the SA trade unions, struggling in many cases against the same monopoly employers.

Botswana workers will seek also for a political expression for their aspirations. Because, like the workers in most other countries in Africa, the Botswana workers have no party of their own, many of them and of the



The Botswana Meat Corporation abattoir. This one factory accounts for 87% of the value added to manufacturing goods in the country!

youth look at the moment towards the opposition BNF as an alternative to the BDP government of rich cattle-owners.

Several times in the past workers and youth have mobilised within the BNF and put pressure on the BNF leadership to take a more active and radical position in challenging the government. They have seen the BNF as a vehicle not only for changing the government, but changing society as well.

But the leaders of the BNF, even while posturing as 'radicals' and 'revolutionaries', have been terrified of the real radical potential embodied in a movement of youth and workers. On each occasion they have held back, disappointed, and let down those who looked to them to lead a struggle.

The BNF leaders are irrevocably middle-class in their outlook. Many are bottle-store owners or even rich cattle-owners. Characteristically of the middle class, therefore, they vacillate, and strive to be all things to all people. They proclaim Marxism to the youth, Christianity to the Christians, and chiefly powers to the chiefs.

In this way they aim to organise an opportunistic "alliance" of all the diverse elements discontented with the BDP: conservative chiefs who have felt their chiefly powers whittled away, young workers, and disgruntled civil servants.

The BNF programme calls for a massive programme of public works, the expansion of education, massive assistance to farmers, etc.

These are vitally needed reforms. But how can they be achieved? While the BNF programme calls in words for the nationalisation of industry in Botswana and the severing of ties with South Africa, it completely fails to point out that these are utopian dreams so long as the capitalist class

rules in South Africa itself, and has the power to squeeze Botswana between its little fingers.

Even more fanciful is the position put forward by some of the BNF leaders, of a "national capitalist class" in Botswana which could cut ties with SA and develop the country in isolation.

These intellectuals with all their university degrees have forgotten one little trifle—there is not a national capitalist class anywhere in the world today which plays a progressive role, which can develop the economy or solve any of the basic problems of society! Capitalism as a world system is in decay.

With its middle-class basis and approach, the BNF is incapable of leading a struggle for real self-determination in Botswana. Such a struggle requires the organisation of the workers as workers in struggle against capitalism throughout the region.

At the same time, while there is no alternative, workers and youth will continue to turn to the BNF as the only party opposing the government and SA domination. This will be principally the case, as at present, during election campaigns.

But while, on this basis, the BNF could make some electoral gains in urban seats, it cannot offer the prospect of an alternative government. Its leadership incapable of mobilising the workers as workers, in a programme of practical struggle, it cannot appear as a strong pole of attraction to the oppressed poor peasantry and rural masses. These, therefore, are left under the domination of the BDP leaders, to serve as BDP voting fodder.

As the crisis deepens in Botswana, as splits intensify within the BDP, a more likely perspective than a BNF government would be an SA-backed army coup to maintain and intensify

tion of modern war, even when conducted with conventional weapons.

66. The re-entry of the working class onto the stage of history is shown by recent events in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt. There have been powerful revolutionary movements of the proletariat in the countries of the Middle East in the past. Saddam Hussein and his clique only succeeded in seizing power in Iraq because of the failure of the Stalinists (who were the leaders of the proletariat) to carry the democratic revolution to a conclusion—which inevitably would have entailed the transition to the socialist revolution. The same process took place in the Sudan.

67. That there is no 'middle way' between the socialist revolution and barbarous reaction is clearly shown in the Sudan. The consequence of the failure to carry through the socialist revolution is that Nimeiri has carried reaction to the point of aping the worst features of the religious obscurantist fundamentalism of Zia's Pakistan and Khomeini's Iran.

68. The black population in the south have revolted against the regime's monstrous policies, plunging Sudan into civil war which might result in the break-up of that country. Nimeiri's regime is doomed. It may well collapse even before the fall of Khomeini and Zia.

69. There is a possibility of a chain of disintegration affecting all the countries of the Middle East, under the unbearable pressures of imperialism. Living standards are falling, as a result of the rapacious economic exploitation of the advanced capitalist countries. It is the same crisis that affects the whole colonial world: a total incapacity to solve the crisis on the basis of capitalism.

70. Alongside the incapacity of the bourgeois, we have the equal incapacity of the Stalinist parties to show a way out. An additional factor in this area is the terror of the Moscow bureaucracy of upsetting their relations with imperialism if more countries in the Middle East were even to take to the road of proletarian Bonapartism like Syria did. After the 1967 defeat of Egypt in the 6-day war with Israel, when Nasser suggested moving towards a total transfor-

mation of Egyptian society, Podgorny was sent from Moscow to make sure that this did not take place. Such a turn would have upset the delicate relations between Washington and the Moscow bureaucracy. Without the perspective of world revolution, the bureaucracy retreated and paved the way for the reaction of Sadat and Mubarak, thus once again demonstrating that there is no half-way stage between revolution and reaction.

71. Without the perspective of the world socialist revolution there can be no Marxist policy on a national basis. Instead, we have the national and reformist degeneration of the 'Communist' parties, not only in the metropolitan countries, but in the colonial and ex-colonial world as well. As a consequence, all the latent national, social and religious contradictions provoke the disintegration and putrefication of the whole area.

72. There is an absolute pauperisation of the masses in Egypt, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia—in fact, the whole area. The contradictions are piling up. The entire Middle East is strewn with social dynamite. The danger of revolutionary explosions like that in Iran hovers like a storm cloud over all the countries of the area. In the decades since independence, not one of the basic problems has been solved. The only solution lies in Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution.

73. The unity of the Arab nation can only be obtained by the coming to power of the proletariat in all these countries—which would be an immediate prospect with the victory of the proletariat in any key country of the area and a democratic socialist regime like that of October 1917 in Russia. The solution lies in a Socialist Federation of the Middle East, with autonomy for the Kurds, Lebanese Christians, the blacks of Southern Sudan, the Saharans, and also for Israel within the framework of the federation. The Palestinians, in such a framework, would have the right of return, if they so wished, to the West Bank and Israel proper. The population of the West Bank and Jordan would be re-united, as an autonomous state of the federation, with the other Palestinians in Jordan, economically and socially linked through fraternal agreement with Israel.

SA domination. Already stories circulate of 'links' between military tops in SA and Botswana.

Where and when workers and youth are looking to the BNF, the most class-conscious among them need to put forward an alternative to the programme of the leadership, as a pole of attraction for those who are looking to it to carry out tasks it is incapable of achieving.

But when the trade union movement has been strengthened into an effective force around a clear fighting programme, the workers will be able to create out of it also their own political organisation. Once the workers are organised and united on a clear programme, they could succeed in uniting all the oppressed in Botswana—the poor peasantry, the youth, the middle class—and linking them with the struggle of all Southern African working people to end

capitalism and all forms of oppression throughout the region.

Only the destruction of apartheid and capitalism in South Africa, and the establishment of a democratic workers' state, can open up an era of real development of the Southern African economy.

For the first time, the peoples of Southern Africa would be able to exercise the right of self-determination.

Freed of the fear of SA domination, they would see the huge advantages of entering into a voluntary Federation of Socialist States in Southern Africa, planning and sharing resources.

In conjunction with the struggle of workers internationally for power, this would allow for balanced and harmonious development, speeding the growth of agriculture and industry, and providing jobs, houses, education and health facilities for all.

Drought

By Mpho Moremi

For the third successive year, Botswana has been rocked by a devastating drought. As a result, the masses in town and countryside have been cast more than at any other time into the pit of pauperism.

Because of the drought, the towns have attracted an increasing number of people seeking escape from rural poverty.

Between 1971 and 1981 the town population grew by 10,7% a year; now it is growing faster than this.

One just has to walk the streets of the towns to see the price the working class, especially the unemployed, has to pay for the drought, as if they caused it.

Nearly one in every three of working age is out of work at the present time. At the gates and entrances of each workplace, groups of desperate men and women are seen before daybreak waiting for the opening of these places in the hope of obtaining a day's work. Later they are again seen returning to their destitute families with despair written all over their faces.

The majority of these people are living off the crumbs of the capitalists. Then the impudent capitalists use this to show how humane they are. It never occurs to them that they are only returning an insignificant fraction of what they had previously taken from the workers whom they ruthlessly exploit.

The capitalists, in these conditions, are treating the despairing unemployed as pawns in the struggle for existence.

The incident of March 2 in Lobatse left no member of the working class with any doubt as to how the employers—the South African monopoly De Beers in this case—fulfils its duties towards them.

During the last week of February, Radio Botswana announced for three days that De Beers would be hiring workers for jobs available at the Jwaneng diamond mine. The recruitment was to take place at the Labour Offices in Lobatse on March 2 and 3.

It was well known, by both De



Workers in Gaborone: through taking up the task of building their own organisations to fight for their demands they can provide a way forward.

North America

1. The United States colossus, with its economic appendage in Canada, is still perhaps the most decisive economic and political area of the world. Despite a certain decay and weakening of its economy the USA remains dominant in the world. It is militarily, economically, politically and diplomatically the mightiest capitalist power in the world.

2. In the mid-19th century Marx found in Britain the best mirror of capitalism, the country where capitalism had then been developed to the highest extent. Now North America, and particularly the United States, is the mirror which reflects the blind alley in which capitalism finds itself at the present time. The economy becomes more and more parasitic. Industrial production is run down and there is a switch from industrial production to services. The boom has seen a whole rash of small restaurants, small businesses and small one-man firms develop which will collapse immediately in the first really serious post-1945 crisis of capitalism. In the epoch which lies ahead a new slump on the scale of 1929-1933 is inevitable. The insanity of the economy of the United States, the strongest industrial power in the world, is shown by the fact that 15 times more people are employed in the fast food business than in the steel industry! There has been a steep fall in the production of the basic commodities of steel, coal and machinery.

3. The artificial boom created by the Reagan administration, through record expenditure on arms and steep cuts in the taxes on the monopolies and the rich, has caused record budget deficits and a record deficit in the balance of trade. This is the reason for the unease and worry among the serious strategists of the ruling class at the situation that exists in the US economy at the present time. The world bourgeoisie is alarmed at the policies which have been undertaken by Washington. While Reagan and the employers have used cuts in social security and the fear of mass unemployment to cut the standard of living of the masses, total state expenditure has risen in the United States resulting in massive budget deficits. This huge production of fictitious capital will, after some delay, result in enormous inflation.

4. During the slump of 1979-82 there was a

massive attack on the standards of living, rights and conditions won by the masses in previous decades. The so-called 'give back' wage contracts which the union bosses agreed to, meant that there were actual cuts in wage rates and in holidays, a worsening of conditions and a general speed-up.

5. The stage is now set for a counter-offensive on the part of the US proletariat as the economic situation changes. This was indicated by the massive strikes of the Greyhound bus workers and other sections of the workers. Other possible strikes loom ahead in the immediate future, including the automobile workers. The US 'boom' which began in 1983 may possibly extend into the early part, or even through, 1985 and have a widening effect in most of the other developed capitalist economies.

6. The delirium of US imperialism is reflected in it having record budget deficits while cutting taxes for the rich—tax cuts which have been partially paid for by cuts in welfare payments and the social services. A similar campaign has been waged by the bourgeoisie internationally, even where these services and welfare payments are on a rudimentary basis in the ex-colonial and semi-colonial areas.

7. Like most of the Presidential election victories of the different parties in the USA, Reagan came to power on a programme of sound budgets, tax cuts and sound money. The crisis of the capitalists is indicated by the fact that the opposite programme was adopted. While there have been steep cuts in capital expenditure by the state, an enormous part of the budget has been devoted to arms expenditure. A record arms budget has been developed over a period of 5 years. In 1985 alone, Reagan is proposing to spend \$305 billion in wasteful expenditure on arms, which will mostly go onto the scrap heap. This is partly because of the rapid obsolescence of planes, tanks, guns, atomic weapons, etc., which takes place in the modern period. A great part of the scientists of the USA, and indeed of all the advanced capitalist countries, devote most of their time and energy to developing more and more devilish means of destruction. One result is that the weapons are hardly produced before they become immediately obsolescent.

8. At the present time there is an increase in the expenditure on capital equipment in US industry, yet

and unemployment

Beers and the government, that a big number of people would turn up.

Of course such an announcement aroused high hopes and expectations in hundreds of hungry people. Many travelled from as far as Francistown, a distance of over 600km from Lobatse. Some even borrowed money from friends and relatives, promising to return it as soon as they received their first wages.

No one had reason to be pessimistic. The government has always said that Jwaneng will provide employment opportunities for many Batswana. This was the time, they thought, especially because it is announced over the radio. People throughout the country are being invited.

But De Beers was already revealing its madness. In Jwaneng itself there are hundreds of jobless people who are always at the mine looking for work. These poor people were not to be hired in Jwaneng. They heard from the radio that they had to travel 125km to Lobatse to apply.

As expected, in the early hours of March 2, over a thousand jobless people gathered at the Labour Offices. Many had neither eaten nor

slept well the previous night.

The recruiting officers arrived after 8 that morning. These bureaucrats find satisfaction only in bullying and playing games with the workers. The first instruction was for the workers to stand in a queue. This was just inviting commotion.

Undoubtedly there is always competition among the needy. The struggle is always for existence which, in cases like this, is one of life and death. Each individual tries to push aside anyone whose existence is a barrier to his own survival.

Opportunities?

This is exactly what happened. Everyone tried to be first in the queue.

The answer of the recruiting bureaucrats was to call the police. Together they conspired that the recruitment should be transferred to the police station.

The recruiting officers raced off in their cars. Then the police instructed the workers to follow—the first to arrive would be employed.

For the first time in the history of

the town, the main street was overflowing with people—young, old, hungry, sick—as they ran a distance of about 500m to the police station.

But the police station was not to improve anything. Again the recruiting officers raced off, now to the local stadium—about 1km from the police station past the Labour office again.

Desperate workers had to run behind them, at a temperature above 30 degrees. It was a hide-and-seek game—very much enjoyed by the bureaucrats.

Having run out of stamina for any more games, the officers then informed the poor workers that only people with J.C. or Matric were needed. This had not been said over the radio.

Many lacked the qualifications. In the end, only 35 were hired, and the 'game' was over.

Hundreds remained, heavy with that 'sickness of heart' which arises from deferred hope. They had no money, nothing to eat, and nowhere to sleep. All they thought of were the debts they had incurred.

Tasks for the Trade Unions

Unemployment is now a permanent feature of life in Botswana. It is estimated that 16 000 to 17 000 jobs need to be created every year up to 1988 to provide work for those already looking for it. But in addition 17 000-19 000 youth start as workseekers each year.

This means that the target has to be 35 000 to 36 000 new jobs every year to reach full employment by the end of the decade. This is quite impossible on a capitalist basis.

The misery of unemployment must be fought and eliminated. A big responsibility to take a lead in this lies in the hands of the trade union movement in Botswana.

It is essential that the unemployed are organised alongside and together with the employed. What is needed is a struggle for jobs by employed and unemployed workers together.

To achieve this, the trade unions need

to organise and mobilise all those presently at work in struggles to defend and improve living standards and working conditions. A fighting trade union movement of this kind would be a powerful pole of attraction for the unemployed, able to rally them and organise a fight for their interests also.

All workers need to join the trade unions, and to transform them into fighting instruments under workers' democratic control, in order to struggle for our common demands:

- * work for all;
- * the reduction of hours worked in a day, to share out work among workers;
- * a guaranteed minimum living wage of P130 a month, increasing in line with the cost of living;
- * guaranteed maintenance for the unemployed, at the same level as those in work;

* the creation of occupational centres, particularly for the youth;

* the creation of state workshops and a programme of useful public works to use the idle skills and resources for the benefit of the whole community.

The trade unions must mobilise to press these demands on the bosses and on their government.

The big bosses in our country, who really control the economy, are the SA monopolies like De Beers. It is their interests that the government is serving.

To win the struggle against unemployment, and against the bosses, our trade union movement needs to link up with the organised workers in South Africa who are fighting the same struggle.

Through their victory, we can achieve ours too, and poverty and desperation can be eliminated through the whole of Southern Africa.

this is still far below the record levels that were reached in the past. Investment will not be able to sustain the boom to any great extent, and that means that the boom cannot be long lasting.

9. The strategists of the ruling class are uneasy about the tactics that have been adopted by Reagan. The burdens of high US interest rates are loaded onto the US's capitalist rivals, thus stunting the level of the 'boom' in these countries, and have become an intolerable burden on the underdeveloped countries of the world.

10. Paradoxically, for a whole period the dollar rose on foreign exchange markets in spite of 'unsound' policies. That shows the madness of stock exchange speculation and high finance. Under 'normal' conditions there would have been a flight from the dollar. But the dollar remains the principal medium of international trade and the US economy is still the strongest in the world. Because US interest rates are high, money from the rest of the world has flowed into the United States. This has forced the rivals and 'allies' of the United States to raise interest rates in order that there would not be a flight of capital from their countries. Of course this will not last indefinitely. As the crisis deepens in the United States, as the deficit in the US balance of payments and budget increases, inevitably there will be a flight from the dollar, though possibly after some delay. This process already showed signs of beginning in early 1984. This has made Congress force Reagan to agree to some cuts in arms spending and possibly in the budget deficit—although whether this will really be effective remains to be seen. It is unlikely to have much effect and thus the deficits will increase further.

11. While posing as a monetarist, Reagan adopted Keynesian policies, but with a difference! Welfare, health, housing, construction, food and other services to the poor were cut; handouts were given to high tax payers and monopolies and arms spending was boosted.

12. In the richest country in the world, the capitalists are moving from reform to counter-reform, thus confirming that this is the pattern for all the developed capitalist economies of the world. In the richest country in the world, whole sections of the proletariat have been reduced to pauperisation and compelled to go begging to soup kitchens simply to keep alive.

13. The increased profits resulting from the raising of production to 80% of capacity in manufacturing industry, has not been followed by large scale new investment, as was the experience in previous booms. That means that by 1985 or 1986 probably there will be a collapse of this boom. But the most likely result will be a collapse of the boom in the early part of 1985. This is because a consumer boom that does not result in new investment rapidly exhausts the possibilities of expansion. While massive surplus

capacity exists, the industrialists only replace old worn-out equipment, but do not increase their stock or their capacity to produce more goods.

14. In fact, in all the industrial capitalist countries, including the United States, there has been a gigantic destruction of productive forces to limit 'overcapacity'. This marks the end of the relatively progressive role of capitalism during the upswing. It has become a huge fetter on the development of the productive forces, especially in the United States. This is despite the growth of the most modern industries, like micro-electronics and computers and information against a general background of decay in manufacturing industry.

15. On the surface it would appear that 'Reaganomics' has defied economic laws. In reality it is only the power of the US economy and the apparent stability of the US state that has led to an inflow of money to the USA because of high interest rates. There is the beginning of a panic and a fall in the value of the dollar. The Federal Reserve Board will be compelled to raise US interest rates once again and this will have the effect of cutting down the boom. Reagan is anxious that this should not take place this side of the election in November, and will strive by all means to hold the situation as it stands now up to the election. But if a panic starts, they may be compelled to take measures even before the election. If this happens that would cut short the frail US 'boom' and have its effects throughout the capitalist world.

16. Even an economy as powerful as that of the United States cannot flout capitalist economic laws with impunity. Inflation will take off towards the end of 1984 or in 1985, possibly towards 8% or even 10%. The huge amounts of fictitious capital spent on armaments and the budget deficit plus the increasing trade deficit will take their toll. The speculators, despite high or higher interest rates, will withdraw their cash when the fall of the dollar and economic activity begins. With some delay the consequences of steep budget deficits will inexorably take their toll. This will force the US government to change course through the pressure of the banks and finance capital. But, whatever economic policies are adopted, there will never again be a return to the long economic upswing of the post-war period.

17. Only an enormously rich economy like that of the US could have succeeded for a short period, despite the 'unsound' policies adopted, in maintaining a 'boom'. The 'Socialist-Communist' government in France was faced with rapid inflation within months of going for a policy of expansion through budget deficits. The pressure of world finance was sufficient to force Mitterand to reverse his policies.

18. US imperialism is the world policeman. Reagan wishes to maintain this position—that is why he has

WEST GERMANY - METAL

biggest movement for decades.

By Hans-Gerd Ofinger
(Editor, Voran)

In Spring in Europe this year, IG Metall, the West German metal and engineering workers union, declared a dispute with the employers over the demand for a 35-hour working week with no loss in pay. For weeks, hundreds of thousands of metalworkers were on strike, and joined by some other sections of workers, including printers.

The article printed here, is reproduced, with minor editing changes, from Voran, Marxist paper in the West German labour movement. It draws the lessons of the strike, and explains how the fighting spirit of the workers was compromised by the bureaucratic leaders of IG Metall and the DGB, West German TUC.

Even then, the agreement reached, for a 38½ hour week, with scope for local negotiations between 37 and 40 hours, was a step forward for German workers.

This struggle has enormous significance. It has been the biggest movement of the huge industrial proletariat of West Germany since its organisations were defeated and smashed by the victory of Hitler's Nazi movement in 1933. As the capitalist newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung wrote on 1 June, the strike "has nothing to do with the responsible attitude the German unions were praised for so often....It is a fall back into class society, the rebirth of the organisations of class struggle."

Along with other struggles which have taken place in the last months—two partial general strikes in Belgium, a civil servants' strike in Holland, militant struggles of French and Spanish steelworkers against plant closures, strikes in the United States and by dockers in Japan, together with the British miners' strike reported on on page 44—this represents a new stage in the movement of the working class in the West against the burdens of the crisis-ridden capitalist system.

The demand for a 35-hour working week without loss of pay has been put forward widely within the European labour movement, and the struggle for it initiated by the West German workers will undoubtedly be taken further not only in West Germany, but other advanced capitalist countries. The movement will have its effects within East Germany and Eastern Europe also, where workers are oppressed by a Stalinist bureaucracy, and have not yet achieved a 35-hour week.

The struggle for the 35-hour working week with no loss in pay is a powerful means for workers to fight against unemployment and mobilise their forces against the capitalist class. The power of the movement that underlies this demand in the West can give confidence also to workers working 45, 48, and more hours a week in Latin America, Asia, and Africa to join in the same struggle.

The first battle is fought; the fight goes on.

The strike movement of the metalworkers and printers in the Spring of 1984 is the biggest class battle in the history of West Germany since the Second World War. As a result of the strike, and lockouts by the bosses, about 10 million working days have been lost. This is more than in all the last ten years put together.

Gone are the times when the bosses in other countries can paint a picture to their own workforce of the German worker as a 'cooperative social partner'. Now, with the recent strikes, the German workers' movement is again showing its ability to fight, after decades of relative calmness and passivity.

"Is this all. Seven weeks of strike—and now such a meagre result! How could our headquarters accept this?" This was the reaction of many active IG Metall (IGM) members to the terms of the settlement.

In Nordwürttemberg—Nordbaden only 54,5% of the members voted in favour of the compromise; in Hessen only 52%.

The completely justified disappointment of the active workers will have internal consequences in the trade unions. Many workers, especially the youth, gained important experiences during the strike for the first time. More new forms of action against lock-outs started to develop.

This strike movement has been an important dress rehearsal for the bigger class struggles that lie ahead in West Germany in the next few years. The result, which disappointed the activists, was not a paralysing defeat. It was rather a setback, shaking up thinking, from which lessons will be drawn.

The important role played by West Germany in the world economy gives an international significance to strikes like these. West Germany has the largest population and the strongest economy in Western

enormously expanded the US armed forces. In Central America, the Middle East, Asia and Africa he wishes to pursue a policy of strength. But even the giant of US imperialism has not got the strength to prop up capitalism in the whole of the Western world, especially in the underdeveloped continents. The high expenditure on arms is sapping the strength of the US economy without getting the results. It has prepared the way for social explosions in Central and Latin America, Africa and Asia and within the United States itself. The debilitation of the United States will produce consequences both at home and abroad.

19. It is clear that, if re-elected, Reagan will try to find some pretext to directly intervene militarily in Central America. At the moment US imperialism is playing a game of cat and mouse with Nicaragua. Unfortunately the Sandinista regime, by trying vainly to conciliate US imperialism, is really playing into its hands by not completing the overthrow of capitalism. It will be impossible to remain half way. The continued unfolding of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua in and of itself threatens all other regimes in Central America. This is something the US imperialists are not prepared to tolerate. The mere maintenance of a capitalist economy in Nicaragua will not prevent direct military intervention.

20. Now the Iran-Iraq war threatens to spill over into the Gulf states. This the USA and other Western imperialist powers cannot tolerate. But direct military intervention by imperialism, either in Latin America or the Middle East, would have consequences for the entire world, not least for the workers of the USA. Already it was the pressure of the masses which forced the retreat from Lebanon. Now US imperialism has incorporated within its world spheres of influence powder kegs and dynamite. The experience of Vietnam had a scarring effect on the US masses; it has entered into their consciousness. New wars of intervention would have enormous political consequences on the world and in the USA itself.

21. The success of Gary Hart in the early primaries in the campaign for the Democratic nomination for the US Presidency was because people are looking for 'something new'. It is this feeling also, along with the widespread discontent and frustration among the blacks, which Jesse Jackson has been able to exploit during the primaries. There is enormous dissatisfaction with the 'old politicians', which is a symptom of the malaise of capitalism in the USA. Both the Democrats and the Republicans in reality are discredited in the eyes of the mass of the US workers.

22. The AFL-CIO backed Mondale, for the first time declaring which candidate it supported before the primaries had begun. This was in desperation to ensure that if a Democratic President was elected he would not behave in the way in which the last Presi-

dent, and the Presidents before him, have behaved to organised labour. They are hoping that Mondale would be 'indebted' to them. However even if Mondale receives the Democratic nomination and then defeats Reagan, he would merely be using the unions as a stepping stone and then proceed to step upon them.

23. To a certain extent, support for Hart was because the media does not want a President that is indebted to the organisations of the working class. Consequently they tried to build up Hart as an alternative to Mondale, at least for the period until the Democratic Convention. If Hart won the nomination the overwhelming majority of the media, which is basically conservative, would then turn on him in the same way they have turned on other Democrats, in an attempt to ensure the election of Reagan for a second term. However the outcome of the election is, of course, not at all a foregone conclusion.

24. There have been massive strikes as the boom has emboldened and given confidence to the US working class. This has always occurred following a recession in which there has been an offensive by the employers against the wages and conditions won by the working class in a previous period. It was in this way, after the massive depression of 1929-1933, that the CIO was built in a wave of enormous strikes and battles, which are a model of the processes that will take place again in the future.

25. Enormous pent-up frustration, resentment, anger and fury is developing within the working class. This is just the beginning of the re-awakening of the proletariat. There is an enormous contradiction being developed between the 'business unionism' attitude of the union leaders on high salaries, and the conditions and wages of the rank and file. 'Business unionism' regards itself as a branch of the bourgeois state and bourgeois society. The US labour leaders do not have, in reality, policies independent of the bourgeois, but largely espouse those of the 'liberal' Democrats. They maintain the outlook of, and support for, the capitalist system both politically and industrially. That is why, in the slump, they advocated concessions by the working class in order to ensure profitability of manufacturing industry.

26. As Trotsky once remarked, the most conservative section of US society are the union leaders, the heads of the AFL-CIO. That has become even more true as a result of the 1955 amalgamation of the AFL and CIO into one federation. This was done on the basis of the CIO leaders' capitulation to the extreme right-wing leaders of the AFL. The union leaders cannot grasp that they are in a different situation today and that easy concessions are no longer obtainable. The system is sick, both politically and industrially.

27. The best election result from the point of view of the working class would be a victory of the

WORKERS' STRUGGLE



Europe. After the USA, the Soviet Union and Japan it is the fourth biggest industrial power in the world.

Ten per cent of world industrial production takes place in West Germany. In 1983 it was the second largest exporter on the world market.

No matter how these strikes ended, they were watched internationally, both by the workers and the bosses. "The Germans had the reputation of being hard-working, sensitive people, but they are doing everything to destroy that image" wrote the US *Wall Street Journal* even at the beginning of the strike (May 15).

At the same time the leaders of the big French trade unions, the CGT and CFDT, once again took up the demand for the 35-hour week. The same was done by the right-wing French socialist Prime Minister, Mauroy. Also the workers of Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, Italy and Austria observed the strike with great enthusiasm.

Delegations consisting mainly of young trade unionists from the neighbouring countries visited the

picket-lines and participated in the solidarity demonstration on May 28 in Bonn.

The workers nearly everywhere in East Germany could watch the course of the strike on West German television.

Before the First World War the German working class was the strongest and best organised section of the international workers' movement. But because of an inexperienced leadership, making many mistakes, the German workers' revolution of 1918-1923 ended with defeats.

Leadership

These, together with the disastrous policies pursued by the leadership of the German Communist Party in the late 1920s and early 1930s, laid the basis for the rise of Fascism.

The taking of power by Hitler in 1933 meant the systematic destruction of all workers' organisations. In addition to this, the partition of Germany after the Second World War in

1945 weakened the once-mighty workers' movement.

During the strong post-war economic boom from the early 50s to the early 70s capitalism could afford concessions to the workers, whose living standards rose. They were lulled by their leaders into thinking that this could continue for ever.

Now, as capitalism enters its protracted death-agony, a new, fresh generation of workers has grown up, which is not stamped, like their fathers and grandfathers, with the memories and experiences of disastrous defeats. This year's strike wave is just the beginning of a whole series of fights, in which the old fighting traditions of the workers' movement will be rediscovered.

Right from the beginning, the IGM apparatus adopted a half-hearted approach. Instead of fighting for the full demand, they tried to make a compromise of a 38-hour week palatable to the rank and file. Their tactics were for 'selective' strikes, officially confined, right to the end, to two regions only.

At the start only 12 000 manual

Democrats around Mondale—not from the point of view of gaining concessions, which would be purely illusory, but to demonstrate the complete incapacity of the Democrats, even with massive union backing, to solve the problems facing the working class. It could lead to a discrediting of the union leaders who banked heavily, both in money and support, on Mondale and the complete undermining of the policy of class collaboration and support for the Democrats. The support for Hart shows in a distorted fashion the enormous discontent within the masses, which has not had a political outlet up to the present time.

28. In the United States also there will be sharp turns and sudden changes. The fact that capitalism is in a blind alley will begin to seep into the consciousness of the masses. A really serious slump will see the level of bankruptcy reaching a height that it has never had in the past. Even some of the giants will go bust under conditions of a slump of the character of 1929-1933. Such a massive crash is inevitable, if not in the immediate period ahead, certainly towards the late 1980s or the beginning of the 1990s. The present unemployed reserve army of labour will have swollen to massive proportions of double or even treble the number of unemployed at the present time.

29. The nebulous policies of Hart, the so-called 'new' policies, have no real basis. The support which Hart has gained reflects a wish for an end to the arms race and some sort of agreement with the Soviet Union. The masses are terrified at the possibility of a nuclear holocaust. In practice Hart would be no more able than Mondale or Reagan to deliver the goods. Nevertheless the programme of Hart has a powerful appeal for the masses alarmed by the danger of nuclear war. It has special echoes among the middle-class and working-class women, who have no desire to see their menfolk, homes and all life blotted out in nuclear catastrophe. However, Hart is nevertheless a reactionary. His record on union issues in Congress and his present attitude to the unions, attacking them as a 'vested interest', shows his basically anti-working class attitude.

30. There is an accumulation of contradictions in US society. There can be sudden and apparently amazing changes. Labour will take giant steps in the organisation of the South and in the unorganised industries. The workers, blacks, Latinos, youth, unemployed and the small farmers will begin to understand that on the road of capitalism there is no way forward.

31. In the epoch of the economic upswing undoubtedly it seemed as if capitalism had a permanence, partly because of the 'upward mobility' especially seen in US society. There was the possibility of escape from the ranks of the working class for the more energetic and 'enterprising' members of the working class. Those who were prepared to step on their mates and climb up on their shoulders could find a way out

of the morass of capitalism. The mass as a whole had more comfortable living standards than ever before in the history of the US. Now, for more than a decade, the standard of living has either stood still for the mass of the population, or even declined: real hourly earnings fell by 11% between 1973 and 1982. In the short period ahead a new recession, probably much deeper than the recession of 1979-1982, will take place. This will have enormous consequences on the psychology of the working class. There can be abrupt and sudden changes in the political situation. With amazing speed the unions might be compelled to move in the direction of forming an independent party of Labour. Before the working class will take this political step however there will be enormous upheavals, gigantic battles which will make the struggles of the 1930s seem pale in comparison.

32. The workers of the United States are not stupid. In fact they are among the most enterprising. The main reason why the previous movements towards a labour party collapsed after the Second World War was the world economic upswing, which apparently gave an unlimited vista of increases in the economy and living standards for the US proletariat, particularly its organised section. The US workers for a period gained the highest standards of living in the world. Now they have been surpassed by the standards gained by the West German and Swedish workers (although living standards in all these countries are now declining). US industry's loss of complete and unchallenged hegemony in the world is shown by the enormous trade deficit and the screams for protectionism by US industrialists (including those in steel, auto, the main machinery and heavy industries and even the new industries of computers and micro-electronics) are an indication of the enfeeblement and decay of the USA. Even in the boom the US ruling class was reluctant to give concessions to the working class. That means that tomorrow the class struggle will assume a more open scope at a level never reached before in the USA. Already in British Columbia, Canada, an attempt to introduce brutal and far-reaching anti-union laws and cuts provoked a near general strike, which forced the provincial government to withdraw most of this legislation. That is an indication of the process which will take place throughout North America.

33. One of the consequences of the boom has been the further degeneration of the CPUSA on the one hand, and of the petit-bourgeois sects, like the now neo-stalinist Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand. In spite of enormously favourable opportunities to develop in the last 20 years, they were utterly incapable of taking advantage of them. They will remain doomed to impotence and to decay.

34. The proletariat has moved into all sorts of blind alleys and mistakes in politics. These will continue for a period, but the entry onto the road of political independence on the part of the proletariat cannot be long delayed. The US working class can

workers were called out, in Stuttgart. The leadership hoped to force the bosses to compromise by using a 'pin-prick' tactic, that is, by imposing partial stoppages in some important vehicle component suppliers to try to paralyse the booming motor industry. Not so much strike pay would have to be handed out. This was a 'minimax' tactic: an attempt to produce a 'maximum' effect with a 'minimum' (financial) effort.

The response of the bosses was to lock-out workers—not only in the component firms, but also in the main car factories, on the excuse that because there were no components available, there was "no work to do." (These were termed 'cold' lock-outs).

In the course of the strike 200 000 workers were locked out in areas outside the striking regions—and many thousands in the strike region of Hesse, even though lockouts are illegal under Hesse's constitution.

These lock-outs, and the refusal of the unemployment office to financially support the 'cold' locked-out workers created a situation where the capitalists with all their power tried to divide the metalworkers—into those on strike, those still working, those locked out, and those locked out in the 'cold' way.

Although workers on strike and those locked out in a 'hot' way both have the right to get strike pay from the trade union, it creates an essential difference in the mood of the workers whether they are actively and offensively on strike or whether they find themselves outside the gates as passive victims of a lock-out.

The IGM apparatus did nothing to actively fight the lockouts except to organise demonstrations and 'offer' the workforce to the bosses. The factory occupation at the carburettor factory Knecht in Lorch took place on the initiative of the workforce itself.

In the course of the first days on strike more and more workers saw the need to spread the strike. The more workers participate actively in a strike, the more successful and the shorter it will be. What was required was an unlimited all-out strike of all members in the chosen strike districts, if necessary all over West Germany—supported by a 24-hour general strike. This would have shown to the bosses the seriousness of the trade union leadership and would have led to a breakthrough.



A mass meeting at the Daimler-Benz plant, Sindelfingen, votes to come out on strike.

In the event, the IGM—and the DGB, the national trade union federation—had had five years since the last metal strike to prepare for success, by systematically mobilising trade union officials, the rank and file, the unemployed, and the whole working class (housewives, pensioners, students, etc.) Possible obstacles like holiday-periods had also been known in advance.

IGM and IG Druck (the printers' union) could have organised a co-ordinated all-out strike. As a substitute for the bourgeois press they should have brought out their own daily paper—as a mighty weapon against pro-capitalist propaganda.

Had the bosses been really convinced that the trade union leaders were serious, perhaps they would have given in to the essential demands without a big struggle, in order to 'prevent the worst'—the workers sensing their own strength in struggle.

Power

In any case a well-prepared general strike throughout West Germany would have given huge support to the metalworkers and printers and would have shown to the workers of all other industries who is the real power in society—that is **the workers' movement.**

In other important industrial areas like the Ruhr and Hamburg the workers were ready to fight—but

were then even more disappointed because those areas were not called out on strike at all.

On the third day of the strike (May 16) the action was spread—to the great surprise of the union leaders. Faced with the threat of being laid off, the 38 000-strong workforce at the Sindelfingen Daimler Benz struck. Yet the IG Metall executive turned down a resolution to make this strike official—and browbeat two local officials for their participation in the Sindelfingen mass meeting!

Only from May 21 did the executive make the strike official.

This initiative by the Daimler workers was greeted enthusiastically by all active union members. But apart from 33 000 members in Hesse being called out there was no other spreading of the strike.

True, at the big solidarity demonstration on May 28 in Bonn—at which there were large delegations even from unions such as mining, food and textile, etc who at present do not support the 35-hour week demand—the DGB Secretary Breiten hinted at national solidarity action by all DGB members. This was remarkable considering that up to a year ago talking about a general strike was almost a sin in German trade unions.

But no action followed the fine words.

The bosses, confident that the union leaders would not stray from

in the space of half a decade, or a decade at most, achieve what it took the British working class fifty years to do—build a mass labour party. Beginning with only class independence, very rapidly they would be compelled to adopt a socialist programme. There is a possibility, if the movement fails in Europe and the other continents, that the torch of struggle would be taken up by US labour and they can take the lead of the world labour movement in a very short period of time.

35. Of course the failure of reformist governments in other countries, especially Britain, has increased enormously the scepticism in the ideas of socialism. The media have never tired of showing the complete bankruptcy of the reformist 'Socialist-Communist' government in France. In addition to this there has been the horrible caricature of 'socialism' in Cuba, the Soviet Union, China and the other areas where Proletarian Bonapartism has succeeded in establishing itself. These bureaucratic dictatorships have no attraction to the US workers. But this outlook of the workers cannot be maintained indefinitely. The main factor was the very high standards of living gained in the booms of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Capitalism seemed to guarantee ever-rising standards of living to the masses. Now that capitalism has reached an impasse and can no longer deliver the goods, there will be an inevitable change in the consciousness of the US proletariat.

36. In reality capitalism as a means of developing productive forces has failed completely. But there is always a lag in consciousness, taking account of the objective situation. This applies not only in the USA but on a world scale. However the dynamics of US society, and the dynamics of the powerful US proletariat, are such that they can catch up with the other sections of the world proletariat very quickly. Marxism explains that conditions determine consciousness and therefore in the environment which exists in the United States it is inevitable that more and more workers will become conscious that only by a change of society can they achieve their aims. There will be sharp leaps and abrupt changes in the consciousness of the workers. With many delays, the

objective situation will develop in the subjective consciousness of the working class as a mass.

37. The independent class consciousness of the US proletariat will move towards socialist consciousness. The US workers are fresh. They will take over the ideas of socialism with enormous enthusiasm. There is the possibility that they can overtake and even outstrip the European workers. In Europe, after decades and even generations of existence, the reformist organisations of the proletariat have become an enormous obstacle to the proletariat taking the road to the socialist revolution. This will not be so in the USA. A reformist party bureaucracy will not have time to crystallise in the same way as has happened with the Social Democratic and Socialist Parties of Europe. The US working class will inevitably take to the road of class-consciousness and then of socialism. When they take to the road of independent class politics and socialism it will change completely all the factors in the entire world. It is theoretically possible that the US workers could be the first to take power and organise a democratic workers' state. This of course would mean the collapse of capitalism and the end of Stalinism on a world scale.

38. But then there is no lack of possibilities in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, Japan and the United States for the proletariat to move to take the fate of society into its own hands. The only thing that is certain is that there will be competition to see which continent will first succeed in achieving the socialist revolution. While at the present time it would seem that the honour of being in the vanguard lies with the workers of Latin America, the workers of Europe, Asia, Africa and particularly of the United States can very quickly take their place in the ranks. However, wherever the movement takes place, once the working class succeeds in taking power in one important country of the world and establishing a regime on the lines of that of Lenin and Trotsky in the Soviet Union's early years, but on a higher economic level, that would have an immediate effect on the workers of the rest of the world, particularly on the workers of the United States.

their role as "social partners", did not budge.

Despite this, the union leaders came up with no other idea than to repeat the demonstrations, rallies, and warning strikes.

Yet such weapons, necessary before the strike, slowly became blunted. Workers who would have joined an all-out strike regarded mere warning strikes as useless and didn't take part. Then the union officials made out that such workers didn't want to strike at all!

The District Secretary Eisenmann then made one compromise after another—each worse than the one before. Already on May 27 he showed he was prepared to drop the demand for the speedy introduction of a 35-hour week and also the 'no loss in pay' clause. Eventually he offered the compromise of a 35-hour week from 1989, the costs to be equally shared by bosses and workers.

Even then the only reaction of the bosses was—more lockouts!

Also in the print industry the workers recognised the weakness of the strike tactics used—so-called 'surprise' strategies (surprising especially for the workers): called at a moment's notice but only lasting 1 to 3 days.

Unlimited

The day after the Daimler strike began a meeting of representatives from striking printshops in Stuttgart called for their strike to be spread out and declared unlimited, in order to have any effect at all on the bosses. But not until the middle of June—10 weeks after the start of strike action—did the central leadership call unlimited strikes in important printworks.

A main argument of the leadership against the demand for a national strike was always concern about strike funds. According to Hans Mayer, IG Metall chief, the strike cost DM500 million. But after five years without a strike surely it was possible to build a strike fund sufficient for a devastating, and therefore brief, all-out national strike.

The British miners' have been on strike since March without a penny of strike pay. The few pounds they get from social security is not enough to survive on. Yet through donations of food and money from the entire labour movement they keep their heads above water.

As the spontaneous donations in every strike and factory occupation show, there are great reserves for material solidarity in the German labour movement. Through a determined strike and a militant leadership such reserves could be tapped.

Anyway, if there is enough money in union funds for dubious business investments, there should be enough for such a decisive battle!

So weeks passed by with the union leaders not knowing what to do except to hope for a miracle, slowly coming to the terrifying truth that the bosses had left them standing alone with their 'compromise' plans.

In the end they saw no way out other than to accept arbitration—worked out by Georg Leber, a retired SPD (Social Democratic Party) and trade union right-winger.

Meanwhile the capitalists had also realised that it was impossible to break the union, and the export-oriented motor industry gradually became afraid of losing their carefully built-up market share through a drawn-out strike.

On June 26th the DGB organised once again solidarity rallies throughout Germany—but only after working hours. The workers in Belgium went further and held a national 15-minute strike in solidarity!

And just on that very day the arbitration award was announced, bringing the strike to an end.

The high number of votes against accepting the award shows that many workers, especially union activists, were prepared to fight on.

But along with the meagre compromise arrived at it is necessary to say that the aims of the bosses and their government to hold onto the 40 hour week and to force the unions to their knees have failed. It should not be forgotten that at the outset the employers had adamantly ruled out the possibility of conceding **even a minute** off the working week.

Mass desertions from IGM are unlikely. Despite their anger against a weak leadership, most of the members realise that without a union they would be at the bosses' mercy.

There will be big conflicts, and pressures on the workers' councils in the metal factories, when it comes to the actual introduction of the 38½ hour week (with the details to be worked out separately in each workplace). Many workers who were not active participants in the strike will be drawn into the debate about

hours, conditions, productivity, the employment of apprentices, etc.

And the next economic recession, from 1985, with mass redundancies and factory closures, will lead to new struggles including factory occupations and possibly regional general strikes.

Strategy

Already, fourteen days after the strike, the DGB produced a strategy paper which spelt out their perspectives under the CDU government: growing long-term unemployment, inhuman working conditions, inadequate safety and health regulations at the workplace, inadequate workers' participation and unequal educational and training opportunities.

German workers will not take that lying down. Another five year period without strikes of metalworkers, as was the case before this year's strike, is now impossible.

Every strike puts to the test every union, organisation, programme, perspective, strategy, and individual. In this sense, this 50 day strike taught the active participants more than ten years of union education work.

The mood of criticism after the strike will be demonstrated within the unions in the coming months and years. More active, more militant, and younger members will replace older, more sleepy ones in the shop stewards committees and other bodies. The struggle for a fighting, democratic union will now really begin.

Meetings of the IGM negotiating committee should always be open to the rank and file so they can see how their representatives negotiate. Already after the 1979 steel strike the demand came for District Secretaries to be democratically elected—so that they are independent of the executive, which appoints and pays them.

Also the full-time officials should be paid no more than the wage of a skilled worker, so that when it comes to wage negotiations they really feel the importance of the result.

IG Metall, with 2,5 million members, is the biggest and most powerful union in the Western world. When its membership is fully mobilised, no power on earth can stop it.

The future movement of the German workers will shake Europe to its foundations.

The Stalinist states

1. The victory of the Russian Revolution took place over 66 years ago. The Russian bureaucracy has succeeded in maintaining itself in power for more than 60 years. The regime has had time to crystallise out into a 'stable' pattern. In the Eastern European countries it is nearly four decades since the Stalinist bureaucracies established themselves. In China it is nearly 35 years, and in Cuba 25 years, since the revolution came to power in a distorted form. That is quite an extended span of time, when one considers the upheavals and movements that have taken place in most of the rest of the world during those years.

2. The bourgeois and their flunkies in the media pretend that the longevity of the bureaucracies' rule in the Bonapartist workers' states is because of their systematic terror and repression. However this is clearly false. The terror in Argentina, Chile, Greece or in other countries did not succeed in stabilising those Bonapartist military-police capitalist states, or prevent their collapse. Marxists long ago explained that even with the aid of the military-police apparatus, it is not possible to hold the masses in check for an extended period of time. In reality the relative stability of the regimes of Proletarian Bonapartism is not because of their terror, but because they were able to develop the productive forces at a far faster pace than capitalism.

3. Capitalism again has become an absolute fetter on the development of production, but the Stalinist states for a whole historical period were relatively progressive. In China, and in some of the more backward areas of Asia and Africa, these regimes are still relatively progressive, although that period also seems to be drawing to a close at the present time. China still manages to achieve high figures of annual growth in its Gross National Product. Recent figures are about 8-10% per annum, but even this is small in comparison with the figures obtained by the Soviet Union in the 1930s with its first five-year plans. This increase is higher than the capitalist powers can achieve at the present time and equal to what capitalism accomplished at the height of the world economic upswing, except possibly for Japan.

4. Marxism finds in the development of the productive forces the key to the progress and development of society. Now in Eastern Europe and Russia, we see that the period when these regimes were 'relatively progressive' in comparison with capitalism, in spite of the Bureaucracy's arbitrary

rule of terror and repression, has drawn to a close. But these regimes were only 'relatively' progressive because, with democratic workers' control and management of industry and the state, it would have been possible to get far higher figures of production, without the terror, waste and mismanagement of Stalinism. The Stalinist states were 'progressive' only in comparison with capitalism and because, by developing the productive forces, the Stalinists were strengthening the force that will carry through the political revolution, the working class.

5. Now in Eastern Europe and Russia the relatively progressive features of the system are drawing to a close. During the last few years, the actual figures of the increase in production in Russia and Eastern Europe were lower than the figures capitalism achieved during booms, although they still remain higher than capitalism in the period of slumps.

6. The successors of Krushchev have had to abandon the aim of 'catching up with and outstripping the capitalist powers'. Despite Krushchev's boast, that by the 1980s Russia would have outstripped the United States in productivity of labour and output, they have not succeeded in doing so. While output is perhaps now 70-80% of that of the United States, the productivity of labour is far lower. But it is precisely the productivity of labour that determines the change from one regime to another.

7. However the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union has been compelled to abandon the idea of 'socialism in one country'—i.e. Stalin's idea of building up an autarchic economy. In fact, in order to resist those sections of the bureaucracy who still wanted to maintain this policy, Brezhnev was compelled to put in the Constitution that Russia participates on the world market!

8. The failure to catch up with capitalism, although enormously favourable factors made this theoretically possible in the post-war period, was because of the clogging influence of the bureaucracy on production. Bureaucratic rule is inefficient, incompetent, corrupt and utterly incapable of developing productive forces to the limits of their capabilities. The bureaucracy, from being relatively progressive, became more and more an absolute fetter on the development of society and production in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe.

BRITISH MINERS' STRIKE— historic turning point.



9. At the same time, abandoning internationalism, the bureaucracy has to appeal to nationalism. That is why there has been the invention of different national 'roads to Socialism' wherever a bureaucracy has come to power. In Eastern Europe there has been no integration of the economies into a Federation to overcome the Balkanisation of the area. There has been no question of integrating the economy of these countries on an equal basis with the economy of the Soviet Union. In fact there is less economic integration between the European Stalinist countries than there is within the European Economic Community.

10. It would be of enormous benefit to production if there were one plan for the entire Eastern European area. But in reality it would have been impossible to have a socialist federation of Eastern Europe linked to the Soviet Union because of the bureaucratic rule and because of the contradictions it involves. Even within the Soviet Union itself, the bureaucracy has been absolutely incapable of organising and integrating the different republics together on the basis of one centralised plan. The lunacy of having a handful of officials in Moscow in control of the plan, with a hundred thousand building projects and a hundred thousand factories, has revealed the inadequacies and hopelessness of attempting to run a modern economy on the basis of bureaucratic rule.

11. If workers' democracy, rather than Stalinism, ruled the countries where capitalism had been overthrown, then one integrated federation extending from the Pacific shores of China to the Baltic, and the Black Sea to the frontiers of West Germany could have been created. Instead of co-operation and economic integration, there has been in reality something that could never have been conceived of in the past, and that is the outbreak of war between so called 'socialist' regimes. This abomination is an indication of the antagonistic interests of the nationalist cliques in control of Moscow, Hanoi and Beijing (Peking). China and Russia were virtually at war, with large numbers of casualties in the battles which took place on their common frontier some years ago. There was an actual war between China and Vietnam. Vietnam has invaded the deformed workers' state of Kampuchea. Incapable of being a beacon of peace, democracy, freedom and of economic construction, the Stalinist bureaucrats' military-police dictatorships have repelled and confused the peoples of the world by appearing to show that under what they call 'socialism' wars were possible.

12. The Stalinist regime has had enormous successes in the past: Russia now produces more steel, oil and coal (including lignite) than any other economy in the world. But as the economy developed, it more and more seized up in the bureaucratic stranglehold. Now the Soviet Union's growth rate is less than what capitalism achieved during the upswing. In the case of Japan, in some years at the height of the world economic upswing it achieved

growth figures of 17%. For Western Europe and the United States a figure of 8% per annum has been achieved in the period of upswing in the past. The fact that only with a special campaign did Andropov and his successor Chernenko succeed, only for a temporary period, in increasing the growth rate to 5% is an indication that the bureaucracy has now completely outlived itself. The continuation of bureaucratic rule means the possibility of economic stagnation in Russia.

13. Corruption, waste, mismanagement, chaos are the hallmarks of the bureaucracy everywhere. From time to time, 'anti-corruption' campaigns are waged by the bureaucracy, when the fruits of the method of state ownership and the plan threaten to be devoured by the rapacity of the ravenous bureaucratic managers of industry, the state and the military. The purpose of these campaigns is to maintain some check within the bureaucratic system against gross excesses which would jeopardise the bureaucracy as a whole.

14. The national question has not yet been completely solved, even in the federation of the Soviet Union. 'Great Russian' chauvinism and oppression of the Ukrainians, Georgians and other peoples of the Soviet Union by the centralising and reactionary bureaucracy is still evident. That explains why there was no attempt to draw in the other states where capitalism and landlordism were destroyed, in Eastern Europe or China, into a federation with the Soviet Union. Although Lenin had clearly anticipated such a federation by calling the first workers' state not Russia, but the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Even in the small republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, the national question is still an important factor in the attitude of these peoples. If the bureaucracy cannot solve the question in these former parts of the Russian Empire, even more so would it be impossible to absorb Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Romania.

15. These 'independent' countries were originally looted by the Moscow bureaucracy after the Second World War. Goods were sold to these countries at above world market prices, while the Soviet Union bought their products below world market prices. Now the situation has been completely reversed. The USSR now sells raw materials at below world market prices to the Eastern European countries. That is a crushing argument against the claim that the Soviet Union was 'imperialist' because it was abusing its position of domination and getting a surplus by the above means. Now when the trading advantage is with the satellite countries, it is a final argument against the idea that the Soviet Union is an imperialist state. No imperialist country has an arrangement of that kind.

16. However it is the relationship of these regimes with world capitalism that is the basis of the stability which they still possess. The masses in the Soviet

Workers around the world stand shoulder to shoulder with British miners in their struggle for victory in the present dispute.

At the time of going to press, the mine strike is in its 26th week, standing firm against the combined onslaught of the National Coal Board, the government, the courts and police, and the capitalist press. Business-financed attempts to create a 'back to work' movement to split striking miners are failing.

September, with the ending of summer, the TUC conference, and industrial action called by railworkers, could bring fresh forces to the support of the miners.

This article, reprinted from Militant, 27/7/84, weekly Marxist paper in the British labour movement, analyses the lessons of the strike up to that point.

The miners' strike marks a fundamental turning point in the struggle between the Tory government and the organised labour and trade union movement. Under the impact of this strike, the entire landscape of British society is being redrawn. When it is over, nothing—socially, industrially, or politically—will have been left untouched.

Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution, wrote of the profound effect of strikes:

"They remind the capitalist that it is the workers and not they who are the real masters—the workers who are more and more loudly proclaiming their rights. Every strike reminds the workers that their position is not hopeless, that they are not alone...."

"Every strike means privations that can only be compared to the calamities of war"...and yet... "despite all these sufferings, the workers despise those who desert their fellow-workers and make deals with the employers."

Lenin added: "It is often enough for one factory to strike for strikes to begin immediately in a large number of factories." He explained also the effect of strikes upon workers' class consciousness:

"Every strike brings thoughts of socialism very forcibly to the worker's mind, thoughts of the struggle of the entire working class for the emancipation from the oppression of capital.

"It has often happened that before a big strike the workers of a certain factory or a certain branch of industry or a certain town knew hardly anything, and scarcely ever thought, about socialism; but after the strike study circles and associations become more widespread among them and more workers become socialists."

Those words were written in 1899 about the strike movement in Czarist Russia; they could have been written only yesterday about the present

By Brian Ingham

miners' strike.

Thatcher hoped for an "Industrial Falklands", a short sharp spectacular victory that would spread demoralisation throughout the trade unions, rekindle the rapidly declining prestige of the Tory government, and restore her own personal fortunes. After their retreat against the miners in 1981, Thatcher and the Tories prepared carefully to take their revenge on the miners at a moment of their choosing. They set up a special unit tied to 10 Downing Street, empowered to make all the necessary contingency arrangements for defeating a miners' strike.

Massive stocks of coal and oil were assembled. Lavish redundancy payments were introduced. And the management team at the NCB was stiffened by the appointment of MacGregor, fresh from butchering the jobs of steel workers. Secret behind-the-scenes preparations also took place to ensure that the entire national weight of the police could be mobilised to limit the effectiveness of picketing.

The long summer months lay ahead. Thatcher and MacGregor buoyed up by the cowardly attitude of the right-wing trade union leaders over the NGA dispute with the *Stockport Messenger* and over the GCHQ affair, decided that the moment had arrived for a show down with the miners.

We are now reaching the twentieth week of this dispute. The Tories have

been denied the short sharp humiliating defeat over the miners which they rashly anticipated. On the contrary the miners are dug in, they sense the panic in government circles and they feel they are on the road to an historic victory. The strike was a monumental miscalculation on the part of Thatcher, the Tory cabinet, MacGregor and big business generally. They failed to understand the mood building up within the working class.

Marxists had explained, in answer to the Tories, and to the cynics within the labour movement, that the working class was far from broken or dispirited. On the surface there was doubt, hesitation, unease and caution when it came to the possibility of industrial action. Under the surface, however, a pent-up mood of anger, resentment and bitterness was becoming more explosive and more general as each day passed.

Marxists predicted, against a chorus of gloom that at times seemed to echo everywhere within the left of the labour movement, that this was one of the most volatile periods in the entire history of British capitalism. Sudden flare ups of industrial struggle were inevitable, that would take the Tories and even trade union leaders by surprise, and which would dramatically alter the outlook and understanding of rank-and-file trade unionists. The miners' strike has vindicated totally these confident perspectives.

Miners have faced mass arrests and brutal harrassment. They have undergone hardship and grave personal difficulties. Yet the strike goes on. In Nottingham, where the strike was weak from the start, where the hesitation and vacillation of the leadership in the early days of the strike added to the difficulties, there has been a drift back to work. But the Coal Board is resigned to the fact that there is little they can do that will break the resolve of the 4,000 or so Nottingham miners who are proudly and defiantly continuing the fight.

In the heartland of the strike there is no weakening whatsoever. Striking miners are determined to stay in this fight for as long as it takes to win. Many of the most active miners had never before been to a union branch meeting. The "young lions" especially, are largely new to trade union activity. Many used to consider themselves uninterested in politics.

In the last 20 weeks they have

Union are haunted by a fear of intervention by the imperialist powers. The regime carefully and skillfully plays on this fear of intervention against the gains of the revolution. They have gone to the extent of arranging elaborate air-raid precautions, even though they would be useless in the event of a nuclear holocaust. But they serve as important reminders to the mass of the population of the dangers of war and the dangers of interventions.

17. The Russian regime can base itself on its enormous achievements in moving from the position of a semi-colonial country to the second world superpower. An additional achievement was its victory in the Second World War, which was largely, in Europe, a war between Germany (armed with resources of the whole of Europe) and the Soviet Union.

18. However the Stalinist regime in Russia has nothing in common with a healthy workers' state, except for the foundations of state ownership of the means of production. Socialism, if it had to have any meaning at all, would guarantee a higher productivity of labour than that achieved by any of the regimes of capitalism. In fact it is the basis of Marxism that one social system replaces another when the old can no longer guarantee the development of the productive forces, and when the new system will guarantee a higher productivity. Otherwise the overthrow of capitalism would be an unimportant episode.

19. The regimes in the countries of Proletarian Bonapartism are a horrible caricature of what genuine socialism would be. There is waste, chaos, incompetence, corruption and bureaucracy. At least in the Soviet Union this is partially masked by the enormous resources of the Eurasian land mass.

20. The local bureaucracy's different origins and its clear role as a parasite, explains the periodic movements of the workers in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany during the last three decades. The contradictions between the ostensible aims of the regime and the realities of bureaucratic rule are exposed more clearly in these countries.

21. However, the advanced layers of the proletariat must not be deceived as to the apparent stability of the regime within the Soviet Union itself. The terror of the bureaucracy at the General Strike in France in 1968 and, more recently, at the movements of the proletariat in Poland, was shown clearly. Brezhnev and the clique around him were terrified of the political revolution spreading to Russia and the rest of Eastern Europe had the Polish workers been victorious.

22. The inertia of the Russian workers was due to the world relations and the fear of intervention by the US and NATO imperialists. They point to policies of 'encirclement of Russia' by the forces of US imperialism, which has planes, men, guns, and bases in

the countries all round the Eastern Bloc. An additional factor has been the lack of an alternative in the West. The Russian masses see the degenerate Communist Parties which, however much they distance themselves from Moscow, nevertheless still praise the 'Socialist countries'. A very important factor also, is that in the countries where capitalism has been overthrown during the course of the post-war period, like China, Cuba, Ethiopia, Angola and other countries of Proletarian Bonapartism, they have constructed regimes in the image of present-day Moscow. On top of this, the Russian bureaucracy appeals rather to chauvinism than to the genuine internationalism of the early days of the Russian Revolution under Lenin and Trotsky.

23. There are no mass Marxist parties in the West which could evoke an echo within Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The Communist Parties of Europe and other parts of the globe have long ago degenerated into national and reformist parties, which have adapted themselves to the rule of capitalism in their countries. The mighty movement of proletarian internationalism created by Lenin and Trotsky is now turned into its opposite. The Communist Parties are firmly rooted in nationalist and reformist channels and that has an enormous effect on the psychology of the advanced working class in the Stalinist countries.

24. Although some of these parties have recently adopted a critical attitude towards the Stalinist regimes, they all accept that they are 'Socialist countries' and in fact argue that they are trying to construct similar regimes in their own country. Even the left reformist leaders in the Socialist parties and trade unions accept that what exists in Russia is 'Socialism'. The right wing of the Socialist parties and trade unions are critical only in order to alienate the Russian masses by taking a pro-capitalist stand. The right-wing reformists support their own ruling class's alliances with other ruling classes and seek to confuse the working class by equating 'communism' with Stalinist totalitarianism.

25. The Stalinist regimes have nothing in common with the fundamental principles on which the October Revolution was based. The four points of Lenin and Trotsky—1. The free election and organisation of Soviets; 2. No official to receive a higher wage than a skilled worker; 3. No standing army, but an armed people; 4. No permanent bureaucracy—have been turned into their opposite, with the construction of the most bureaucratic regime in the history of society.

26. Sixty-six years after the revolution, the workers are further away from control than they were at the beginning of the revolution when the economy was much more primitive. Now there is an economy of the most modern character. The bureaucrats could succeed when it was purely a question of building the basic infrastructure of society. But now a

picketed, marched and lobbied. Thousands have attended political meetings. The strike itself has been an education. Illusions in the "fairness" of the police and the law courts have been driven out. The state has demonstrated viciously that, in the last analysis, it is the instrument of the ruling class against the working class, of the minority who own the wealth in society against the majority who create the wealth.

One young miner said in a *Militant* public meeting that, during this strike, socialism had literally been knocked into his skull! Most miners have understood also that, whatever the outcome, this strike will not be the last. There were victories in 1972, 1974 and 1981. That was not the end of the matter. Thousands upon thousands of miners have come to realise that there is no end to struggle, so long as capitalism remains. Hundreds of miners have gone further; they have become firm committed supporters of *Militant*.

There has been an similar change in the attitude of the wives of miners. Miners' wives' support groups have mushroomed in every coalfield, organising kitchens and the distribution of food. Miners wives have also stood shoulder to shoulder with miners on the picket lines and marches, equally determined to fight for victory. Politically, they are also now in the very front rank of the British working class.

The significance of this strike, though, extends far beyond the boundaries of mining communities. It has raised the morale and combativity of the entire trade union movement. Teachers, car workers, postal workers, civil servants, and seamen have all taken action in recent weeks. There has been a spate of small strikes throughout manufacturing industry. Workers in many of these companies have begun to feel firmer ground under their feet due to the small temporary upswing in manufacturing production. Order books became more healthy, requests from management for overtime came more frequently, and in some cases, new recruits were taken on.

For workers in many companies facing these developments, the miners' strike has acted as an example and inspiration, dissolving the last reserves of caution left over from the more harsh economic climate of the last few years.

This strike has also given a new

added impetus to the movement to the left within the trade unions. The right wing had already been thrown onto the defensive by the reaction to their shameful role over the last year. 300 motions of censure appeared on the agenda of the CPSA Conference against Alistair Graham and the old right wing executive. At the USDAW conference, the executive was beaten no less than 11 times. Alistair Graham has now been removed from the TUC General Council and Len Murray has resigned as TUC general secretary.

The new general secretary of NALGO had to face fierce criticism for not supporting the NGA. NALGO also decided to back any council which passed an illegal budget, though this was also due to the magnificent struggle led by the Liverpool Council which in the last few months has unfolded side-by-side with the miners' strike. First Liverpool workers showed the way to the miners; then the miners moved into action lifting and strengthening the battle in Liverpool; then victory in Liverpool lifted the miners. Thatcher had been beaten!

Light-years removed

At the NUR conference the leadership refused to give full support to the battle inside the Labour Party against the expulsion of socialists in Blackburn, and for the reinstatement of the five expelled members of the *Militant* Editorial Board. Nevertheless, this conference was light-years removed from the conferences dominated only a few short years ago, by Sidney Weighell.

The NUR conference passed a resolution moved by a *Militant* supporter which called for a 35 hour week with no loss of pay, a £100 minimum wage and the nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies. They also instructed the NUR representative on the Labour Party's NEC to support that policy at Labour's conference this autumn.

The miners' strike has also laid bare the real relationship between the classes in British society. In 1926, headed by the Tory Prime Minister, Baldwin, the ruling class calculated that it could take on the working class in a general strike, and win. They knew that the trade union leaders would run in terror from such a

struggle.

The ruling class treats the present right wing leadership of the trade unions with even more open contempt. Nevertheless, because of the added power of the trade unions, and their far greater specific weight in society, the Tories are not only fearful of a general strike, they have lived in dread throughout this dispute at the thought of even one other powerful group of workers joining hands with the miners in struggle.

Thatcher intervened personally to ensure, by means of concessions, that there would be no rail strike on pay during the miners' strike. Tory anti-trade union legislation has also been put on ice in case it provoked a wider movement of solidarity behind the miners.

The docks strike caught the Tories totally unawares. Suddenly their worst fears had been realised—dockers and miners were on strike simultaneously. Immediate mayhem broke out in the ranks of the Tory MPs, a state of emergency was threatened and Tory Ministers talked of sending in the troops. An already charged situation was becoming ever more charged as each hour passed.

The dockers have now returned to work, and, as a result, the atmosphere has been, to an extent, defused; but, for how long? The longer this strike goes on, the more it will eat into the very fabric of society.

The hooligan activities of the police in local mining communities have provoked almost insurrectionary moods in areas of Yorkshire. Sections of the ruling class are now concerned that these battles may spill over into larger towns, both inside and outside mining areas. They have drawn the conclusion that with the school holidays beginning, with mass youth unemployment already an epidemic and with widespread feelings among the youth that they have been written off by this society, any further clashes with the police in mining areas could well spark off the kind of rioting which took place on the streets of Brixton and Toxteth in the summer of 1981.

On the industrial front, British Telecom engineers are entering into the first stages of industrial action over pay. Firemen are beginning to consider taking industrial action against compulsory redundancies and, once the summer is over, the

sophisticated economy like the Soviet Union requires the control and the check of the masses. Without it, enormous red tape, bureaucracy, inefficiency, incompetence and stupid decisions mean complete seizing-up of the economy as a consequence. It is impossible to run a modern sophisticated economy on the basis of command from the top. Even the monopolies of the West are faced with waste, mismanagement and bureaucratic inefficiency. In the Stalinist countries these are multiplied by a complete lack of democracy and of criticism.

27. The Stalinist regimes move convulsively from crisis to crisis, from economic centralisation to de-centralisation to re-centralisation and so on. For a period the de-centralisation works and then they find that, instead of one bureaucracy, they have 16 or more bureaucracies and this makes the situation even worse. Turning to re-centralisation, this gets improvement for a short time and then the whole of production threatens to seize up again because of bureaucratic incompetence and the impossibility of controlling an entire economy on the basis of the decisions of a handful of people at the top.

28. Andropov's attempt to boost production by making scapegoats of the worst offenders in corruption at the top only produced small results. Andropov, significantly the former head of the KGB, used measures against the bureaucracy itself for the purpose of gaining support among the masses, and used the threat of action to tighten labour discipline, for example by campaigns against drunkenness and against those who take time off work to queue for the goods which are in short supply. But the effects of this can only last for a short period. Without the regime of workers' control and workers' democracy, corruption is absolutely inevitable. It will seep in again and reach the same heights as it did under Brezhnev, and before him Krushchev and Stalin. Already Chernenko has restrained the anti-corruption drive. Cleansing the worst excesses of the bureaucracy from time to time, particularly taking action against sections of the lower bureaucrats, has become part of the system itself. It cannot solve any of the problems of the economy.

29. From the viewpoint of a planned economy, democracy is as essential as oil to lubricate machinery. Under capitalism there is the check, or rather used to be the check, of the market. Competition is the spur to the capitalists themselves and at the same time acts as a means of checking price, quality, productivity and other important aspects of the production of commodities. Even under capitalism, the development of monopoly capitalism and state monopoly capitalism means that this is only very partially true at the present time. In a regime of complete state ownership, the spur of the market can only be replaced by the check of the masses. Healthy democracy is absolutely vital to any regime of state ownership, if it is to achieve its aims and get the maximum development of production on the

basis of the level of the productive forces at each particular stage.

30. Through the dominance of the working class, and in reality the entire population, every step of the plan is checked and controlled. Every workshop, every industry and the economy as a whole works on the basis of democratic planning. It is possible then for mistakes to be rectified and checked. The one-sidedness of the economy where the production of goods does not dovetail into the plan, thus resulting in waste and chaos, can be eliminated by this means. Democratic workers' control and management of the economy from this point of view is a vital necessity. Fewer mistakes will be made and these mistakes will be easily corrected. But the main basis of the plan must be the interests of the toilers and their standard of living. That would mean that they would take an interest in the quality of production and in the dovetailing of products with other factories and the plan as a whole.

31. The direct involvement of the masses in checking and acting in their own interests, cannot be replaced by bureaucrats at the top organising industry to get the maximum result. Each bureaucrat, each manager is only concerned with what he can get out of the plan. Therefore swindling and distortion is absolutely inevitable under a system of this sort. In order to achieve the target which has been set for them, they will produce goods that are not necessary, or of poor quality, so long as the figures of production can be met.

32. After 60 years of bureaucratic rule in the USSR there is now a massively powerful industry. This is not the consequence of bureaucratic rule, but rather in spite of it. It was built only on the basis of the advantages given by state ownership and a plan of production. Yet even after this enormous development, the economy and the state is further away from socialism than it was in the early years after the revolution. This is because, despite primitive industry and a primitive state machine, the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, attempted to implement the four conditions for workers' rule.

33. Lenin even declared that a wage differential of 4-1, which they were compelled to give specialists because of the situation at that time, was a 'capitalist' differential. The suppression of workers' democracy by the Stalinist political counter-revolution means that, despite the development of the Soviet economy and the country becoming more powerful and rich, there has not been a move towards equality or the withering away of the state, as was the intention of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. On the contrary there has been a greater move towards inequality. Corruption devours a great portion of the product of the working class. The top bureaucrats live like millionaires in other countries. They devour more and more of the surplus produced by the labour of the working class.

34. The system was relatively 'progressive' when, in the early days of the Stalinist bureaucracy, they were introducing into Russia the achievements of modern capitalist industry from the West. Now, despite the USSR having more engineers, technicians and scientists than the USA, Japan and Britain put together, they are absolutely incapable of using the resources of science, technique and the labour of the working class to develop the productive forces to the limit of their capacity. The bureaucracy felt that it had a 'mission' at the time of the initial development of the productive forces, now they themselves uneasily feel that they are becoming more and more a parasite on production.

35. In the past the capitalists of the West could allow, under pressure, the granting of reforms like the democratic right of free speech, a free press, the right to organise, the right to strike and the other rights which workers' struggles over 150 years have obtained. They could introduce bourgeois democracy because of the scattered nature of industry and of productive forces. There were various centres of power. The bourgeoisie itself was split into various factions. Today bourgeois democracy remains the cheapest form of rule for the capitalists, because, with its control of the media and the pressure from parliament and the councils, etc., it is possible to keep a check on the state machine and on society as a whole. Although now, with state monopoly capitalism, the situation has changed to a certain extent, from the point of view of the convenience of the ruling class a bourgeois democracy remains the best system, even though it is being undermined by the capitalist crisis. It also has the advantage of presenting an apparently 'democratic' alternative to the totalitarian system that exists in the Stalinist states.

36. Fundamental reforms such as these are impossible in the Stalinist states, because the moment democratic rights were introduced it would mean the end of the privileged role of the ruling caste. Then the bureaucracy, the privileged layer of society, including the army, state, and party bureaucracy as well of course as the managers, would be entitled only to 'wages of superintendence' as explained by Marx. In the words of Marx, they would be entitled to a wage somewhat higher than the wages of the unskilled workers, but only for a temporary period. As the economy developed, the masses would move more and more in the direction of equality and the dismantling of the state. The state's main role in the transitional society between capitalism and socialism, is suppressing the old exploiters and the organisation of the economy and distribution. As society moved in the direction of socialism, the workers' state would gradually 'wither away'. But far from withering away, the state has assumed enormous proportions in the Soviet Union and the other countries of Proletarian Bonapartism. In Lenin's time, specialists and technicians who were members of the Communist Party did not get the differential of 4-1, but on the contrary they only received the

wage of a skilled worker. Today the 'Communist Parties' in the Stalinist states are not even workers' organisations: they are instruments of the bureaucracy to perpetuate bureaucratic rule.

37. Cynicism, drunkenness, indifference and fear are the lot of the workers as the facts of bureaucratic misrule percolate down to the masses. They have no say in correcting these abominations or the results of the stupidity, incompetence, greed, indolence and lack of foresight of the managers and state bureaucracy. These in turn are trapped into the meshes of the bureaucratic machine and plan. Without bribing other managers, they could not get the raw materials or other necessary things required in their own industry or factory. These 'fixers' work in the pores of Stalinist society. Although illegal, they are an absolutely necessary constituent of the system. The state, police and KGB turn a blind eye to these transactions. Occasionally they make an example of some manager who has turned himself into a millionaire too ostentatiously. This is to encourage caution in other bureaucrats.

38. Without the activities of these parasites, industry would seize up completely, as it would be impossible to obtain necessary materials. The blackmarket man is indispensable to smooth over the difficulties that the managers find in running industry. In return for a percentage he will obtain raw materials, food and all the essentials for the running of the economy. The KGB only act when it is essential to limit the illegal transactions of the managers to a tolerable level. The existence of corruption to an unheard of extent, the speculation in all sorts of transactions, prostitution, deprivation and want at one pole of society, while at the other pole the bureaucracy lives at the level of high society in capitalist countries, shows the rottenness of Stalinism.

39. Despite the difficulties, despite the fact that more and more the bureaucracy can feel itself as a hindrance on the development of production and the development of the economy, it is clear that they will not give up easily. No privileged class or caste in history has given up its privileges voluntarily. Consequently, even though the bureaucracy is becoming conscious of itself as an absolute fetter on production, it cannot give up bureaucratic rule. It fools itself into believing that this or that measure, this or that tightening up, will make the economy go forward again.

40. There is a swing not towards equality but towards greater inequality. The corruption prevalent from the top to the bottom of the bureaucratic system has always devoured a great part of the surplus produced by the working class. Now it threatens to absorb a greater and greater part of the surplus. Despite increases in living standards, the difference between the bureaucracy and the mass of the population has increased during the course of the last 60 years. The bureaucracy consumes most of its

share of the social product not openly but illegitimately through swindling and perks, special food, special houses, special villas in the countryside and so on. The top layers of the bureaucracy have raised themselves to the position of a new aristocracy.

41. Consequently the illusions of some writers and sectarians that the bureaucracy can 'de-bureaucratise' itself, is even more remote from reality than the reformist illusion that the capitalists can 'de-capitalise' their system. The vested interests of the state, party, military, industrial and the lesser bureaucracies stand in the way. Every section of the bureaucracy has its snout in the state trough. They will not give this up until they are compelled to do so. In reality it would be more difficult to get a completely peaceful transformation of society in the Soviet Union than in the capitalist countries of the West, even though in the one case it would be a political revolution and in the other case a social revolution.

42. The bureaucracy feels itself as doomed and searches frantically in all directions for a way out of the situation in which they find themselves. That explains their participation in the world market.

43. The peculiar law that the Stalinist bureaucracy can only rule by totalitarian means has been demonstrated over and over again. In Poland, for example, the moment that the workers moved into action, the bureaucracy was virtually suspended in mid air. Immediately the workers spontaneously began to put forward demands to limit the role of the bureaucracy in industry and the state, and to limit the stolen privileges which the bureaucracy had obtained. In a capitalist state, the workers do not challenge the profit system until they are moving towards overthrowing the system itself. While seeing the monstrous and extravagant expenditure of the top layers of capitalist society, and while enjoying democratic rights, workers nevertheless do not challenge it in 'normal times'. But once democratic rights, or elements of these rights, began to appear in Poland the workers rapidly began to challenge the bureaucracy's privileges. It was clear to them that in a so-called 'socialist' state this should not exist. Thus the bureaucracy clings to its totalitarian hold on all the means of communication, the media, schools and universities. They understand that the moment that the heavy hand of the bureaucracy is lifted, the masses would move to overthrow them and introduce—or, in the case of the Soviet Union, restore—workers' democracy on a higher level even than it existed in the Soviet Union's early days.

44. In Poland in reality, with the movement of the masses, for a time the bureaucracy was powerless; it could not rely on the army or police. All that was necessary was for the workers to have the consciousness to take power into their hands. The bureaucracy was impotent to prevent this. But there

was a lack of Marxist leadership. The workers allowed themselves to be swayed by the nationalist, religious and utopian petit-bourgeois prejudices of the 'intellectuals' like Kuron and KOR. Using the argument of the threatened Russian intervention 'if it went too far', they tried to limit the struggle to one of democratic rights and free trade unions. They failed to understand that they were trying to square the circle. Only the overthrow of the bureaucracy could guarantee all these rights. They tried the utopian path of establishing free trade unions within a totalitarian system.

45. The Polish bureaucracy waited until chaos developed because there was no real control of society or plan of production, and then seized control back into its hands through General Jaruzelski. When asked to put down the Gdansk workers in 1980, Jaruzelski had replied with: 'What army and what police?'—i.e. the army and police could not be relied upon. But a revolutionary situation does not last indefinitely and the workers' leaders' mistakes, along with Walesa's obtuseness, played into the hands of the Polish, East European and Russian bureaucracies. Moreover, a fatal factor was the national limited outlook of the leaders. Their nationalist standpoint made it impossible to approach the workers of the rest of Eastern Europe or of Russia. Their only hope of victory would have been to establish a regime of workers' democracy, offering a federation of equals to the workers of Russia and Eastern Europe. That was the only possibility of success, in the face of the threat of Russian military intervention—but their half-and-half approach doomed the developing political revolution in Poland to defeat and a return to totalitarian rule.

46. In the Stalinist states, even the corruption which stinks to the skies is not as bad as the waste, chaos and mismanagement which is an inevitable accompaniment to bureaucratic rule. Just as capitalism has become absolutely reactionary—destroying and limiting production—so the Stalinist bureaucracy has ceased to play even a relatively progressive role. This means that, simultaneously with the crisis of capitalism, there is also the crisis of bureaucratic rule in the Stalinist states.

47. The consolidation of bureaucratic rule and the extension of Proletarian Bonapartism into backward countries was only a phenomenon while the workers in the industrial heartland of capitalism were temporarily quiescent due to the world economic upswing. Now it is a race as to which will collapse first, capitalism in the West or Stalinism in the East. Both feed on each other. However the crisis of one will be reflected in the crisis of the other.

48. Once the masses in the USSR move, the dictatorship will be suspended in mid-air, as it was in Poland and Hungary in 1956 and again during 1980-1981 in Poland. There could be a movement of the workers at any time over some incident. On the

other hand, the process could be protracted because of fear of intervention from outside.

49. The movement of the workers to take power in any important country of Western Europe or even in the Proletarian Bonapartist countries of Eastern Europe, would find an enthusiastic echo throughout the Soviet Union. The new generation of Russian workers have not forgotten that their forebears made three revolutions. Once they see a different perspective, they will soon settle accounts with the hated bureaucracy which acts as a pure parasite on the state and the means of production.

50. Only on the basis of workers' democracy and the mighty gains of modern industry could the state be reduced to the scale of a semi-state, and begin its final withering away, preparing for the first time the movement towards socialism on the basis of modern techniques.

51. The basic contradiction in the Soviet Union is that the material conditions for socialism have been prepared by the development of the forces of production. But the state super-structure has moved further and further away from the ideals of the October

Revolution, into contradiction with its basis in industry and society. The basic task of the political revolution is to bring the productive forces and the state super-structure into consonance. The victory of the workers will immediately have the effect of simplifying the tasks of the state to those explained by Lenin—tasks of 'accounting and control'. The basic task of the political revolution will be to bring to power the workers, so that they can really control and manage industry and the state. But the moment that the working class takes control into its hands in this way, on the basis of a modern economy, will see the preparation of the new society of socialism.

52. Beginning with the move to greater and greater equality on the basis of modern conditions, modern productive forces and means of communication, it would be possible to very speedily begin the dismantling of the state, its withering away into society itself. The domination of man by man will be replaced by the domination of man over things. The socialist revolution will have reached its fulfillment. There would be a return in the early stages to the ideals of October, but on a much higher material basis. That task lies as the immediate perspective for the revolution in the coming years.

Spring 1984

Editors' introductory note

The Coming World Revolution was published recently by *Militant*, the British Marxist paper for Labour and youth, and is reprinted here. It was written in the spring months of this year (i.e., autumn in Southern Africa).

It shows how the stormy events unfolding in all the continents of the world are linked together, and are part of a process of **world** revolution that is taking place.

There is now a single world economy in which all countries are bound up. The scale and power of modern industry—the modern means of production—have outgrown the old economic and social systems and call for a revolutionary change of society if the terrible crises facing mankind are to be overcome and so that the possibilities of progress and abundance for all may be turned into reality.

The barriers posed today by the nation-state, together with the strangling effect of private ownership of production in the capitalist economies on the one hand, and of Stalinist bureaucratic rule in the planned economies on the other hand—these stand as the fundamental obstacles in the way of the development of the productive forces. The task facing the working class internationally in the period ahead is to organise to overthrow the exploiters and oppressors of the working people, to establish democratic workers' rule, and to link the countries and continents together in a Socialist Federation.

The inescapable need for this, and the revolutionary processes now unconsciously leading towards it, are explained in this pamphlet. It should be thoroughly studied and discussed by all comrades, because it provides a bedrock for a scientific Marxist understanding of perspectives and tasks in this epoch.

The pamphlet covers an immense range of subjects and is necessarily condensed. Readers who find difficulty with some of the concepts, or who need further background reading to master the document, may find it useful to study *Inqaba's* 1982 perspectives document, *South Africa's Impending Socialist Revolution*, together with this supplement.

Autumn pay round begins. British Leyland management, in particular, are trembling at the prospect of a national struggle on pay. BL workers want to recoup on their basic wage what they have lost out of bonus payments, and their confidence for action has been boosted by the fact that BL now has new more popular models. A continuing miners' strike will feed the militancy of BL workers and their readiness to take strike action.

The Tories are on the horns of a dilemma. This strike has blasted apart the idea that the Tory government is firmly and confidently in control of economic and political affairs. The Tories now are worried that any actions they take could produce disastrous repercussions.

The chorus of venom from Tory ministers unleashed last weekend against Arthur Scargill and the miners reflects the desperation of the Tories. Under the hammer blows of this strike the facade of unity within the Tory Party has been shattered. More and more open criticism of Thatcher has surfaced. Talk in the capitalist press of her being removed has also been resumed.

Sections of the capitalist class would like to cut their losses and end the strike as quickly and quietly as possible. But so much is at stake for Thatcher personally and for the circle around her that at present they are refusing to surrender. The NCB has

made significant concessions already to the NUM, but, as yet, Thatcher has not allowed MacGregor to concede one of the central demands: No pit closures except on grounds of proven exhaustion.

Thatcher still hopes that the strike may collapse from below. All the indications, however, are exactly the opposite. The miners will not be starved back. They have the support of their families, their communities and the wider labour movement. Their attitude is that although there may be more financial problems, the strike has gone on too long to end without victory. The nearer the strike goes towards winter, the more miners will begin to feel that this victory is imminent.

As long as the strike continues the possibility will remain of a more generalised struggle developing behind the miners. If it is still under way during the TUC then massive pressure will come to bear for the whole labour movement to support the miners, at least in a one-day general strike. A generalised struggle could also break out earlier if the Tories turn to the troops to move coal or if they decide to stake all on a legal assault through the anti-trade union laws.

A general strike would reveal the enormous latent power of the trade unions. It would rouse to action millions of workers, many who have drawn back from fighting over their

own separate problems; some would be involved who have been affected by the propaganda of the media against the miners. Backward ideas and prejudices would be swept aside as such a movement gathered momentum.

But, however this strike unfolds, a crushing defeat for the NUM now seems almost inconceivable. In reality the union is being rebuilt. A new generation of miners have been blooded in battle. In the short run in Nottingham and the other non-striking coalfields, the right will seem to strengthen their hold. This will not last. Within a matter of years striking miners will have become the leaders of the non-striking coalfields.

In society at large, the effects of this strike will never be undone. The unbridgeable chasm which this strike has revealed between the classes cannot be hidden or healed; it will instead deepen and intensify in the years ahead, possibly even in the months or weeks ahead. Miners are looked upon as the Brigade of Guards of the British trade union movement, but, where they have moved today, workers in all industries will move tomorrow. Workers who are being inspired by miners will soon be inspiring miners.

The last five years of Tory rule has hardened and stiffened the working people of Britain, preparing the way, not just for new strikes but for the wider and deeper political struggle to end forever the capitalist system. As one layer of the working class follows another into action, the ideas of socialism will become ever more deeply embedded in the ranks of the working classes, they will become the property, not of thousands, but of millions.

But, if this strike has shown the strength of the working class at rank-and-file level, it has also revealed glaring weakness at the very highest level of the trade unions and the Labour Party. If the Labour and trade union leaders had been prepared to mobilise the full weight of the labour movement behind the miners, Thatcher would have already been defeated. By now we could have been well on the way to the return of a Labour government.

This strike has revealed therefore the central task facing the working class: in the years ahead the labour movement must be rearmed thoroughly with a leadership which is fully worthy of the rank and file.



Support groups organised by miners' wives have played a vital role in the struggle.

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***Inqaba ya Basebenzi*, BM Box 1719, London WC1N 3XX**