

inqaba YA BASEBENZI

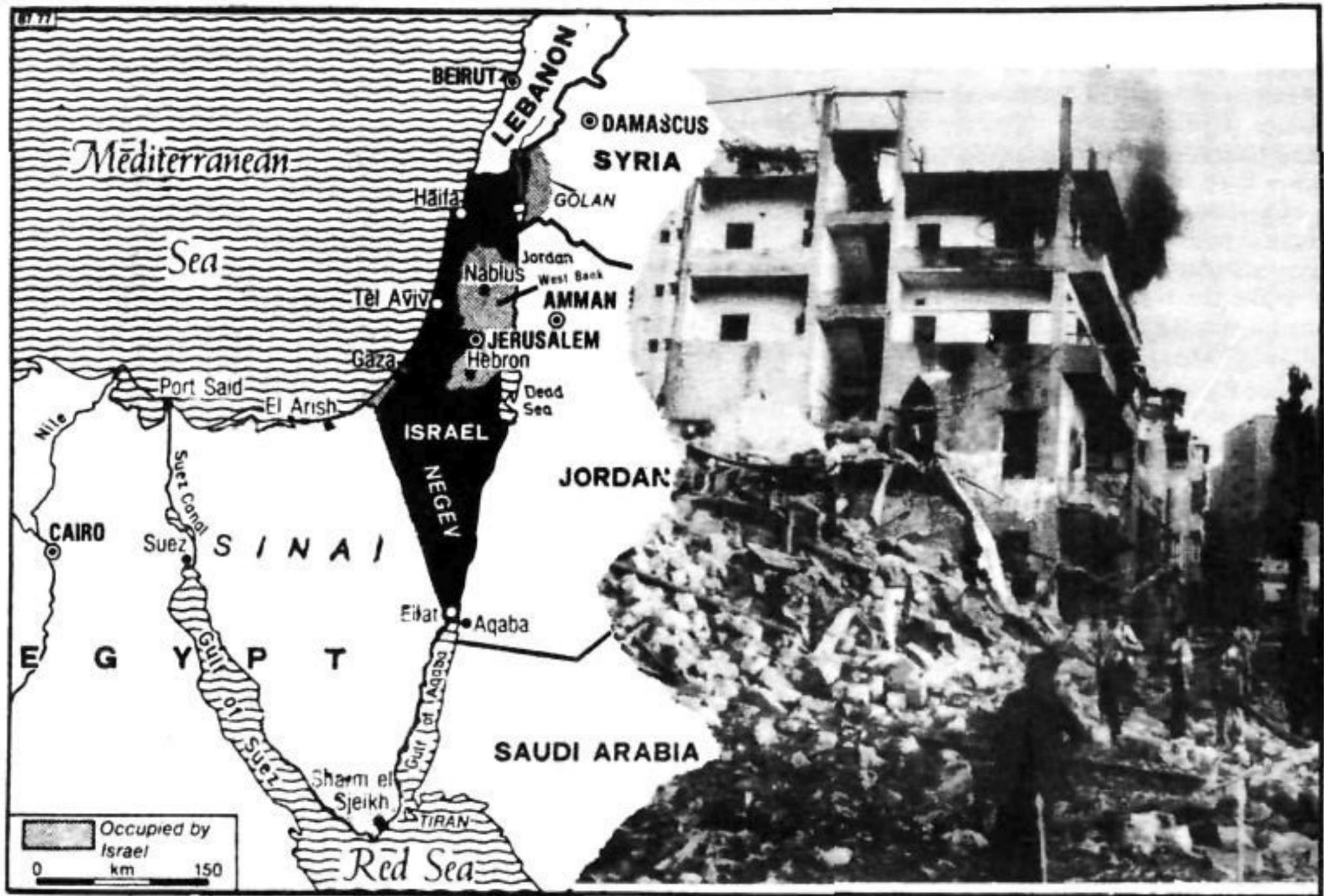


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Lessons of Lebanon

**Crisis in the
Middle East—
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YA BASEBENZI**

We must learn from Lebanon!

Two thousand Palestinian refugees were massacred by Israeli-backed Christian militias in Beirut on September 16-18. In just a few months since the invasion of Lebanon, possibly 50 000 people have been killed by Israeli bombs and shells, with whole towns blasted to rubble.

For the Lebanese, the Palestinians, and all working people in the Middle East, these are not isolated horrors, but part of a seemingly endless nightmare of division and insecurity.

The root cause is capitalism and imperialism, which carved up the Arab world into a patchwork of states, gave rise to the state of Israel, and threw into conflict peoples who once lived in harmony.

Capitalism in the Middle East has been totally unable to provide a decent standard of life for the people. Despite the region's oil wealth, the overwhelming majority live in grinding poverty.

It is not only in Israel that the Arab masses are oppressed. Most of the Arab regimes are either barbaric semi-feudal or military dictatorships. The Israeli people themselves lead a militarised existence.

Lebanon itself is torn apart among warring Christian and Muslim militias and preyed on by murderous private armies. It has become a stamping-ground for invading foreign powers. The people pay the price in blood, homelessness and despair.

The Middle East has lessons for our struggle in Southern Africa. It has parallels with the conditions of division, poverty, conflict and insecurity under which we live.

Like the Israeli ruling class, the apartheid bosses dominate our region with their ruthless military machine, and finance gangs to maraud and destroy in surrounding countries.

What is the way to peace and progress in these crisis-torn regions?

In the Middle East, as in Southern

Africa, peace is impossible without ending national oppression.

The national oppression of the Palestinians is the central burning question in the Middle East.

The imperialist powers claim to support the national rights of the Palestinians and to be against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. But this is sheer hypocrisy.

US imperialism arms and finances the Zionist Israeli state—to the tune of \$2,7 billion a year—precisely as a basis for imperialist domination in the region.

The Palestinian people demand a state of their own, to be free both from Zionist oppression and from the rule of oppressive Arab regimes in the countries where they are exiled.

But the Israeli rulers cannot accept a Palestinian state for fear that it would spur on the Arab revolution throughout the region and rouse the oppressed within Israel. They play on the real fear of the Israeli people that a Palestinian state on the West Bank could fire artillery shells even onto Tel Aviv.

The extreme right-wing Begin government is promoting Jewish settlement of the West Bank with the aim of preventing any possibility of a Palestinian state.

The imperialist powers, whatever they proclaim publicly, fear the revolutionary consequences of an independent Palestinian state—a state of dispossessed people with armed forces of their own.

The reactionary Arab rulers (clients of imperialism) are also secretly terrified that the existence of such a state would hasten their own downfall.

Since the 1940s there have been hundreds of resolutions of the United Nations and of Arab summits, and countless initiatives for a settlement. They have all come to nothing.

The new 'initiative' of Reagan contemplates no more than a so-called 'autonomous' West Bank—under

Jordanian state control.

Even if a Palestinian state could be set up through negotiations, it would be menaced by Zionist Israel on one side and dominated by reactionary Arab states on the other. It would have less independence than a Bantustan.

Thus the PLO leadership cannot secure Palestinian liberation by its policy of seeking a negotiated settlement, through the Arab states, with imperialism and the Israeli ruling class.

Palestinian liberation is impossible while the region is dominated and divided by capitalism.

The idea of a 'military solution' is equally unworkable.

In four full-scale wars the Israeli military showed their ability to defeat the disunited Arab states. This year the Arab rulers could scarcely lift a finger to defend Lebanon. Another defeat in war, they saw, could trigger their own overthrow at the hands of the Arab masses.

Nor could the Soviet regime risk a military confrontation with imperialism by intervening.

Utopian calls in the past for an Arab 'holy war' against Israel have only cemented all the classes in Israel behind the reactionary policies of the ruling class. Guerilla attacks against Israel have had the same effect.

Since its inception, the PLO leadership has tried every method of guerilla action. The PLO army has been built up to be the best-armed and best-trained guerilla force in the world, even deploying modern tanks, rockets, etc. But with what result?

The catastrophe of the Lebanon has again exposed the uselessness of guerilla struggle as a means of overthrowing a powerful industrial state.

Not only has the PLO suffered a crushing defeat in its supposedly impregnable base areas; the costs involved in the pursuit of this futile strategy have come down also on the Lebanese working people, in the hor-

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This is a supplement to INQABA YA BASEBENZI, journal of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the African National Congress. Readers are urged to make photocopies of this publication and pass them on to other comrades. Subscriptions for readers outside South Africa can be ordered from: BM Box 1719, London WC1N 3XX.

Introduction

The Chinese Revolution of 1944-49 resulted in the liberation of a quarter of the world's population from the shackles of landlord and capitalist rule. The victory of Mao Tse-tung's Red Army not only meant the completion of a thorough-going agrarian revolution, with the land passing into the hands of the peasants. It also led inevitably to the nationalisation of industry, finance and trade, and the establishment of a planned economy.

This was despite the programme of Mao, and the declared intention of all the Chinese Communist Party and Red Army leaders, that Chinese capitalism would be kept alive and encouraged to enjoy a long period of development.

In fact, the outcome of the Chinese Revolution confirmed the perspective of Trotsky, who had written in 1928: "...the third Chinese revolution ... will be compelled from the very outset to effect the most decisive shake-up and abolition of bourgeois property in city and village." (See *INQABA Supplement No. 7*, p.7.)

But Trotsky, like all the great Marxist teachers in the past, considered that such a *social revolution* could only be carried through by the working class, and under conscious working-class leadership. *In fact, the working class remained almost entirely passive in the Chinese Revolution of 1944-49.*

How was it possible that a victorious *peasant army* carried through the overthrow of capitalism? Does this invalidate the Marxist method of analysing and understanding society?

A careful study of the material in this Supplement will help to answer these questions. It will show that, far from being invalidated by the experience of the Chinese Revolution, the method of Marxism alone proved capable of explaining the peculiar process of the revolution and its outcome, *on the basis of the new combination of forces and factors which existed after the Second World War.*

This in turn enables us to understand how and why, in a series of subsequent revolutions in the underdeveloped countries of the ex-colonial world, capitalism has been over-

thrown without the working class playing any decisive role in the process.

But the articles on China printed here also serve to explain and confirm the fact that the revolution in any developed, industrialised country—such as South Africa—can only be carried through if the working class succeeds in taking power, consciously overthrows capitalism, and organises the socialist transformation of society.

Transcript of speech

The first of these articles is *The Chinese Revolution, 1944-49* by Peter Taaffe. He is the editor of the weekly *Militant* newspaper, which expresses the standpoint of the Marxist tendency in the British Labour Party. The article is an edited transcript of a speech on the Chinese Revolution given in London in 1980 to a Marxist Weekend School organised by *Militant*.

The second article is *Stalinism in China* by Ted Grant, the political editor of *Militant*. It is a reprint of a section of a pamphlet entitled "Stalinism in the Post-War World", which was published in June, 1951.

In our last Supplement (No. 7), we printed Trotsky's *Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution (1925-27)*, which explained how the policies of Stalinism led to the tragic defeat of the Chinese working class at that time. An understanding of the 1925-27 revolution and the causes of its defeat is a necessary background and preparation for reading the material in this Supplement.

For readers who do not have access to *Supplement No. 7*, the following short summary from its Introduction will have to suffice:

During the magnificent struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants in 1925-27, the leadership of the Communist International forced the Chinese Communist Party to subordinate itself to the bourgeois leadership of the Kuomintang nationalist movement, headed by Chiang Kai-

shek. This, they claimed, was necessary because in China the task of establishing bourgeois democracy was on the agenda.

In fact as Trotsky explained, the Chinese revolution was 'bourgeois' only in the sense that the tasks carried through by the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries in the period of the rise of capitalism—the creation of national unity; the establishment of parliamentary rule; the abolition of feudal relations on the land, etc.—had not yet been carried through in China.

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

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

Unable to learn

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

rors of devastation and death.

At the same time, for the Israeli working people, Zionist militarism and oppression of Arabs can bring no lasting security. It offers them no better future than a state of continuous armed siege and endless economic sacrifices.

The only practical policy in the Middle East is one that has not yet been tried. That is the struggle to overthrow capitalism throughout the region—a struggle for socialism both in Israel and the Arab states.

There is nothing short of social revolution that can secure the right of all the peoples of the Middle East, of the Palestinians at the same time as the Israelis, to rule themselves.

To achieve this, the working class must organise to lead all the oppressed in a struggle for national libera-

tion on a socialist programme.

In Southern Africa, also, it is only a socialist policy that can provide a solution.

In South Africa the search for 'negotiated solutions' and the method of guerilla war will prove just as futile and disastrous as in the Middle East. These cannot liberate the South African people or free the region from South African domination.

In fact the response of the SA regime to the escalation of guerilla struggle will be to embroil all Southern Africa in nightmares like the Lebanon.

The Kassinga and Chimoio massacres, the repeated SADF invasions, and the continual armed attacks on the Southern African states by SA-backed forces, are early

pointers to what would be in store along this road.

Our advantage is that the force which can provide a real alternative is already arising: the independent movement of the working class, with power to unite all the oppressed.

Once armed with a socialist programme, organised in its millions in the trade unions and the ANC, linking up with the movement of the working people throughout Southern Africa, the SA working class will have the capacity to defeat the monstrous SA capitalist state in mass armed insurrection.

In Southern Africa, as in the Middle East, national liberation will only be achieved, and an end brought to poverty and insecurity, in a Socialist Federation of democratic workers' states.

Re tshwanetse go malebela ka tseela Lebanon!

Batshabi ba Ma-Palestina ba le 2 000 ba bolailwe ke borra-ntwadumela ba ba neng ba thusiwa ke Israel mo toropong ya Beirut kgwedi ya Lweetse e le 16 go ya e le 18. Mo dikgweding di se kae morago ga go tshaselwa ga Lebanon batho ba ba ka nnang 50 000 ba bolailwe ke dibomo (bombs) le marumo a Israel le dikago mo toropong tsothe di phatlagantswe.

Mo bathong ba Lebanon le ba Palestine le badiri botlhe ba kgaolo ya Botlhaba-Gare (Middle East) tse ga se dilo tse di tshosang fela mme ke ntlha nngwe ya dilo tse di sa ba robatseng.

Matshwenyego otlhe a dirilwe ke mmuso wa bagateledi (capitalism) le batlatlapi (imperialism) o o kgaogantseng Ma-Arabia wa dira mafatshenyana, wa ba wa dira lefatshela la Israel, wa tswela ka go tliša tlhoka-kutlwisisanyo mo bathong ba ba neng ba tshela ka kagiso.

Mmuso wa bagateledi kwa Botlhaba-Gare o paletswe ke go direla batho botshelo jo bo siameng.

Bontsi jwa batho mo kgaolong e ba tshela mo khumanegong le fa kgaolo eo e humile mo ditswammung tse di tshwanang le mafura (oil).

Ga se mo Israel fela ko eleng gore setshaba se gateletswe. Bontsi ja mafatshe a Arabia a busiwa ke mmuso wa dikgosi kana wa bosole. Ma-Israela bone ba gateletswe ke mmuso o o tshwanang le wa bosole.

Lefatshe la Lebanon lone le kgaogantswe ka bogare ke bo-ntwadumela ba ba-Kereste le Ma-Muslim le ba bangwe ba mephato ya masole a sele ba ba batlang go boloya. Mbuso ya Seeng e e tshaselang Lebanon e dira jalo bogisa batho ba Lebanon. Batho bone ba a swa, ba bangwe ba sala ba sena metse fa ba bangwe bone ba setse ba ithobogile mo botshelong.

Kgaolo ya Botlhaba-Gare e na le malebela mo kgarakgatshegong ya rona mo Borwa jwa Afrika (Southern Africa). Fela jaaka re tshela mo mathateng, kwa Botlhaba-Gare go na le mathata a dikgogakgogano, khumanego, tinoka-kutlwisisanyo le

go tlhoka kagiso.

Jaaka mmuso wa Israel, mmuso wa Bogagapi wa kgethololo ya letso le mmala (Apatheid) mo Afrika Borwa, o laola kgaolo eno yotlhe. O dirisa masole a a se nang kutlobotlhoko, le borra-madi go senya mo mafatsheng a a bapileng le lone.

Ke tsela e fe e e siameng ya kagiso le tswelolepele mo kgaolong e, e e tletseng mathata?

Kwa Botlhaba-Gare, jaaka mo Borwa jwa Afrika, kagiso e ka seke e nne teng fa kgatelelo e sa fedisiwa.

Kgatelelo yo Ma-Palestina ke yone konokono ya mathata mo Botlhaba-Gare.

Mafatshe a botlatlapi a itira ekele a rutluetsa ditshwanelo tsa Ma-Palestina, e kete a kgathano le thumolanyo ya Israel kwa Lebanon. Mme, nnete ke gore moo ke tsietsi.

Botlatlapi ba Amerika ba thusa Israel ka ditlhabane le madi a a kanang ka \$2,7 billion ka ngwaga gore ba kgone go laola kgaolo kgaolo ya Botlhaba-Gare.

Ma-Palestina bone ba batla ipuso

position to Chiang.

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

Stalin and the Comintern leadership now reacted by jumping from their opportunist policies to an opposite but equally disastrous ultra-left position. In December 1927, with the revolution on the ebb as a result of

their own blunders, the CP staged a futile putsch in Canton which was bloodily repressed. (This marked the beginning of Stalinism's period of ultra-leftism which continued until 1935.)

This was the final nail in the coffin of the 1925-27 revolution. Combined with the further decay of the international Communist leadership, this defeat was to have decisive con-

sequences for the further development of the revolution.

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



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gore ba gololesege mo kgatelelong ya Israel le mebuso ya Ma-Arabia mo mafatsheng a ba tshabetseng mo go one.

Mme babusi ba Israe ba ka seke ba dumela go neela Palestine boipuso ka *gobo ba tshaba gore moo go ka dira* gore go nne le diphetogo (revolution) tsa Ma-Arabia mo kgaolong eo, ga ba ga tsosa batho ba ba gateletsweng mo Israel. Ba tshaba gore batho ba Palestine fa ba le mo West Bank marumo a bone a ka kgona go wela mo teng ga Tel Aviv.

Batho ba bangwe mo mmusong wa ga Tonakgolo Begin ba rutluetsa mogopolo wa gore Ma-Juta ba ye go nna kwa West Bank. Kgato eo, e le gore ke ya go kganela go nna teng ga lefatshe la Palestine.

Batlatlapi le fa ba bua eng, mme gone ba tshaba se se ka dirwang ke Ma-Palestina a a ipusang—lefatshe la batho ba senang sepe sa bone mme ba eme sentle ka ga ditlhabane le masole.

Babusi ba Ma-Arabia le bone ba tshaba gore go nna teng ga lefatshe la Palestine go ka dira gore le bone ba ntshiwe mo pusong ke setshaba.

E sale ka dingwaga tsa bo-1940, go nnele le makgolokgolo a megopolo e e neng ya dirwa ke ba Lekgotla la Ditshaba (U.N.) le Diphuthago tsa Ma-Arabia le tse dingwe go leka go dira kagiso. Gotlhe moo, ga go a thusa ka sepe.

“Maiteko” a masa a ga Tautona Reagan a go anamisa mogopolo wa boipuso ja West Bank fa tlase ga lefatshe la Jordan ke tsietso.

Le fa lefatshe la Palestine le ka dirwa ka ntata ya dipuisanyo, santlha le tla bo le lebaganye le kgaramolo ya Israel, sa bobedi le tla bo le laola ke mafatshe a bokonatedi a Arabia. Le tla bo le tshwana fela le mafatshe a bantsho (bantustans) a a fa tlase ga Africa Borwa.

Ke ka moo he, baeteledipele ba batlhabane ba P.L.O. ba ka se ke ba golole Palestine ka go batla dipuisanyo le batlatlapi le babusi ba

Israel.

Kgololesego ya Ma-Palestina ga e kake ya kgonega fa kgaolo eo e santse e le ka fa tlase ga bagateledi ebile e kgaogantswe ke bone.

Mogopolo wa go dirisa botlhabani le one ga o kake wa dirisiwa.

Mo dintweng tse di tletseng di le nne, bosole ja Israel bo itshupile kgonego ya jone ka go fenyha mafatshe a a sa kopaneng a Arabia. Mo ngwageng ono, babusi ba Ma-Arabia ba paletswe ke go tsholetsa monwana go sireletsa Lebanon. Ba bone e le gore phenyo e nngwe gape mo ntweng e ka tsweledisa go ntshiwa ga bone mo pusong ke setshaba sa Ma-Arabia.

Puso ya Russia le yone e ne e ka seke e dirise sesole sa yone kgatlhanong le botlatlapi ka go tsena dilo gare.

Batho ba bangwe ba dipolotiki ba ba forang setshaba, mo nakong e e fetileng ba ne ba batla ntwana ya molomo ya Ma-Arabia kgatlhanong le Ma-Israel. Mme moo go kgonne fela go kopanya mephato yotlhe ya batho mo Israel morago ga babusi ba Israel. Ntwana ya balwela-kgololesego e paletswe ke go kgotsofatsa setshaba.

Go simolola ko tlhomong, boeteledipele ba P.L.O. bo lekile methale yotlhe ya ntwana ya balwela-kgololesego. Sesole sa P.L.O. se agilwe go nna sone se se fetang tse dingwe ka ditlhabane le maranyane mo lefatsheng lotlhe, ebile ba dirisa ditanka (tanks) tsa ntwana tsa segompiano, jalo jalo. Mme ka maduo a fe?

Mme seemo se se maswe se, sa Lebanon se ntsheditse mo pepeneneng go tlhoka bomosula jwa ntwana ya balwela-kgololesego mo kgaratlhong ya go diga puso ya lefatshe le le nonofileng mo madirelong.

P.L.O. ga ea sotlega fela ka phenyo mo maitsetsepeleng a yone, mme ditshenyegelo tse di diragetseng le dipolao tse di maswe tse, diutlwisitse botlhoko badiri ba Lebanon.

Mo nakong e, bosole jwa Israel le kgatelelo ya Ma-Arabia ga e kake ya tliša tshireletso le kagiso mo badiring. Ga e ba fe botshelo jo bo botoka go na le go tsweledisa go dirisa dikgoka le go dirisa maduo a itshulelo ka fa ba ratang ka teng.

Tsela e e ka kgonegang mo kgaolong ya Botlhaba-Gare ke e e seng e lekwe. Ke ya go diga mmuso

wa bagateledi (capitalism) mo kgaolong eo yotlhe—go lwela puso ya bojammogo (socialism) mo Israel le mo mafatsheng a Arabia.

Diphetogo fela ke tsone tse di ka tlišang ditshwanelo tsa batho botlhe ba Botlhaba-Gare le ba Palestine go tle le ba Israel le gore ba ipuse.

Gore moo go kgonege, badiri ba tshwanetse ba leke go etelela setshaba sotlhe, se se gateletsweng, mo kgarakgatshegong ya kgololesego ba ikemisetsa ka maitlamo a bojammogo.

Mo Borwa jwa Afrika le gone tsela ya bojammogo ke yone fela e e ka fetsang dikgoberego tse dintshintsi tse.

Mo Afrika Borwa tsela ya go buisanya le tsela ya go lwa ka ditlhabane (ntwana ya Balwela-kgololesego) di supa gore ga di na bomosula, fela jaaka go itshupile kwa Botlhaba-Gare. Ditsela tse, di ka seke tsa golola setshaba sa Afrika Borwa kana go golola ditshaba tse dingwe tse di laolwang ke mmuso wa Afrika Borwa.

Boamaruri ke gore, pusoletso ya mmuso wa Afrika Borwa mo go tse di dirwang ke Balwela-kgololesego, e tla bo e le go tliša matshwenyego a mantši mo bathong botlhe ba Borwa jwa Afrika jaaka kwa Lebanon.

Dipolao tsa Kassinga le Chimoio le ditlhaselo tse di dirilweng ke masole a Afrika Borwa (SADF) le babolai ba ba thusiwang ke mmuso wa Afrika Borwa, mo mafatsheng a mangwe a Borwa jwa Afrika, ke dilo tse di supang se se emetseng setshaba mo tseleng.

Mo go re siametseng ke gore, mophato o o ka re thusang wa ba wa thusa setshaba sotlhe o setse o itsosa: ebong badiri, ba ba nang le thata ya go kopanya batho botlhe ba ba gateletsweng.

Fa badiri ba iphemetse ka maitlamo a bojammogo, ba ipaakantse ka di-dikadike mo makgotleng a badiri le mo ANC, ba kopanye le mekgatho ya badiri ba bangwe ba Borwa jwa Afrika yotlhe, badiri ba Afrika Borwa ba tla kgona go fenyha mmuso o o boitshegang wa kgethololo mo Afrika Borwa, mo ntweng ya bone.

Mo Borwa jwa Afrika, fela jaaka kwa Botlhaba-Gare, kgololesego e ka kgonega, khumanego ya fedisiwa, fela mo pusong ya mafatshe a a kopaneng a badiri ba ikemise ka maitlamo a bojammogo.

The Chinese Revolution (1944-49)

by Peter Taaffe

It is impossible to understand the Chinese Revolution of 1944-49 without charting, at least in broad outline, the events which followed the defeat of the revolution of 1925-27.

That earlier revolution had a proletarian character, along the lines of the Russian Revolution, whereas there was an entirely different relationship of class forces in the revolution of 1944-49. Yet in a certain sense—and it might seem a paradox—the revolution of 1944-49 was an echo of the movement of 1925-27.

What were the consequences for the Chinese people of the defeat of the revolution of 1925-27? Politically it meant the establishment of a ruthless military dictatorship that suppressed all the democratic rights of the working people, and crushed the movement of the workers and peasants.

This regime murdered at least 35 000 Communist Party members in 1927, and altogether about 50 000 people in the course of that year in the cities alone. By 1929, as a minimum estimate, 150 000 people had perished as a direct result of the repression carried out by the Kuomintang regime.

All the democratic rights—the right to strike, freedom of assembly, the right to vote—were eliminated by this regime under Chiang Kai-shek. While utterly ruthless in relation to the smallest movement of the workers and peasants, the regime at the same time was completely impotent in the face of the encroachments of imperialism on China.

In particular Japanese imperialism moved in during the period that followed the events of 1925-27 to carve out a more favourable position for itself in terms of raw materials and markets. This was necessary to satisfy the requirements of its growing manufacturing industry.

It was not at all accidental that Japanese imperialism was to the fore in the conquest and dismemberment of China. Japanese capitalism does not have any indigenous raw materials, and hungrily looked towards China's reserves of coal, oil, etc.

Also, Japanese industry has always been heavily dependent on export markets. During the world depression of 1929-33 Japan's exports of manufactured goods went down by two-thirds; half her factories were idle; and the importance of the Asian mainland as a market became crucial.

The Japanese imperialists, of course, were not alone in preying upon China. American, British and French imperialism likewise seized the opportunity that was presented by the weakness of China in the period following 1925-27 to extend their existing spheres of influence.

Japanese imperialism virtually conquered Manchuria in a number of campaigns between 1931 and 1935, establishing the stooge Manchukuo regime. British and

American imperialism joined in the dismemberment of China.

In this situation, when the national oppression of the Chinese people—as well as their national indignation against imperialism—grew tremendously, Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang regime were utterly incapable of opposing the imperialist powers. In fact, Chiang Kai-shek summed up his policy as one of “non-resistance” to imperialism!

In the early 1930s the Japanese were able to advance, without meeting any serious opposition from the Kuomintang forces, to the occupation of Shanghai and other cities. Chinese generals actually supplied the occupying troops with the raw materials and oil they needed. Later in the war, too, Japanese imperialism found open collaborators in the Kuomintang regime and in its armies in particular.

During this period also, Chinese industry was more and more taken over by imperialist concerns. For instance, in 1934, British and Japanese capitalism controlled half the production of Chinese yarn.

It is against this background—on the one side the savage attacks on the conditions and the democratic rights of the working class, and on the other side the greater and greater dismemberment of China—that we have to view the role of the Chinese Communist Party and its leaders in the wake of the 1925-27 revolution.

Transitional demands

At the height of the revolutionary upsurge, as Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the Communist International pointed out, the slogan of soviets (workers' councils) should have been on the agenda and part of the programme of the Chinese CP, as a preparation for taking power. Following the defeat of the 1925-27 revolution, however, when a military dictatorship exercised an iron grip over all the major cities of China, this would obviously no longer be correct.

Therefore, Trotsky put forward the idea that it was necessary now to raise a programme of *transitional demands*—on wages, on hours, on conditions, and also on all the democratic demands of the working people: the right to strike, freedom of assembly, and so on. These were to be linked to the slogan of *land to the peasants*, which could have mobilised the rural masses around the working class and the CP as the most democratic and revolutionary force in society.

The crowning slogan would be for a *revolutionary con-*

Kufanele sifunde i-Libanoni!

Izinkulungwane ezimbili zababaleki bamaPalestina zabulawa ngamabutho amaKrestu (Christian) encediswa ngamaSirayeli eBeirut kusukela ngomhla ka16 kuya ku18 ku September. Ezinyangeni ezimbalwa selokhu ukuhlaselwa kweLibanoni kwaqalawa, kungenzeka ukuthi izinkulungwane ezingamashumi amahlanu zabantu zabulawa ngamabhomu nezibhamu zamaSirayeli, kwathi namadolobha abhidlizwa.

Kubantu baseLibanoni, amaPalestina, nabobonke abasebenzi baseMpumalanga Ephakathi (Middle East), lezi akusizona izigigaba ezizimele zodwa nje, ziyingxenywe yokuhlukaniswa kwabantu nokungavikelwa kwabo okubonakala ngathi okwaphakade.

Izimpande zalokhu zilele embusweni wabaqashi oyewahlephula izwe lamaArabhu wakha izicephunyana zemibuso, lwakha umbuso wamaSirayeli, lwase lulahlela ingxabano nokungezwani phakathi kwabantu ababeke bahlala ngoxolo.

Umbuso wabaqashi eMiddle East selokhu wahluleka ukunikeza abantu indlela yokuphila efaneleyo. Ubucwebi bamafutha (oil) kulendawo abusizi lutho, izigidi ngezigidi zabantu zibulawa ngenkulu indlala.

Akusikhona eSirayeli kuphela lapho isizwe samaArabhu sicindezelwe khona. Emazweni amaningi amaArabhu imibuso ngeyobusotsha ebeke ekucindezeleni ngezibhamu. NaseSirayeli ngokwayo abantu babuswa ngokuthuswa ngazo izibhamu.

ILibanoni nayo ihlukene phakathi. Kukhona ukungezwani njalo phakathi kwama Krestu namabutho amaSilumani, kanti futhi kunamabutho azimele nje ahlala ngokubulala mihlayonke. ILibanoni iphenduke indawo yokuhlaselwa imibuso evela ngaphandle. Abantu babhadala konke lokhu ngegazi, ngokungabi nezindlu nangokulahlekelwa ithemba.

IMiddle East inezifundo ezisemqoka njengoba sibhekene nempi eMzantsi Afrika. Izinto ziyafana uma sibheka ukwahlukaniswa kwabantu, ukubulawa kwabantu, indlala, ukangibikho kokuthula entlalweni

esikuyo

Njengababusi base Sirayeli, ababusi ngobandlulo ngebela bacindezela isiphaluka sethu eMzantsi ne-Afrika ngezibhamu, babhadala izigebengu zabo ngemali ukuba zenze umonakalo kumazwe esakhelene nawo.

Ndlela yini esingakwazi ngayo ukuthola ukuthula noxolo nenqubelaphambili kulezindawo ezihlaselwe ingxabano nokungezwani?

EMiddle East, njengaseMzantsi Afrika, ukuthula noxolo angeke lubekhona ngaphandle kokuqeda incindezelo yabantu abangena malungelo embusweni.

Ukucindezelwa kwesizwe samaPalestina yisona sizathu esisemqoka eMiddle East.

Amazwe aphehlaya emibuso yabaqashi athi avumelana nokuthi isizwe samaPalestina sithole izimfanelo zaso futhi ayakhalaza ngokuhlasela kwamaSirayeli ELibanoni. Kodwa lokhu ngamanga nje.

Umbuso wabaqashi waseMelika yiwona ohloma futhi unika imali umbuso wase Sirayeli—uwunikeza imali engangama\$2,7 billion ngonyaka—benzela ukuba babe namandla okucindezela kulendawo.

Abantu basePalestina bafuna ukuzakhela umbuso wabo okhululekile encindezelweni yamaSirayeli kanye nencindezelo yamazwe amaArabhu ezindaweni lapho becele khona ukuzifihla.

Kodwa ababusi baseSirayeli ngeke bakwazi ukuvuma ukuzibusa kwamaPalestina ngoba basaba ukuthi lokho kuzonikeza umfutho emzabalazweni (revolution) wabasebenzi bamaArabhu kuyo yonke indawo bese kuvusa nabasebenzi baseSirayeli ngokwayo. Basebenzisa ukwesaba kwabantu baseSirayeli ngokuthi umbuso wamaPalestina esigodini sase West Bank ungahlasela nedolophu i-Tel Aviv.

Uhulumende wesigebengu, uBegin, uqubeza amaJuda ukuba akhe imizi yawo eWest Bank khona ukuze avimbile ukwakhiwa kombuso wamaPalestina lapho eWest Bank.

Imibuso yaphesheya yabaqashi, noma ngabe ithini emphakathini,

nayo isaba umfutho onganikezwa umzabalazo ngokwakhiwa kombuso wamaPalestina—umbuso wabantu abaphucwayo, abanemikhosi yabo ehlo mile manje.

Ababusi bamaArabhu—izinceku zombuso wabaqashi—nabo noma befihla, basaba ukuthi ukuvela kwalombuso kuzosheshisa ukuwa kwemibuso yabo.

Ukusukela ngo-1940, kwenziwe izivumelwano ezingamakhulu-khulu ze-United Nations, neze mihlangano yamazwe amaArabhu, namalinge angena kubaleka okuphelisa le nkinga. Konke lokhu kwehlulile.

uReagan, upresidente, wase melika, ukhuluma manje ngomhlola wokwakha 'umaziphathe' wamaPalestina eWest Bank—'umaziphathe' ozoba phansi kombuso wase Jordani.

Noma ngabe lombuso wamaPalestina ungakhiwa ngalezinkulungwane, uzohlala njalo uhlushwa nguhulumende wamaSirayeli, uboshwe, futhi, izandla yimibuso yobumnyama yamaArabhu. Lokhu kuya kwenza ukuthi 'lomaziphathe' ungabi lutho ukudlula umbuso wamaBantustani—'omaziphathe' boMzantsi Afrika.

Lokhu kusho ukuthi abakhokheli bePLO angeke bakwazi ukuthola inkululeko yamaPalestina ngokubeka ezingxoxweni basebenzisa amazwe amaArabhu nabaqashi baphesheya bexoxa namaSirayeli.

Inkululeko yamaPalestina ngeke ibekhona uma i Middle East isabuswa futhi ihlukaniswa ngabaqashi nombuso wabo.

Nomcabango wokulungisa izinto ngezibhamu nawo ngeke usebenze.

Ezimpini ezine ezigcwele amabutho amaSirayeli atshengise kahle ukuthi anamandla okuhlula lamazwe amaArabhu. Kulonyaka ababusi balamazwe abakwazanga nokukhuphula umunwe bevikela i-Libanoni. Babona ukuthi ukuhlulwa kwabo kwenye impi kuzobanga ukuketulwa kwemibuso yabo ngabasebenzi bamaArabhu.

Nawo umbuso wamaRashiya awufunanga ukuzithola usempini



The provinces of China during the inter-War period.

stituent assembly—a parliament of the masses, in other words, to be convened by the working class in the course of the struggle against the Kuomintang.

The Chinese CP leadership, however, entirely rejected this programme. This leadership, after the resignation and subsequent expulsion of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, was in the hands of Li Li-san, who was completely obedient to Stalin and the bureaucracy in Russia. This was the 'third period' (ultra-left period) of Stalinism, when the slogan was "soviets everywhere!"—regardless of circumstances.

The CP leadership rejected democratic and transitional demands, which would have been the means of mobilising the working class and peasantry to carry through the socialist transformation of society. Instead, when workers went on strike in Shanghai, Hankow, Canton and other cities, the Communist Party called on them to organise soviets. The workers replied: "Excellencies, you are very good and talented, but please go away. All we can struggle for today is a piece of bread to feed our bellies."

To convince these workers, the general idea of the socialist revolution would have had to be linked with their day-to-day struggles against the capitalists and landlords. Instead, as a result of its insane policy, *the Communist Party completely lost its base in the industrial areas. It ceased to be a working-class party.*

This is made clear by the facts and figures provided by the Chinese CP leaders in relation to the party membership. In 1927 there were 60 000 members of the CP, and 58% of the membership was proletarian in character.

In 1928, after the murders and persecutions of the counter-revolution, the membership of the CP had apparently grown. What this really reflected, however, was the fact that the party leadership *had abandoned the cities*

and gone into the countryside. The working-class membership of the CP had shrunk to 10% of the total. In 1929 only 3% of CP members were industrial workers. By September 1930 the figure was 1.6%.

In other words, the Chinese Communist Party was no longer a proletarian party in the Marxist sense of the term.

The ex-leaders of the proletariat—the ex-leaders of the Shanghai and Canton working class in particular—had gone into the countryside following the 1925-27 debacle. To begin with, however, they did not find a big echo among the peasantry. As Mao Tse-tung himself reported subsequently, they were even attacked by the peasants, who were accustomed to armies coming across their territory and plundering them. Initially the Red detachments were assumed to be just another marauding army.

In the period that followed, a number of allegedly 'Red' armies were created in different parts of China. One of them, in Hunan, was led by Mao Tse-tung, who subsequently became the political leader of the Red Army, with Chu Teh as the military leader. This army—I haven't time to go into it—landed up in Kiangsi in the early 1930s.

Chiang Kai-shek, while utterly incapable of facing up to the attacks of imperialism, directed all his forces and energies instead against the small forces of the Reds in the predominantly peasant areas. In fact, no more brilliant pages have been written in Chinese history, than the victories that were scored between 1929 and 1934 by the Red forces against Chiang Kai-shek and the forces of the Kuomintang.

The Kuomintang armies—four, five and six times stronger—were sent against the Red forces particularly in Kiangsi province. But they were incapable of militarily dislodging the Reds by these means.

It was only after Chiang Kai-shek had assembled an army of half a million and completely surrounded the Red districts—when the Kuomintang was armed with all the resources of imperialism, including nearly 400 airplanes, while the Reds did not have a single airplane—only then was the Red Army leadership forced to decide to break out of the encirclement.

In October 1934 the Red Army began what became known as the Long March. Again, it is one of the greatest pages in the military and social history, certainly of China, and indeed of the world. The heroic detachments of the Red Army—totalling some 90 000 in the beginning, and accompanied by many thousands of peasants—undertook a march of exactly a year over an arduous route of nearly 10 000 km.

Under the direction of Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung, they achieved this while repeatedly engaging enemy forces vastly outnumbering their own. Eventually they found refuge in the mountain fastness of Yen-an in Shensi.

Trotsky's prognosis

In 1932, at the time when the peasant 'Red' Army was scoring brilliant victories over the Kuomintang in Kiangsi, Trotsky had posed the question of what would happen

inqaba YA BASEBENZI

namabutho emibuso yabaqashi baphesbeya ngokuhlasela.

Imicebo yangaphambili yokubiza impi yobudlelwano bamaArabhu belwisa amaSirayeli yenze ukuthi zonke izigaba zabantu baseSirayeli bahlangane ngaphansi kwemicabango nezimiselo zababusi babo. Ukuhlasela kwamaphekulayikhuni eSirali nako kube nalowo mvuzo.

Selokhu yakhiwa, IPLO nabakhokheli bayo bazame zonke izindlela zobuphekulayikhuni. Amabutho ePLO yiwona akhiwe ngobukhulu ubucechesho futhi ahlome ngokubabazekayo kumaphekulayikhuni emhlabeni wonke futhi bekwazi nokusebenzisa izikhali zanamhlanje. Kodwa mvuzo muni obonakalayo?

Iziganeko zaseLibanoni zitshengisile ukuthi impi yobuphekulayikhuni uma ibhekene nokuketula umbuso omkhulu, ayikwazi ukwenza lutho.

Akusikona kuphela ukuthi iPLO ihluleke kabuhlungu lapho beyizihlomisa khona, izindleko

ezibekhona ekuthatheni lendlela engenamvuzo ziyezawela nasemahlombe abantu baseLibanoni, ekubhidlizweni kwamabhilidi nasekubulaweni kwabantu.

Kunjalo nje, nakubasebenzi baseSirayeli, ubusotsha bombuso wabo nokucindezelwa kwamaArabhu angeke kubasize ngalutho. Akubaniki mpilo efanele esikhathini esizayo ngaphandle kokubhekana nombuso ohlala njalo uzisikele ngezibhamu nasekubathatheleni imali.

Indlela yeqiniso engaletha inqubelaphambili eMiddle East yindlela engakaze izanywe. Leyo impi yokulwela ukuqeda umbuso wabaqashi endaweni yonke-impimpi elwela umbuso wabasebenzi eSirayeli nasemazweni amaArabhu.

Akukho lutho ngaphandle kwempi elwela ukwakha umbuso wabasebenzi okungakhona ukusikela izimfanelo zabantu baseMiddle East, amaPalestina kanye namaSirayeli.

Ukuze lempi inqotshwe, abasebenzi kufanele bahlangane ukuze bakwazi ukukhokhela bonke abacindezelweyo belwela inkululeko yabo nokwakha umbuso wabasebenzi.

NaseMzantsi Afrika, ima injongo kuwukwakha umbuso wabasebenzi lapho kungaqedwa khona inhlupheko.

ESA ukufuna inkululeko ngezixoxo kanye nendlela yobuphekulayikhuni izobonisa nakhona ukuthi ayina mvuzo futhi

izogcwalisa izingxaki njengase Middle East. Lokhu ngeke kukhulule abantu eSA noma kukhulule umzansi ne-Afrika ekubusweni iSA.

Empeleni, impendulo yombuso waseSA ekuqhubekeleni kwempi yamaphekulayikhuni kuzoba ukuhlasela wonke umzansi Afrika njengaseLibanoni.

Ukubulawa kwabantu eKassinga naseChimoio, ukuhlasela njalo kwamasotsha aseSA (SADF) nokuhlaselwa kwamazwe akhelene neSA yiwona lamasothsa, yiziboniso ezithsengisa okulele ngaphambili uma lendlela ilandelwa.

Into esisizayo ukuthi amandla angakwazi ukuletha indlela efanele ayaziveza malanga onke: umzabalazo wemibutho yabasebenzi ezimele engakwazi ukwakha imbumba yabo bonke abacindezelwe.

Uma ihlome ngenjongo yokwakha umbuso wabasebenzi, uma abasebenzi behlangene ngezigidi emibuthweni yabo nakuANC futhi behlangene nomzabalazo wabasebenzi kulo lonke elase mzansi Afrika, abasebenzi base SA bazobanamandla okuhlula umbuso wabaqashi bezihlome ngezikhali.

Emzansi Afrika, njengase Middle East, inkululeko yezizwe ezicindezelweyo, ukuqeda indlela nokuhlupheka kungavezwa kuphela ukuhlangana kwemibutho yabasebenzi izimisele ukwakha umbuso wabo onezimfanelo zabo emhlabeni wonke.

Ons moet leer van Lebanon!

Op 16-18 September is ongeveer 2 000 Palestynse vlugteling in Beirut vermoor deur gewapende Christelike groepe met steun van Israel. Binne 'n paar maande sedert die inval van Lebanon is sowat 50 000 mense deur Israeliese bomme gedood, en hele stede in stukke geblaas.

Vir die Lebanese, die Palestyne en al die werkende mense van die Middel-Ooste is hierdie afskuwelike dinge deel van 'n skynbaar eindelose nagmerrie van verdeling en onveiligheid.

Die hooforsaak is kapitalisme en imperialisme, wat die Arabiese wêreld in 'n netwerk van state opverdeel het, oorsprong gegee het aan die staat Israel, en mense wat vroeër in vrede geleef het, in stryd

met mekaar gebring het.

Kapitalisme in die Middel-Ooste is totaal nie in staat gewees om die mense 'n ordentlike lewensstandaard te gee nie. Ten spyte van die gebied se olierykdom, leef die oorgrote meerderheid in verskriklike armoede.

Dis nie net in Israel dat die Arabiere onderdruk word nie. Die meeste Arabiese state is óf barbaarse half-feodale, óf militêre diktatorskappe. Die Israeliese volk self leef 'n militêre bestaan.

Lebanon self is verskeur tussen vegtende Christelike en Moslem militêre groepe en is die prooi van moorddadige private leërs. Dit het 'n slagveld geword vir buitelandse magte. Die mense boet hiervoor in bloed en wanhoop.

Die Middel-Ooste het lesse vir ons stryd in Suidelike Afrika. Die toestande daar kan vergelyk word met die verdeling, armoede, stryd en onveiligheid waaronder ons lewe.

Soos die Israeliese heersende klas domineer die apartheidsbase ons gebied met hulle militêre mag, en finansier 'gangs' om in die buurlande te plunder en te vernietig.

Hoe kan daar vrede en vooruitgang in hierdie krisisverskeurde gebiede gebring word?

In die Middel-Ooste, net soos in Suidelike Afrika, is vrede onmoontlik sonder om nasionale onderdrukking te beëindig.

Die nasionale onderdrukking van die Palestyne is die sentrale vraagstuk in die Middel-Ooste.

if this army, after defeating the landlords, entered the cities.

He pointed out that the Red Army leaders were ex-workers. The Red forces were made up predominantly of peasants, ex-peasants or landless labourers, and also refugees from the various warlords. In the publications of the Communist Party itself complaints were voiced over the admission into the Red Army of the lumpen proletariat and the lumpen agricultural population.

In other words, in social composition, the Red Army was the same mixture mainly of peasants and ex-peasants that had been seen in China over thousands of years: traditional peasant armies that had arisen against oppression and exploitation by the landlords.

In posing the question of what would happen if the Red Army entered the cities, Trotsky drew on the experience of Russia. He pointed out that there, after the October Revolution, the Red Army was initially made up mainly of workers' detachments, who fought the armies of counter-revolution (known as the 'Whites') throughout the length and breadth of the country. At the same time there were peasant detachments that arose.

So long as they were fighting against the Whites there was a common cause between the Red (proletarian) Army and the various peasant armies. But once the Whites had been vanquished, *the different character of the armies came to the fore.*

The tendency of the proletariat, organised in big industry, is to collectivise industry, to plan and to organise production. The tendency of the peasantry, because it is so scattered, so stratified and so heterogenous, is to divide up property and share out the booty.

What, asked Trotsky, if the peasant 'Red Army' in China, victorious in the countryside, were to enter the cities? Is it not possible, he said, that it would clash with the working class; that it would be hostile to the demands of the working class; and that its commanders, despite their 'Communist' label, would fuse with the capitalist class, resulting in a classical capitalist development? There were indeed many parallels in the previous two thousand years of Chinese history, when the leaders of victorious peasant armies had fused with the then ruling classes in the towns.

In a crucial respect that prognosis of Trotsky was not borne out in the Chinese Revolution of 1944-49, for, as we know, capitalism was overthrown as a result of the victory of the Red Army. Nevertheless, as I shall go on to explain, Trotsky correctly foreshadowed the main features that were evident in the revolution, on the basis of the class forces involved.

“United front”

In the 1930s, Chiang Kai-shek was so preoccupied with fighting the Reds that he abandoned the defence of China against imperialist encroachments. Eventually, even within the Kuomintang itself, and particularly within the Kuomintang armies, there was an enormous hostility growing up—firstly, to the advance of imperialism, and,

secondly, to the impotence of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang leaders in facing up to these attacks.

That culminated in 1936 when the Kuomintang general staff ordered their army in Shensi to attack the Red Army once again. There was enormous discontent; they reluctantly attacked and were defeated. As a result of that, the Kuomintang army was in a ferment of revolt.

Chiang Kai-shek, as was his wont, decided to fly to the battlefield in order to deal with the situation. While he was there, near Sian, the army rose in revolt. Chiang Kai-shek was found crouching on a mountain-side in his nightshirt!

He was brought before the Kuomintang rank-and-file, and the cry went up: “Bring the butcher of the Chinese people to a people’s trial!” It showed their readiness to be rid of the bourgeois Kuomintang dictatorship and face up to the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

But, as was the case in 1925-27, once again the Chinese Communist Party leadership came to the rescue of Chiang Kai-shek. Chou En-lai, as representative of Mao Tse-tung, flew into Sian. He walked into the room where Chiang Kai-shek was held.

Let us recall that Chou En-lai had been in the headquarters of the General Labour Union in 1927 at the time of the suppression of the Shanghai working class. He had seen the butchery of Chiang Kai-shek at first hand. So Chiang turned white when Chou En-lai walked into the room at Sian! Quickly, he clicked his heels and saluted Chou as the generalissimo—as the leader—of the Chinese revolution.

In other words, the leader—the very fountainhead—of the counter-revolution was in the hands of the Reds. The troops of the Kuomintang were prepared to go over to the side of revolution.

But instead of basing themselves on this fact, what policy did the Chinese CP leadership pursue? Chou En-lai discussed “successfully” with Chiang Kai-shek for about two days, and eventually a “united front” was forged—an allegedly united front that the Communist Party had been advocating since the world Comintern Conference of 1935.

That was the conference at which the ‘third period’ was abandoned and Stalinism internationally swung over to *Popular Frontism*—the policy of alliance with the so-called “progressive” bourgeoisie. For this reason the Communist Party leaders in China, firmly under the control of Mao Tse-tung at this stage, were seeking a united front with the Kuomintang leadership against Japanese imperialism.

Eventually they did link up formally in a united front in 1936/37. This in turn was the moment chosen by Japanese imperialism to launch a full-blown military campaign in order to capture Chinese territory.

It is very interesting to examine in detail the process of this alleged “united front”—something which, unfortunately, there is not time to do here. But what is important about the whole experience in China in the 1930s is this: In the first phase when the Red armies went into Kiangsi, they drove out the landlords and began to carry through a land reform. But on the basis of signing this “united front” agreement with the Kuomintang—indeed as a precondition for it—a halt was called to the land reform in the Red areas.

Die imperialistiese state beweer dat hulle die nasionale regte van die Palestyne ondersteun en dat hulle teen die Israeliese inval van Lebanon is. Maar dis natuurlik blote skynheiligheid.

Amerikaanse imperialisme bewapen en finansier die Zionistiese Israeliese staat met \$2,7 biljoen per jaar—juis as 'n basis vir imperialistiese oorheersing in die gebied.

Die Palestynse volk eis 'n staat van hulle eie, sodat hulle vry kan word van beide Zionistiese onderdrukking en die onderdrukkende Arabiese regerings in die lande waarnatoe hulle moes vlug.

Die regeerders van Israel kan nie 'n Palestynse staat aanvaar nie, omdat hulle vrees dat dit die Arabiese revolusie deur die hele gebied aan sou spoor, en die onderdrukte mense in Israel in opstand sou laat kom. Hulle buit die gegronde vrees van die Israeliese bevolking uit, dat 'n Palestynse staat op die Westelike Oewer sy artillerie selfs tot op Tel-Aviv sou kan vuur.

Die uiters regse regering van Begin moedig Joodse vestiging op die Westelike Oewer aan, om alle moontlikheid van 'n Palestynse staat te verhoed.

Die imperialistiese magte, wat hulle ook al in die openbaar sê, vrees die revolusionêre gevolge van 'n onafhanklike Palestynse staat—'n staat van 'n onteierende volk met wapens van hul eie.

Die reaksionêre Arabiese regeerders (kliënte van imperialisme) is ook in die geheim bevrees dat die bestaan van so 'n staat hulle eie omverwerping sou bespoedig.

Sedert die 1940's is daar honderde besluite deur die VVO en Arabiese spitsberade, en ontelbare initiatiewe vir 'n skikking, geneem. Dit alles het niks bereik nie.

Die nuwe 'initiatief' van Reagan beoog niks meer nie as 'n sogenaamd 'self-besturende' Westelike Oewer—onder Jordaniëse staatsbeheer.

Selfs al kon 'n Palestynse staat deur onderhandelinge opgerig word, sou dit aan die een kant deur Zionistiese Israel bedreig word, en aan die ander kant deur reaksionêre Arabiese state oorheers word. Dit sou minder onafhanklikheid as 'n Bantustan hê.

Dus kan die leiers van die

Palestynse Bevrydingsorganisasie, die PLO, nie die bevryding van die Palestyne verseker met hulle beleid om deur die Arabiese state 'n ooreenkoms met imperialisme en die Israeliese heersende klas te soek nie.

Palestynse bevryding is onmoontlik terwyl die gebied oorheers en verdeeld word deur kapitalisme.

Die idee van 'n militêre oplossing is net so onprakties.

In vier oorloë het die Israeliese gewapende magte bewys dat hulle in staat is om die verdeelde Arabiese state te verslaan. Hierdie jaar kon die Arabiese regeerders skaars 'n vinger verroer om Lebanon te verdedig. Hulle kon sien dat nog 'n nederlaag hulle eie omverwerping deur die Arabiese massas sou veroorsaak.

Ook kon die Sowjetregering nie 'n militêre konfrontasie met imperialisme waag deur in te meng nie.

Utopiese oproepe in die verlede vir 'n Arabiese 'heilige oorlog' teen Israel het net al die klasse in Israel agter die reaksionêre beleid van die heersende klas verenig.

Guerilla-aanvalle teen Israel het dieselfde uitwerking gehad.

Sedert sy ontstaan het die PLO leierskap elke metode van guerillastryd probeer. Die PLO-magte is opgebou as die beste bewapende en beste opgeleide guerillamag in die wêreld, selfs met tenks, vuurpyle, ens. Maar wat is die resultaat gewees?

Die ramp van Lebanon het weereens bewys dat dit nutteloos is om 'n sterk industriële staat met guerilla-oorlog te probeer verslaan.

Nie alleen het die PLO 'n verpletterende nederlaag gely in sy basisgebiede wat veronderstel was om ondeurdringbaar te wees nie; ook vir die Lebanese werkende mense het hierdie nuttelose strategie vernietiging en lyding beteken.

Terselfdertyd kan Zionistiese militarisme en onderdrukking van die Arabiere vir die Israeliese werkende mense geen permanente veiligheid bring nie. Dit bied hulle geen beter toekoms as 'n staat van voortdurende gewapende beleg en eindelose ekonomiese offers nie.

Die enigste praktiese beleid in die Middel-Ooste is een wat nog nie probeer is nie. Dit is die stryd om kapitalisme deur die hele gebied uit te roei—'n stryd vir sosialisme in

beide Israel en die Arabiese state.

Niks behalwe sosiale revolusie kan die reg van al die volke van die Middel-Ooste om hulleself to regeer, van die Palestyne sowel as die Israeli's, verseker nie.

Om dit te bereik moet die werkende klas organiseer om al die onderdrukte mense te lei in 'n stryd vir nasionale bevryding op 'n sosialistiese program.

Ook in Suidelike Afrika kan net 'n sosialistiese beleid 'n oplossing verskaf.

In Suid-Afrika sal die soektog na 'n 'onderhandelde skikking', en die metode van guerilla-oorlog net so nutteloos en rampspoedig as in die Middel-Oos wees. Dit kan nie die Suid-Afrikaanse bevolking vrymaak nie, of die gebied van Suid-Afrikaanse oorheersing bevry nie.

Die antwoord van die Suid-Afrikaanse regering op die uitbreiding van die guerillastryd sal wees om die hele Suidelike Afrika in nagmerries soos in Lebanon te betrek.

Die Kassinga- en Chimoio-massamoorde, die herhaalde invalle deur die SA weermag en die voortdurende aanvalle op die state van Suidelike Afrika deur SA-gesteunde magte, is vroeë tekens van wat ons langs hierdie weg afwag.

Ons voordeel is dat die mag wat 'n regte alternatief kan bied, alreeds aan die ontwikkel is: die onafhanklike beweging van die werkende klas, wat die krag het om al die onderdrukte mense te verenig.

Wanneer die SA werkende klas bewapend is met 'n sosialistiese program, georganiseerd is in hulle miljoene in die vakbonde en die ANC, en aansluit by die werkende mense in die hele Suidelike Afrika, sal hy die vermoë hê om die monster van die SA kapitalistiese staat in 'n massa gewapende opstand te verslaan.

In Suidelike Afrika, soos in die Middel-Ooste, sal nasionale bevryding net bereik word, en 'n einde gemaak word aan armoede en onveiligheid, in 'n Sosialistiese Federasie van demokratiese werkersstate.

Trotsky said at this stage that one would not rule out the possibility of co-ordinated military action against Japanese imperialism by the forces of the Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, and the forces of the Reds. But this would be on condition that there was complete independence of the forces of the Reds and of the labour movement in China.

Moreover, as Trotsky stressed, and as the parallel experience of Russia had shown, the strongest weapon in fighting Japanese imperialism would be to carry through a social programme of land to the tillers and the factories to the proletariat.

But in China, in the "united front" period, the Reds did not do that. On the contrary, within the Red areas, land was retained by the rich peasants; and the rich peasants began more and more to creep into the ranks of the Red Army and the embryonic state machine that existed in the Red areas. Even Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung complained about this.

At the same time, in the towns that were controlled by the Reds there was a similar situation to that which had occurred as a result of CP policy in Shanghai and Canton during the 1925-27 revolution: class collaboration with the capitalists; a deliberate attempt to restrict the movement of the working class; the workers were not to ask for more than the capitalists were prepared to give; and so on.

But the most important feature of this so-called united front with the Kuomintang was that, in the course of the war itself, the Kuomintang was utterly incapable of resisting the advance of the Japanese forces. The Kuomintang forces retreated to the central and western parts of China.

The only force that really fought Japanese imperialism was the Red Army.

The programme of Japanese imperialism in the countryside of China was summed up in the horrific slogan of the *Three Alls*—"Loot all, burn all, and kill all." Through this absolute ruthlessness, the peasants were driven into the ranks of the Red Army.

Thus the end result was that Japanese imperialism merely held the major industrial areas and a narrow strip of land along the railways. Already in the early part of the war, much of the rest of China came under the influence of the Red Army and its leadership.

Already in the Red areas we saw the embryo of a state machine. In 1945, for instance, at the end of the Second World War, the area that was controlled by the Reds had a population of about 90 million. The embryonic state power of the Reds was such that they even produced their own currency.

The Kuomintang fought only an occasional engagement against the Japanese. The calculation of Chiang Kai-shek was that he would keep his forces in the west so that, as soon as Japanese imperialism was defeated in the World War by American imperialism, he would occupy the eastern seaboard of China once again.

He expected then that there would be a repetition of the events of 1925-27, and the capitulation of the Chinese CP leadership. This did not happen, for reasons I will go into in a moment.

It is important to emphasise that most of the energies of the Kuomintang during the war were directed against the Reds whenever it was possible to do so. In 1941-42,

for example, when the Red Army was attempting to engage the Japanese in combat, in the course of the crossing of a number of rivers the Kuomintang treacherously attacked the forces of the Reds.

This was in complete violation of the so-called "united front" against Japanese imperialism which had been agreed.

Outcome of the War

Eventually, as we know, Japanese imperialism was defeated in the course of the Second World War, capitulating in 1945 after the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Then Chiang Kai-shek was faced with an enormous dilemma.

First of all, the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy intervened in Manchuria, and occupied practically the whole of it in a nine-day war. It was obvious that Stalin was even considering the establishment there of a puppet regime.

Li Li-san (whom I mentioned before as a stooge of Stalin) had been removed from the Chinese CP leadership in 1930 and had remained in Moscow after that. Now he was brought back on the heels of Stalin's troops as part of a half-hearted attempt by the bureaucracy in Russia to establish their position in Manchuria.

Manchuria actually contained most of Chinese industry at that particular stage. When the Stalinist bureaucracy occupied Manchuria, they proceeded—in the same hooligan fashion as they did in Germany—to strip the whole area of its factories, of its technical expertise, and transported it back to Russia.

This was in complete contradiction to all the principles of internationalism that Lenin and the Bolsheviks had established in 1917. The narrow, nationalist, bureaucratic concepts of Stalinism resulted in the looting of Manchuria.

The Red Army having penetrated Manchuria, Chiang Kai-shek was flown in by the Americans from the western areas that he occupied. Chiang now found himself in the position that Japanese imperialism had been in previously. He had the towns and some parts of the railways—those parts of the railways that the peasants had not ripped up. (In a very famous tradition of Chinese peasant resistance, they bent the rails to make them unusable.)

Chiang Kai-shek then had to think about importing his troops and equipment into northern China and Manchuria by sea, with the aid of American imperialism. In all, he was in a very difficult strategic position.

But at the end of the Second World War, there was tremendous pressure on the Chinese Red Army, which was predominantly a peasant force, to come to an agreement once again with Chiang Kai-shek. In 1945 there was considerable war-weariness, and in that year the Red Army leaders decided once more to negotiate with the Kuomintang.

I mentioned before that Trotsky had expected that, when the Red Army entered the cities, the leaders might fuse with the capitalist class, with the result that a classical capitalist development would take place. But let us recall

BOTHA'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS - reinforcing a cracking dictatorship



P.W.Botha's package of 'constitutional reform' has been put forward as a step towards 'power-sharing' between the white minority and the black majority, and a means of stabilising SA society against revolution.

These measures have been forced on our rulers by the unprecedented pressure exerted on them by the black working class and all layers of the oppressed, struggling for political rights, decent wages, homes, jobs, education and health—for an end to racial oppression, dictatorship and exploitation.

Yet, far from sharing power, this constitutional change is in fact a recipe for greater concentration of power in the hands of the ruling class.

For the African people, today an overwhelming majority of 21 million in a population of 27 million, these proposals do not change the essential features of the SA constitution of 1910. Government will continue as the dictatorship of state bureaucrats, backed up by the batons and guns of the police and army.

At the same time as announcing its reforms, the Botha government has drawn up the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, strengthening its powers to drive

By Richard Monroe

jobless and homeless Africans from the cities to the Bantustan graveyards.

Even before this law is passed in parliament, it is already being put into practice. In the Cape in October, 2 000 Africans were rounded up in night-time raids and fined a total of R50 000 for pass offences. On the Rand also, raids, evictions and deportations are being stepped up by the Administration Boards.

Botha has announced new plans for Bantustan 'land consolidation'—

which would involve the forced resettlement of another half million blacks, to add to the two million driven from their homes since 1960.

More than ever, African working people, and with them all Africans, are regarded by the rulers of SA as foreigners in the country of their birth, which they have built with their sweat and blood.

Originating in the conquest of this country by European capitalism, the baasskap dictatorship over the dispossessed African people was entrenched in the 1910 constitution. Then as now it exists to guarantee the lifeblood of capitalist profits—the cheap labour of African workers.

To preserve its system, the ruling class has no option but to maintain this dictatorship of national oppression over the majority.

Today, in a period of world capitalist crisis, the profits of the capitalists depend more than ever on the poverty wages of the majority of workers. Without cheap labour, in a weak industrial country competing with the huge industrial powers, SA capitalism would face collapse.

This is why the movement of the

that, by the end of the Second World War, two decades had elapsed since the 1925-27 revolution and the capitulation at that time of the Chinese CP leaders to the Kuomintang bourgeoisie.

Now Chinese society was completely in an impasse. Landlordism and capitalism had had the opportunity in those two decades to solve the problems of Chinese society, and had been found wanting. Chinese capitalism was incapable of tackling the land problem; incapable of unifying China; impotent against imperialism; incapable of stopping the blood-letting and the suffering of the Chinese people.

To take just one example of the terrible bankruptcy of the capitalist system in China—the rate of inflation in one year after the Second World War was 10 000%! Money became completely worthless. The whole of Chinese society was completely disorganised.

Moreover, during the period of the Kuomintang dictatorship, as a minimum estimate one million people had perished in China as a direct result of the monstrous repressive measures of this regime. That is apart from the slaughter carried out by Japanese imperialism.

Nevertheless, at the end of the war there was pressure, on account of war-weariness, for the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to collaborate. Some Marxists in the West—alleged Marxists, that is—said: “Ah, look! Mao Tse-tung is attempting to capitulate to Chiang Kai-shek.”

But was this the case? It was correct, in fact, for the Red Army leadership to negotiate with the Kuomintang at that stage. This was necessary in order to make it clear to the masses that the Reds were not the ones who should be held responsible for continuing the war, but that they were in favour of peace.

And what was the programme that Mao Tse-tung put forward at this point? It is very interesting to examine this programme:

**Punish war criminals.* Who were the war criminals? Mostly the tops of the Kuomintang—who, by the way, in Manchuria, had taken over and absorbed into the Kuomintang armies all the collaborators with Japanese imperialism. The war criminals were the leadership of the Kuomintang.

**Abrogate the bogus constitution*—on which the Kuomintang rested.

**Abolish the pretended legitimacy of the Kuomintang power.* This meant that the Kuomintang leaders were no longer to be considered the legitimate holders of political power.

**Reform all reactionary armies in accordance with democratic principles*—a devastating blow against the Kuomintang officer caste and ruling clique.

**Confiscate bureaucratic capital.* That was, in effect, a pseudonym for “Take over capitalism”—nationalise the capital that was controlled by imperialism and by the tops of the Kuomintang and their supporters.

**Reform the agrarian system.*

**Abrogate treaties of national betrayal.*

**Convoke a consultative conference without the participation of reactionary elements.*

It was absolutely impossible for the Kuomintang leadership to enter into an agreement with the Red Army on any of these measures—measures so obviously necessary and acceptable to the mass of the Chinese peo-

ple. There followed a short inter-regnum in which American imperialism tried to exert pressure for a coalition. That was not successful, and in turn resulted in the resumption of the war in 1946.

Really the *civil war* in China took place between 1946 and 1949. In a whole series of battles the forces of the Kuomintang were smashed. In Manchuria, they were surrounded in the cities, which eventually fell. Then the Red Army moved into the central and eastern provinces.

Social situation

If we look at the combination of factors that existed in Chinese society at that stage, it was obvious that the situation was not as Trotsky had anticipated in the period before the Second World War. The impotence and bankruptcy of landlordism and capitalism—its utter inability to show a way forward for Chinese society—had by now gone much further than could have been foreseen.

It would be wrong to think that it was military superiority which guaranteed the victories of the Red Army in the clashes that took place in the Chinese civil war. On the contrary, the Kuomintang had overwhelming superiority in military terms. There were roughly one million troops in the Kuomintang armies, and they were armed with the very latest in weapons and technique by American imperialism.

What happened is that, in every battle which took place, the Kuomintang *was defeated by the revolutionary propaganda of the Red Army—in particular by the call of “land to the tillers!”*

Under the impetus of the mass movement that developed in 1947, Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese CP leadership had been forced to adopt a much more radical land programme than had existed in the Red areas during the earlier “united front” period. As a result, the propaganda of the Red Army was like tanks going through the lines of the Kuomintang armies.

When they defeated an army of the Kuomintang, the Reds did not take the troops prisoner. They released the Kuomintang troops—and imbued them with the idea that the Reds wanted them to take over the land and smash the landlord and capitalist exploiters.

That was more successful than airplanes, bullets and all the latest word in armaments in disintegrating the Kuomintang armies. Eventually it resulted in the total collapse of the Kuomintang in 1947-48.

But even as late as 1948 there were alleged “Marxists”, alleged “Trotskyists”, who were insisting that Mao Tse-tung was attempting to capitulate to Chiang Kai-shek! As one wag in America said, “If that is true, the problem is he can’t catch him”—because, in fact, Chiang and his forces were running away from the forces of the Reds, from the north of China right down the eastern seaboard to the southern coast itself.

Another claim that was put forward, by the allegedly “Trotskyist” SWP in America, was that Mao Tse-tung would never cross the Yangtze River. However, on the day that they published this in their paper, Mao was

working class, of the youth, and of all the oppressed, has to put up such a hard and bitter fight for each small gain. This is also why our rulers try to muster all their forces to reverse our gains and crush the organisations which we have built over the years.

They are conscious of the crisis of their system, yet can offer no other solution.

Joop de Loor, government Director of Finance, admits that "during the 1980s and even the 1990s" the economy has a "sheer inability" to meet housing needs, which would require building over 100 000 homes a year. (*Star*, 12/8/82). During the 1970s only 20 000 houses were built a year—and every day homes are being demolished.

Fanie Botha, Minister of Manpower, says employers must create 250 000 jobs a year just to reduce the level of the unemployed. But in workplace after workplace both government and private employers are laying people off.

The bosses' own 'experts' reveal the extent of poverty and malnutrition; yet every month they raise again the price of bread, milk, meat or other essentials.

Even the big capitalists' promises to the African middle class have not been carried out. Their most advertised 'reform' has been leasehold home ownership in the townships—but in five years only 1 500 leases have been signed!

The capitalists claim that it is agitators who stir up mass resistance. In reality it is the daily struggle for survival forced upon all the oppressed that brings broader and broader layers of working people into struggle.

More and more this struggle will bring forward the demand for democratic rights as the means for achieving decent conditions of life—above all for majority rule. **One person, one vote, in an undivided SA!**

Unable to satisfy the material demands of the masses, the ruling class is intransigently opposed to any political concession that would give democratic power to the working people. Every section of the ruling class and its political representatives—not only the Nationalist and Conservative Parties, but the Progressive Federal Party too—is terrified of the prospect of majority rule.

They fear the enormous pressures which any government elected on this basis would be under from the black working class to abolish the pass laws and the migrant labour system, to redistribute wealth, to build homes and to increase wages in defiance of the laws of the profit system.

The capitalists can see the growing popularity of the Freedom Charter, with its demand for the expropriation of their property in the banks, the mines, and the monopolies. Under workers' democratic management and control, and on the basis of a socialist plan of production, public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy is the key to securing all our other demands.

Protect ownership

To protect their ownership of the means of production, on which their wealth and their power over us depend, the capitalist class must try to strengthen and stabilise their rule over us. This is the purpose of all the constitutional schemes they are debating, and of Botha's proposals themselves.

But what is becoming clearer is the intractable problems they face in achieving their aims.

The long-lived stability of the SA capitalist state has depended on the support given to it by the privileged whites. Entrenching divisions which grew up in conquest, the capitalist class drew increasing layers of the whites, including white workers, into a laager of privilege against the excluded 'native' majority of the

people.

In the factories, the townships and the countryside; in the pass offices, the labour bureaus, the courts and the prisons, the bosses' rule has been exercised by the white baasskap of foremen and supervisors, white petty bureaucrats and Bantustan bureaucrats, and vicious uniformed thugs.

But over the last ten years, against the militant determination of the mass movement, spearheaded by a black working class stronger than ever before, this method of rule has been losing its power to terrorise the masses.

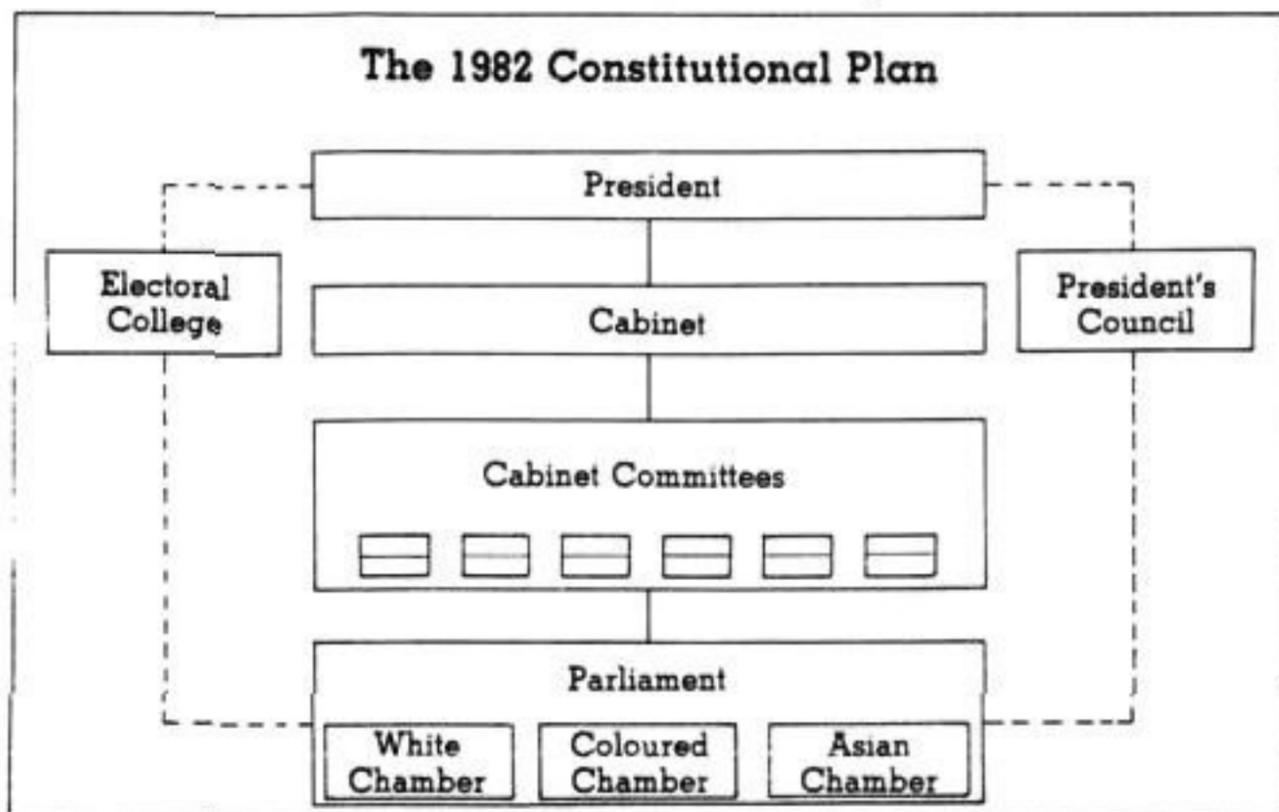
Today the whip of baasskap rouses the fighting anger of working people, particularly the youth, to end once and for all the humiliations suffered for generations.

This is why imperialism and big business have repeatedly urged the NP government to reform the racist system. The growing revolutionary threat to capitalist rule could, they hope, be staved off if the SA state machine could be given a non-racial colouration.

Their aims are not to democratise the state. The most significant part of Botha's constitutional package is the establishment of an Executive Presidency, with virtually unchecked powers, in control of the state machine. Even the traditional influence of the white voters on the state will become much weakened.

Not even the most 'liberal' section of the ruling class opposes the establishment of an Executive Presidency.

In recent years decision-making has been more and more concen-



already 60 km beyond the Yangtze.

They were operating with all the old *formulas* that Trotsky had worked out in the inter-war period—but *they were incapable of understanding Trotsky's method and of relating his ideas to the changing situation, and the new combination of factors and forces that had arisen in the period 1944-49.*

Chinese landlordism and capitalism was utterly impotent to develop society any further. A vacuum existed in Chinese society. Japanese imperialism had been defeated and could not intervene. American imperialism itself was not able to intervene directly.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, throughout the whole of Asia there were massive movements of American troops wanting to go home. The famous "Bring the Boys Home" movement developed throughout the West.

So American imperialism could supply Chiang Kai-shek with the latest armaments (which by the way, were subsequently captured by the Reds and used not only in China, but also against American imperialism in Korea), but they were not able to bolster up the armies of the Kuomintang with troops. They could not stop the disintegrating effects on the Kuomintang armies caused by the social situation that existed in China at that time.

The incapacity of imperialism to intervene was summed up in one famous—or infamous—incident (depending on your point of view). That was the "Amethyst" incident.

Let us remember that in Shanghai and Canton, at the time of the 1925-27 revolution, the British imperialists brazenly shot down Chinese workers and peasants. Yet in 1949 when the British warship *Amethyst* managed to sneak down the Yangtze River, evade the Red gun-boats, and escape, that was hailed as a "great victory" in the British press. That was a graphic illustration of the impotence of imperialism to intervene against the Chinese revolution.

The power vacuum that existed in China was more important in determining the outcome of the revolution than all the speeches of Mao Tse-tung, when he said, for instance, that national capitalism in China would last a hundred years.

Understanding this enabled the Marxist tendency, which today is gathered round the *Militant* newspaper (and we trace our antecedents right back to that period), to grasp correctly the process of the revolution that was taking place in China.

The Marxists of the Militant Tendency argued that the development would not be as Trotsky had anticipated in the inter-war period. Certainly it would not be a conscious movement of the proletariat like the October Revolution in Russia in 1917. It would be a peasant army entering the cities, as Trotsky clearly foresaw. But instead of the commanders of the peasant army fusing with the capitalist class and a capitalist development taking place, it was now inevitable that capitalism would be overthrown.

This was because of the exhaustion and bankruptcy of Chinese capitalism; because of the weakness of imperialism on a world scale in the aftermath of the Second World War; because of the greatly increased strength of Stalinism as a result of the Second World War, in Russia and Eastern Europe; because, also, Mao Tse-tung and

the leaders of the Red Army had a model of the kind of state and the kind of society that they could confidently move to create in China.

But while, therefore, the outcome of the revolution would not be as Trotsky had expected in the inter-war period, by no stretch of the imagination could Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese CP and Red Army leaders be considered *communists*, in the classical sense of the term.

They were not Marxists in the sense that they did not base themselves on the proletariat—which is absolutely fundamental to the Marxist approach, method, strategy and tactics. On the contrary, they were deadly fearful of the movement of the proletariat and of any action by the workers which they could not directly control.

The Chinese CP leaders were Bonapartist leaders, resting on the peasant Red Army, and manoeuvring in order to gather absolute power over society into their own hands. From the outset the model for their regime was the Stalinist dictatorship in Russia, which had arisen out of the *degeneration* of the Russian Revolution. Mao



This map, published in the New York Herald Tribune in January 1949, showed the area of China then under the control of the Red Army.

trated in the hands of unelected, and even secret, committees of bureaucrats, businessmen, and the tops of the military and police. Rather than the Cabinet, it is the State Security Council—whose membership is not even fully known—which guides government policy.

In anticipation of coming struggles, big business seeks to bring the central core of the dictatorship in the civil service and the armed forces more directly under its sway.

Imperialism and big business want to draw the elite layers of the black population into support for this state machinery and its use against the working masses—but without sacrificing the reliability of white support.

Whatever may be said, the support of the whites remains indispensable to the survival of capitalism in SA. It is because of the need to maintain this support that the regime has found it so difficult to move decisively to 'reform' the method of government. Hence the repeated zig-zags and periods of paralysis on the part of the government.

Offer nothing

Botha's proposals offer nothing to the black majority. But that the NP has committed itself to them is a turning-point in white politics, reflecting the depth of the crisis faced by the ruling class.

In the past the majority of whites looked to the NP government as the unquestioned guarantor of exclusive white privilege and supremacy. For some thirty years the NP has dominated white politics as the natural party of government.

Now, on the issue of "healthy (!) power-sharing (!!)", Botha has been prepared to irreversibly split the NP, creating a new period of volatility and fluidity in white politics. Built-in NP majorities are no longer secure.

All whites have been taught for generations to cling to the ruling establishment against the danger of being 'swamped' by the black majority. But, while continuing to depend critically on white support, the ruling class has to cope with economic and political crisis. It is no longer in a position to provide solid guarantees of white privilege and status.



The police and armed forces form the core of the capitalist dictatorship.

Not only are the high living standards of the whites being slowly eroded. Now, more importantly, they are faced with constitutional proposals that dilute such 'democratic' rights and privileges as they have enjoyed, and that offer no certainties for the future.

"How long will it be before majority rule?" asked white voters in the Germiston by-election.

For a period, most whites are likely to give Botha's proposals a chance, as was shown by the results of the most recent by-elections.

On the other hand, the Conservative Party has now emerged with a solid and 'respectable' pedigree—while the ultra-right racist demagoguery of the HNP leaders can at this stage win support only from the most backward sections of the whites.

The CP has substantial reserves of support in the Broederbond, the NGK, the Afrikaans-language press and the public service. Its leaders will be ready to exploit the fears of whites as problems and pitfalls emerge in implementing the new constitution.

They will use the same argument as Jaap Marais (which has more than a grain of truth in it)—that reform arouses expectations among the blacks which, because they cannot be fulfilled, prepare the way for revolution.

They will accuse the government of over-precipitate concessions. They will point out the impotence of the government in the face of new levels of mass upsurge.

It cannot be ruled out that the CP could come to power.

Imperialism and big business

would strive to prevent this because, as one editor put it, "an about turn is not possible without bringing black frustration to the boil" (*Star*, 24/8/82)

But a Treurnicht-type government, no less than Botha's, would have to keep the capitalist train on the rails. It would be faced with all the same dilemmas and irreconcilable antagonisms on an even more intense level.

AS A RESULT OF THE CONSTRAINTS OF office, such a government would inevitably disappoint the expectations of CP supporters. This, in turn, could push embittered sections of whites further to the right.

Underlying the confusion, fear, volatility and potential for reaction among the whites is the inability of the capitalist system to provide security, democracy, or social justice for the majority of the people.

Turmoil

The capitalist state machine must continue to rest on the support of the whites, however reactionary they may become. But the political turmoil among the whites, which will undoubtedly increase in the years ahead, represents not a strengthening but a weakening of capitalist rule.

While divisions and confusion grow among the ranks of its old supporters, the ruling class has no certainty of winning new support from those whom its constitutional schemes are intended to win.

Botha's proposals offer the Col-

began at the point which Stalin had already reached.

This was the explanation and analysis put forward by the Marxists of the Militant Tendency *at the time of the Chinese Revolution itself*. It was explained that, like Stalin, Mao would balance between the classes while consolidating his regime, and in the process ruthlessly suppress all independent actions and initiatives by the workers.

As in Russia, so in China capitalism was eliminated and a nationalised and planned economy introduced. But while the Russian workers' state began on healthy lines of workers' democracy and subsequently degenerated, the state established in China by the Red Army was a deformed workers' state, a Stalinist state from the outset.

International effects

The difference between the Russian and Chinese revolutions was enormous also in the different international repercussions which they produced. The October Revolution in Russia inspired tremendous movements of the working class throughout the world. An example was the revolutionary events in Italy, in 1920, where the workers occupied the factories.

An indication of the way that the proletariat internationally identified with the Russian Revolution was, paradoxically, indicated by the barrage of propaganda put up by the capitalist press at the time. The propaganda against the Russian Revolution put in the shade the lies and filth that we encounter in the *Daily Express*, for instance, today.

To give one humorous example: the *New York Times* carried over a hundred articles between 1918 and 1921 which said either that Trotsky had bumped off Lenin, or that Lenin had bumped off Trotsky! One headline was "Trotsky Assassinates Lenin in Drunken Brawl"! Now, if that was in a serious journal such as the *New York Times*, imagine the kind of stories that would appear in the yellow press.

But despite the propaganda, the working class internationally instinctively knew that their class was in power, and it inspired them.

In Russia there had been democratic organs of control and management in the form of the soviets. Nothing of this character existed in China between 1946-49 or in the aftermath.

In the main, in the big cities, "...Political apathy and inertia were stronger even than universal dissatisfaction ...the revolution finally engulfed Peking, but it was full-grown and did not grow gradually within the City itself." (*Communist China on the Eve of Takeover* by A. Doak Bennet, p. 325.)

Furthermore, the Stalinist leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Red Army displayed the fear of the 'full-grown' *bureaucracy* towards any independent movement by the working class. In their eight-point peace programme, presented as a manoeuvre before they occupied Peking, they unashamedly warned the working class: "Those who strike or destroy will be punished ... those

working in these organisations (factories) should work peacefully and wait for the takeover."

And true to their word, any independent action by the working class was met with ruthless repression. Contrast this attitude with that shown by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution. The Bolsheviks looked towards the working class as the *main* agent of change and urged: "*the land to the tillers and the factories to the producers."*

Without any question, the Chinese revolution of 1944-49 was one of the greatest events in human history. It was the second greatest event, surpassed only by the October Revolution of 1917.

One quarter of mankind stepped onto the stage of history, and put behind them once and forever the disease, the ravages, the misery that landlordism and capitalism had meant for them.

The Chinese revolution inspired and gave a push to the colonial revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was an event of great historical importance, but at the same time an event that could not have the same effect as the Russian Revolution on the working class internationally.

It established a planned economy, as most of industry was gradually taken over by the state, and a thorough-going land reform was carried through. But at the same time there was the establishment of a one-party totalitarian regime.

The idea that there was a democracy in China in 1949 is a fairy-tale, for the consumption of children of 10 or younger.

Now, if we look at the situation in China at that particular stage, we see that Mao Tse-tung formed a "coalition" with the Kuomintang. To be more exact, he formed a coalition with the "People's Kuomintang"—supposedly representing the 'national' capitalists—which had a total membership of a few hundred. Not exactly a mighty force, in a population of three-quarters of a billion.

On the surface what Mao Tse-tung had done coincided with a phrase that Trotsky had used in the 1930s in relation to Spain. This is where a lot of "Trotskyists", who used only the phrases of Trotsky without grasping his meaning, made hopeless mistakes in relation to China.

Trotsky said that in Spain the Stalinist CP had formed a coalition, not with the capitalist class, but with their *shadow*. What he meant by this was that the capitalists in reality had all fled to the side of General Franco and the counter-revolution; and the workers' leaders had formed a coalition with the ex-representatives of the capitalists in Spain.

This was the 'Popular Front' which served to hold the working class back from taking state power, and thus preserved capitalism in Spain. Gradually the "shadow" got substance, and the workers' movement in Republican Spain was smashed.

On the face of it, in China, Mao Tse-tung had entered into a coalition with the shadow of the capitalist class. *But there was a crucial difference in China at this time, as opposed to Spain in 1936-39. The real levers of state power were not in the hands of the bourgeois partners of the Red Army, in the so-called People's Kuomintang. They were entirely in the hands of Mao Tse-tung, the Red Army and the so-called Communist Party—particularly*

oured and Indian minorities two chambers in a three-chamber parliament with diluted powers and a built-in white majority. They would not even have the right to repeal the Group Areas Act or other laws that oppress them.

These 'racial' parliaments are intended as an enticement to middle-class leaders of the Coloured and Indian minorities to abandon the struggle for democracy and join in the defence of capitalism and the national oppression of the African majority.

The pressures of the mass movement upon such Coloured and Indian politicians make them cautious about participating in Botha's scheme (although they have taken part in even more powerless bodies like the CRC and SAIC in the past).

They can see that, particularly as the regime provides no place for African middle-class leaders except the travesty of the Bantustans, the new scheme will have only a limited life before it is overtaken by events.

But the Botha government has staked its credibility on these proposals and in the course of the next year or two will be bound to try to carry them through. Its ability to do so will depend on the ability of the apartheid dictatorship to suppress the struggles of the working people.

To offer new enticements, and urged on by the capitalist press and the white opposition PFP leaders, Botha maintains that the country is "at the start of a long constitutional process which will not be completed in one generation" (*Sunday Times*, 5/9/82).

Botha's proposals offer nothing to the black majority. But that the NP has committed itself to them is a turning-point in white politics, reflecting the depth of the crisis faced by the ruling class.

Already the advance guard of the ruling class are cooking up other forms of constitutional juggling—all of them based on new methods of dividing the African people in order to deny them the rightful majority in democratic government.

Echoing Botha, pointing out the need to work out a constitutional solution through long-term negotiation, Oppenheimer states that the existence of the Bantustans must be accepted and accommodated within a federal system. 'Federalism' is also the policy of the PFP.

Pro-capitalist middle-class black politicians like Gatsha Buthelezi, Oscar Dhlomo and Bishop Tutu call on the regime to initiate 'real' reform.

Tutu declares that, by including African leaders in his scheme, Botha could become a "great" man.

Buthelezi states that a "start could be made on solving the problems of SA if the government provided machinery for blacks to sit on the President's Council" (*Star*, 27/11/1982). He has also said that "in spite of our commitment to one man one vote we are prepared to start negotiating even on the basis of the Buthelezi Commission". (*Rand Daily Mail*, 16/10/1982).

These statements show the readiness of these so-called 'democrats' to compromise the struggle for democracy, provided only that

they are given desks in the offices of capitalist power.

The Buthelezi Commission—which the PFP is urging the government to take seriously—bases itself on the continued fragmentation of SA into a patchwork of divided communities. It claims that these communities would be defined on a "voluntary"(!?) basis, rather than that of enforced racial division. Yet underlying its actual proposals is the entrenchment of ethnic division and the continued division of the country into rich white and poor black areas.

It claims to stand for the maximum decentralisation of power of self-government to such local communities. But in fact all the key decisions would remain in the hands of the central government, presiding over the armed forces of repression, continuing to defend the wealth and power of the capitalist class.

"Governments would be coalitions of (racial) 'group representatives', handpicked by a strong Prime Minister/President—with powers little different from Botha's proposed Executive President. **And at the same time the Buthelezi Commission, with its eyes on the whites, calls for minorities to have more than their proportional share of positions in the bureaucracy and allocation of public funds—as well as rights to veto legislation.**

These proposals show that even the 'liberal' wing of the SA capitalist class and their black collaborators admit that the defence of their system depends on implacable opposition to majority rule, and the defence of white political privilege.

If the Botha government at present rejects these proposals, it is for two main reasons. On the one hand, it recognises that conceding even the tiniest voice to the African majority in a central parliament—however numerically unrepresentative—would be a signal to the mass movement that the old system is cracking apart. This would vastly accelerate the struggle for majority rule.

On the other hand, such concessions, and the mass upsurge which



The pressure of the workers will make Coloured and Indian politicians cautious about becoming involved in Botha's constitutional scheme.

the police, the military, and so on.

The "coalition" with the capitalist People's Kuomintang counted for nothing against the enormous objective pressures forcing the regime to move to eliminate capitalism and take the economy into state hands. Therefore we had in China the development of a totalitarian one-party regime based on a *progressive* economic system—a planned economy.

Only by understanding the relationship of forces in the Chinese Revolution is it possible to grasp the very complex processes that are taking place in Asia, Africa and Latin America at the present time. The processes are not according to any schema laid down in advance by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky—yet only the *method* developed by these great teachers in their time enables us to understand what is taking place.

We can understand the processes if all the comrades gain a fuller grasp of the features of the Chinese revolution of 1944-49, and the way in which that revolution developed.

It was not a case of the working class playing the main role in the revolution, but of a victorious peasant army entering the cities. It was a case of a Bonapartist regime which established a planned economy—which in that sense *historically* expressed the material interests of the working class.

But in no sense was it a regime of workers' democracy along the lines of the Bolshevik regime in Russia in 1917. It was not—and is not—a socialist regime moving towards the development of socialist society. That is impossible unless power is in the hands of the working class, and a regime of workers' democracy prevails.

Unfortunately, because of the way the regime developed in China, the Chinese working class will have to pay with a new revolution—this time a *political revolution*—establishing workers' democracy on the foundations of the planned economy. Only then will the way be clear for Chinese society to move towards socialism in the context of a world socialist federation.



NP and HNP supporters clash. White fears of concessions to the African majority will heighten until the workers' movement can show the socialist way forward for all the races in South Africa.

would accompany them, would be likely to heighten confusion, division, and even panic among the whites, providing a more fertile soil for the racist demagogues of the ultra-right.

Yet even now, in measures like the new Black Community Development Act—supported by the PFP—the Botha government is already preparing the ground for further steps to divide and hold back the mass movement against the mass eruptions which are inevitably coming.

Buying time

But all this constitutional juggling can do no more than buy the ruling class a little time against the revolutionary confrontations looming just over the horizon. The inability of capitalism to satisfy our needs will drive more and more of the working people into the struggle for national and social liberation.

The only force able to carry this struggle to its conclusion, by taking over the banks, mines, factories and big farms, is the organised working class, armed with an understanding of its tasks, drawing to it all the oppressed.

In SA and internationally, the balance of forces overwhelmingly favours the oppressed and exploited, stronger in numbers and more self-confident than ever before. History is on our side.

But our victory depends on our

strength of organisation and the clarity of our programme, able to overcome every obstacle which will stand in our way.

As the crisis deepens in SA, it is more and more the vicious capitalist dictatorship which will present itself as the central obstacle. Confronted by dilemmas which it is incapable of solving, the ruling class will grow increasingly divided.

With increasing turmoil among the whites, and a tiny black middle-class flung to and fro on the waves of the mass movement, the policies of governments can swing between wider and wider poles.

On the one hand, the mounting revolutionary pressures will impel the search for reform. In its futile search for a new basis for support to hold back the mass movement, the ruling class may well try to ensnare even the leaders of the ANC in negotiations for a 'settlement'. Their most perceptive strategists already see that this will be necessary.

This is why it is vital that the ANC leadership should clearly recognise that capitalism is the enemy of the people, and that it is impossible to negotiate a genuinely democratic SA with the capitalist class.

Every revolution contains within itself also the prospect of counter-revolution. Stored up in the ranks of the SA whites is a virulent potential for reaction—if they are presented with no secure alternative for themselves and their children. As

Botha said recently to his white supporters, "everybody has a little of the HNP deep in his heart".

A real alternative for the whites does not exist under capitalism. As for the black majority, so for the whites, a secure future is possible only under workers' democratic rule.

Workers' control

Removing the chains imposed by the profit system would allow a vast expansion in the production of what is needed by working people. A planned economy under workers' control and management would eliminate all privilege while providing homes, jobs, education, health and cultural facilities for all.

The ruling class fears above all else the workers' democratic movement which is beginning to develop in the workplaces and the townships. This movement carries the seeds of the democratic socialist SA of the future.

The task is to strengthen this movement.

By building the trade unions and the ANC on a programme for national liberation, democracy, and socialism, we can ensure that our leaders do not submit to any pressures of the capitalist class to enter into the defence of their system.

A socialist movement could rally not only all the oppressed but draw in also those among the whites who are prepared to break decisively with race and class privilege. First in the ones and twos, and later in larger numbers, white workers can come to see that there is no possibility of a secure life in defending a rotten capitalist system.

Under the leadership of the working class in the trade unions and the ANC, a movement built on this basis to embrace millions can smash the monstrous dictatorship which has enslaved the majority for generations.

Against all the constitutional schemes of the ruling class, we must organise firmly around the demand for **one person, one vote in an undivided SA!**

Once we clearly link this to the socialist transformation of SA, the road will lie open to ending the poverty, division, insecurity and dictatorship which is all that the capitalist class can offer. ●

Stalinism in China

by Ted Grant

Editor's note:

The following passages were written in June, 1951, summing up the conclusions of Marxism that had been drawn in the course of the Chinese Revolution of 1944-49. More than 30 years later, it would scarcely be necessary to alter a single sentence in order to bring the analysis up to date.

Written during Mao's 'coalition' with the Chinese 'national' capitalists, it correctly forecast that the regime would move to take their businesses and industries into state ownership. That began, in fact, in 1952.

Despite the fact that the Chinese and Soviet governments had signed, in February 1950, a thirty-year treaty "of friendship, alliance and mutual aid", the article anticipated—and explained in advance—the Sino-Soviet split. That split

became manifest in 1957-58, and really acute from the early 1960s.

The Chinese bureaucracy's turn in foreign policy towards an accommodation with American imperialism—something which was generally regarded as a bombshell when it occurred in 1971 during Nixon's presidency—was clearly forecast as a future probability in this article in 1951.

The ability of a Marxist perspective to foresee the course of events is not based on "crystal-ball-gazing", but on a meticulous and many-sided analysis of the class forces in society, the material interests of the participants, and the material processes at work. It burrows beneath the superficial claims and labels worn by political organisations and leaders to discover the real pressures and factors which will determine their actions. That alone enables the Marxist method, its conclusions and perspectives, to stand

the test of time.

This article is perhaps above all noteworthy for the clarity with which it drew the conclusion that Mao's regime would eliminate capitalism—while not giving one millimetre to the idea that therefore Mao could be considered a 'Marxist' or 'communist'. On the contrary, it spelled out in broad outline the inevitable entrenchment of a bureaucratic dictatorship in China, with the Maoist regime becoming more and more elevated above society, zig-zagging in policy, becoming more and more corrupt, and requiring eventual overthrow by the working class to clear the road to workers' democracy and socialism in China, in conjunction with the socialist revolution in the West.

The post-revolutionary history of the Chinese Stalinist regime, and present perspectives for China, will have to be taken up in future issues of INQABA.

The peculiar combination of forces which resulted in the victory of Stalinism in Eastern Europe, are working towards the same results in Asia. In China we have an outstanding example of this result of the multiplicity of historical factors. The defeat of the revolution of 1925/27 (due to the mistakes of the Stalinists) which had had every promise of success, led the Stalinist leadership and the cadres they had managed to retain, to desert the cities and take to the mountains in order to base themselves on the Peasant War, ...a war which had many precedents in China's long history.

Weakness of Imperialism

The crumbling and decay of the capitalist-landlord military police regime was shown in its total incapacity to solve a single one of China's problems in the period 1927/1945. Far more rotten than Czarist Russia, even at its worst, it succeeded in alienating almost the entire population apart from the tiny clique of Chiang Kai-shek at the top. There were none really willing to strike a blow in its defence at the hour of danger. In the same period the frightful decay of Imperialism following the Second World War made the Imperialists incapable of interven-

ing. In 1925/27 British Imperialism had replied to "an insult to the Flag" by bombarding the main ports of China with their warships. This with the approval of the Labour and Trade Union leaders. In 1949 such was the relationship of forces, the Imperialists hailed with glee the sneaking away of the warship Amethyst from the waters of the Yangtze! So has the relationship of forces changed. The American Imperialists intervened with huge supplies of arms, money and munitions, to aid the corrupt gang of Chiang Kai-shek—almost invariably the supplies falling into the hands of the Chinese Red Army.

These factors, together with the fact that they had mighty Russia as a neighbour, all had their impact on the development of the situation in China. Under "normal" conditions, the Peasant War in China would have ended as all such wars have ended in the past, or the leadership of the Chinese peasants would have fused with the capitalist elements in the cities, and the peasant masses would have found themselves betrayed. The revolution would have assumed a capitalist character.

However, all the factors enumerated above, had to have a different result than could have been foreseen in advance. Without Russia as a neighbour, without the degeneration of the Russian regime as a further factor, without the complete breakdown of the regime in China,

FIGHT REDUNDANCIES!

An unhappy Christmas and a bleak New Year is the prospect facing the three million unemployed.

"It's going to be a future riddled with starvation, poverty and misery for us".

These words from a recently retrenched coal miner reflect the grim consequences for every worker in SA today of the economic crisis which the bosses' system has brought about.

For 21 years, from the age of 17, this miner was enslaved to Anglo-American. Sucked dry to swell their profits he has now been thrown into poverty-stricken Kwazulu to rot.

In their passion for profit, the capitalists who own the mines, big farms, factories and banks will never have any concern as to what happens to the individual workers they use up.

These people—who have never laid a brick or worked a lathe—only invest if they can squeeze sufficient profit from the workers. The moment they realise they are not getting enough loot, they throw workers out of jobs. A MAWU organiser summed it all up when he said: "workers are the only ones to suffer when the economy runs into trouble".

3 600 jobs have been scrapped in the car industry this year and 5 000 in steel alone. 4 000 have been lost in textiles—with another 10 000 to follow before the end of the year.

Cutbacks in production, short-time working and factory closures are

By Alan Green

causing unemployment to rise although we need more food, clothing, better housing, etc.

And all we are promised is...worse.

Now there are further threats to close down major plants, employing large numbers of workers—in the iron and steel sector, for example. In addition, 300 000 youth begin to look for work each year.

Fearing an explosion from the unemployed—a quarter of whom have never worked—some employers are putting forward a plan for African workers to begin home-based industries. This completely impractical and outdated idea is ruled out on a capitalist basis. Only large-scale production can compete effectively on the capitalist market.

No jobs! No hope! No future! It is because our very survival is at stake that workers in industry after industry are being forced to fight in defence of their jobs.

The industrial muscle of the working class at the point of production is a mighty weapon which can save unemployed workers from the misery and despair of the labour bureau queues.

Employed workers have a duty to use their strength on behalf of the unemployed. Failure in this duty will mean the uncontrolled growth of a permanent army of the unemployed.

There would then always be a danger of the entire workforce being cowed down by the bosses. Employed workers would be subjected to intimidation away from trade unions, from defending living standards, and from fighting political oppression.

Every fight on these issues would be crippled by the readiness of the bosses to hire at low wages from the swelling ranks of the unemployed. The bigger the standing army of the unemployed, the more difficult it is for workers to fight back.

Already Louis Luyt has sacked workers at his Potchefstroom fertiliser factory and had them replaced by workers from the Ciskei who were recruited on lower wages and

reportedly on condition they did not join a union.

Only the mass pressure of the trade union movement can stop capitalist gangsters like these in their tracks. The trade union movement must unite to declare: "Enough is enough".

This issue, however, can only be resolved through struggle. The capitalists will be resolute in the defence of their interests: workers must be even more resolute. The gains in union organisation over the past period should now be drawn together and concentrated in the fight against unemployment.

From any employers threatening to slash jobs we should demand that they open their books to trade union inspection. Let us see how they have squandered the wealth the working class produced.

If the books show losses or bankruptcy, then this only confirms that the bosses are unable to provide our people with work and decent living standards.

If work is short, it should be shared with no loss of pay! This is the slogan around which the trade union movement must mobilise to fight effectively against the avalanche of unemployment that the deepening crisis of capitalism will bring.

If capitalism cannot afford this, then it is high time that it was replaced by a new system of society.

Bold and intransigent resistance to unemployment is a means of mobilising broad sections of workers in the struggle against the entire system of oppression and exploitation.

A 35 hour working week is the call of the trade union movement in many countries. Linked to a R100 a week minimum wage, this should become the battle-cry of our movement. Shorter hours to cut the unemployment queues; a national minimum wage to end poverty.

But work and security, the demands of the Freedom Charter, can only be permanently realised when we take state power into our hands and nationalise the main means of production. Production can then be democratically organised for the benefit of the people as a whole.



where the old ruling class had so pitifully outlived itself, without the degeneration of the international Stalinist movement, without the extreme weakness of the genuine Marxist current, without the weakness of Imperialism on a world scale, events in China, as in all Asia, would have taken a different turn: either in the direction of a proletarian revolution according to the norm (with all its international implications in the spreading of the revolution to Europe and the World) or the victory of capitalist counter-revolution. Those would have been the alternatives.

History, however, is full of inexhaustible variants which cannot be foreseen in advance. Theory is grey, but the tree of life is green... All these complicated factors in combination have resulted in the revolution being accomplished in a different way than theory had previously indicated. Using the same technique as in Yugoslavia, with the mass movement of the peasants as their base, Mao and the Chinese Red Army (with possibly an even more popular and greater mass base than Tito had)... waged a revolutionary war for the land. The armies of the Kuomintang clique melted away. Here was a peasant war in the classical revolutionary tradition. The Bonapartist clique of Stalinism based itself firmly on the longing of the peasantry for the land. Leading the peasant war they gained the powerful support of the masses. Here we have a peculiar variant of the permanent revolution. Because of the incapacity of the peasantry to play an independent role they have been organised and led by the ex-Marxists.

Mao's Peasant Army Base

Due to the crisis of the regime and the paralysis of the movement in the cities by Stalinism, Mao Tse-tung and the other Stalinist leaders established an independent base in the peasant army; classical instrument of Bonapartism. But in line with the epoch and the various factors already exhaustively dealt with, it could not end as normally a peasant war independent of the mass movement in the cities would end. Having conquered the cities, with at least passive acquiescence of the working class and petty bourgeois masses in the cities, Mao Tse-tung and his group could succeed in Bonapartist fashion in balancing between the classes. Starting with the gradual elimination of the landlords throughout the territory which they had conquered (after the initial stages of the movement, the bureaucracy was concerned not to have any independent movement of either the peasants or the workers which could not be directly harnessed and controlled by themselves) and immediately confiscating what they termed "bureaucratic capitalism", i.e., the key centres of whatever heavy industry and finance existed, the bonapartist bureaucracy could manoeuvre between the classes. For a temporary period and in order to help consolidate the rise and control of a bureaucratic caste, they have tolerated merchant and industrial capitalism in a neo-NEP.

Manoeuvring between the classes, they will establish a firm and strong state machine. Basing themselves now on the peasants, now on the workers, then on the

bourgeoisie, to serve different ends they will balance between them as "arbiter" and regulator of private ownership in industry and then at a later stage, to the expropriation of the peasantry as well, on the model of Russia and Eastern Europe. Because of the weakness and impotence of the bourgeoisie, with no historical perspective and no historical mission to perform, it will be eliminated with comparative ease. Mao will base himself on the workers in order to strike blows at the bourgeoisie, as Stalin did at the time of the elimination of the Kulaks and the NEP men.

Chinese Stalinism Firmly in Control

A Stalinist bureaucracy cannot tolerate the sharing of power with the bourgeoisie because this would weaken it and reduce it to a subordinate puppet role, with the corresponding diminution of its income, power and privileges. The peasants, incapable of finding a different road, will be mercilessly repressed. Gradually a totalitarian state, more and more approximating to that of Moscow, will be established. Having based themselves on the workers for a time in order to eliminate the capitalists and consolidate their rule, they must turn on the working class and smash any elements of workers' democracy which may exist or be developed in the process.

Before Stalinism in China is a long perspective of power despite the social convulsions and crises of growth and consolidation. It is relatively progressive because of the development of industry and the unification of China for the first time, and on this basis giving a tremendous impulse to the development of the productive forces. Purely on the basis of Chinese conditions they can maintain their rule for a long time. They will consolidate themselves more and more firmly in control in the next period. Factors making for this have been the endless war and civil war in which China has been involved in the last two decades, the weariness of the people who demand peace, the relatively progressive role they play in China, and the lack of any alternative on the Chinese basis alone. All these factors strengthen powerfully the role of Chinese Stalinism.

Long Historical Perspective

Of course, events in China can be hastened or retarded by developments in Western Europe, America and Russia. These remain the decisive areas of the world. A successful proletarian revolution in the West producing a workers' state on the Marxist norm, would, of course, result in a revival of the revolution in China and open the road for a healthy development by hastening the political revolution. But taking Chinese forces as a basis, it is clear that Mao, like Stalin, will develop the forces which will overthrow his machine in the future.

The relatively austere administration, without control from the masses, will become more and more corrupt. State power is a powerful source of infection and disease. Increasing their separation from the masses, the bureaucratic caste will raise themselves higher and higher

Bosses split casual and permanent workers

Trade unions have begun to grow in the commercial as well as in the industrial sectors in recent years.

JESSICA SAMSON talks to an INQABA reporter about her experience working in a hypermarket, showing the need as well as the opportunities for union organisation to be redoubled in this sector.

I started at the hypermarket early in 1978, working as a packer for 60c an hour, as a casual. It's quite a hard job to pack because you have to stand at the till the whole day.

The money was a lot for me because we really needed it, but the permanent packers were making 75c an hour.

They take on casual workers at weekends and holiday periods, sometimes as many as 800 of the 4000 workers there.

That was very bad for the permanent workers because during the Christmas period, when they needed the money most, they had to work part-time or flexi-time, or some of them lost their jobs because of the amount of casuals they took on.

When there were a lot of casuals, if a permanent worker was even five minutes late they would be sent home and lose the day's pay.

So it was quite bad because most of the permanent workers blamed the casuals for taking their jobs. It was a division that the bosses made between the casuals and the permanent workers.

A full workday is from nine in the morning till nine in the evening, but then we had to work till all the shoppers were out of the shop, say up to

10 o'clock or half past ten.

Then after that we still had to wait for transport home. They don't even allow you to wait in the shop where at least it's warm.

They usually take the permanent workers home first, so we sometimes got home at half past one.

You can imagine how you feel at the end of the day, so tired.

During December when the shop was quite packed we wouldn't get the one hour lunch break we were supposed to get, or our fifteen minute tea break. We sometimes got no lunch or tea break at all and just had to work straight through.

Sometimes you had your lunch break late, up to 5 o'clock, then you have to just go up to the canteen and sit there, because there's no food.

You can't even do your shopping because when you get home the shops are closed. They're supposed to give you time to shop in the market. They have separate tills. But it's during your lunch break so all the workers are shopping, and when you get to the till it's full, and you can't get your things out.

The packers sometimes get so tired and just want to relax while the cashier gets ready for the next

customer. But if you just lean back against the till, the supervisor comes and shouts "no man, just get off and stand back".

When the shop was busy sometimes, even if you wanted to go to the toilet, they'll say no. You just had to stand there with whatever you've got and work on.

Frustrated

Sometimes the packers got frustrated with the cashiers and thought they were having it a bit soft because they were sitting on chairs.

When the shop is full, the cashiers are facing long queues, and are also tired and thirsty, and your back at the end of the day is very sore, and the supervisor is saying "come on, come on, just work faster", and it's not just ten pieces of goods but big big trolleys coming through.

Then the cashier will just push all this stuff out to the packers. Because the tills work automatically, if they till all the stuff quickly it floods the till for the packer.

The brown carrier bags stand upright and they're so big, you have



Cashier and packer in a supermarket. In recent months there have been strikes or stoppages at four major market chains—OK Bazaars, Edgars, Woolworths and Pick 'n Pay.

above the people as a new aristocracy and will provoke the sharp hatred of the masses.

New Revolution Inevitable

Because of the history of China, its traditions and its terrible backwardness, Chinese Stalinism on its own forces alone will inevitably develop an even more monstrous oppressive machine than that of Stalinism in Russia. The bureaucratic caste which is crystallising there will only be removed by force. The new political revolution and the establishment of a healthy workers' democracy, but on a higher industrial foundation, and in the long run the fate of China, as of all the East, will

be determined by the fate of the revolution in Western Europe and America.

Having an independent base, the regime of Mao Tse-tung will most likely come into conflict with that of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia. Reluctantly, after the experience of Yugoslavia, the bureaucracy has been compelled to treat the People's Republic of China as a junior partner rather than an out-and-out satellite or a Moscow province. Despite the efforts to avoid this, at a later stage if favourable terms can be obtained from Britain and America, it is quite likely that Mao Tse-tung will break away and play an independent role. Thus, in that sense, once an independent basis is established, it is difficult if not impossible, for Moscow to maintain direct rule or domination.

to lift your hand every time right up and down. The packer isn't allowed to use the plastic bag unless its frozen stuff.

Because of this there's a lot of fights between the cashiers and the packers, or the packers just throw something at the supervisor and walk out because they can't stand it.

If a cashier's money doesn't tally at the end of the day or week, the boss will come to them and say "you're short and must pay it". Even though you know you aren't short, because you are counting your change correctly and seeing the correct amount of money, you won't put up a fight because you need that job.

The bosses really make a lot of extra money this way, especially at the end of the year. How is it possible that 20-30 cashiers a day are R20-30 short, and never over? Or at least if you are over, they would never tell you and never refund you that money.

Some cashiers would have to pay something like R200 and would have to get a loan from the boss, and then they deduct it on a weekly basis from your wages.

They also really divided the white and black workers. When I started as a packer I was in Standard IX, but there was a white casual cashier who was in Standard VII or VIII and was getting more money than I did.

We used to hate the white casuals for getting more money and we didn't really see what was behind all this.

Later six of us went to the

hour, and they were doing exactly the same work. In fact the blacks worked much more than the whites. But then the black packers also went to the boss and got the same as the whites.

Every morning, especially before and after Christmas, there was a queue of workers outside at the security desk wanting to see the manager. They'd do any job just to get work.

The bosses and the supervisor would tell you they can't give you more money, because these people are prepared to work for less money. So you just keep quiet.

Of course the people outside need the money, because they've got no money coming in at all, and they've got to support their families.

That's why some workers don't get together and say "no man, we work too hard and we want more money". Because we all need the little money we can get.

There was this one time when we got to work and we found these leaflets on the tables with demands of the casual workers, for a minimum wage of R1.50 an hour, and for more buses to take people home, and for better food, because by the time the casuals had theirs in the afternoon, after the permanent workers, they only got scraps and leftovers.

Everyone was reading the leaflets and was prepared to stay out of work. But no-one had been told about the leaflets before that and they didn't know what to do.

So what happened, the security

and the packers 85c an hour which is the amount they are getting still now.

But it wasn't really well-organised because no-one had got all the casuals together and discussed what do we do. That was really a mistake.

It seemed to us afterwards the best thing would be to have a workers' committee, with two or three reps from each department, to meet monthly or weekly.

The people who can really organise that are the permanent workers, because there's such an influx of casuals who don't spend very long and then go away.

Especially during the last week of the month, or in December, the shop is very busy. So we should form that committee and **all of us** decide that we won't go to work that week unless they give us higher pay.

Lose millions

Then the bosses would really be in a crisis. Because when its busy, with long long queues at the tills waiting to cash out, they would lose millions and millions of Rands if they closed the shop.

You'd have a picket outside too, and organise the people outside who have come for jobs, because then you'd be stronger.

But they wouldn't be able to take on scabs because there would be no-one to teach them to work on the tills. Not anyone can just go on a till. You have to be trained. And if there are only ten supervisors trying to train cashiers on 90 tills with queues of people waiting and shouting at them, then there would be a real crisis.

They would be forced to give the workers more money.

That's the only way. Just to organise and really work towards that goal and wait for the time when the shop is really busy, which the workers know exactly, and just say **no!**

Draw up a sheet with all the demands and say we want more transport, and at least one hour lunch and 15 minutes teabreak and supper-time, and a minimum wage of R2 an hour, and if you won't do that then we'll go on strike, all of us.

That would be really good.

"No-one had got all the casuals together and discussed what do we do. That was really a mistake."

manager and said "it's quite unfair, we are almost going to Matric and we are getting less money than these cashiers. We really need the money, because we have to pay our books at school because our parents can't afford it."

So we waited for two weeks, and he made the six of us cashiers. We got the same as the whites, which was R1.00 an hour at that time.

It was the same with the shelf packers. The whites were getting R1.00 an hour and the blacks 60c an

guards were all there chasing you all over the shop. Some people went in to work, the permanent workers and some of the casuals. About three quarters of the casuals, say about 300-500, stayed out.

So then I was called in to the manager with someone else because they thought we were behind it, though we weren't. We said, "no it wasn't us, but these are the demands that the casuals want."

After that they raised the wages and the cashiers got R1.11 an hour

Explanatory Notes

Bolsheviks—Revolutionary wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, organised in opposition to the Mensheviks, or reformist wing. The Bolsheviks became a separate party only in 1912. Under the guidance of Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolsheviks led the working class in taking power in October 1917.

Bonapartism—Term used by Marxists for a dictatorial regime which balances between the contending classes, while raising itself above society as a whole. The term derives from the example of Napoleon Bonaparte's dictatorship in France in 1799.

In the last analysis, in the modern world, a Bonapartist regime must defend one or other of two systems of property and economic order. Either it defends private property, which is the basis of capitalism, or it defends state ownership of the means of production, which is the basis of a planned economy.

In the first case, we call it 'Bourgeois Bonapartism'. In the second case, we call it 'Proletarian Bonapartism', because its economic foundation is the system of property historically appropriate to the rule of the working class.

But just as a Bourgeois Bonapartist regime is not *directly* a government of the capitalists, neither is a Proletarian Bonapartist regime one in which the workers rule.

Comintern—Short name for the Communist (Third) International, founded in 1919 on the initiative of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), after the victory of the October Revolution. The Comintern was initially a powerful attraction to the international working-class movement, and by 1921 had 887 000 members.

But the defeat of a series of revolutions in Europe led to the isolation and degeneration of the Russian Revolution. With the resulting rise of Stalinism, the Russian CP was transformed, step by step, into the instrument of dictatorship by a privileged bureaucracy.

Through the predominance of the Russian CP leadership in the Comintern, the latter, too, underwent Stalinist degeneration. Ultimately all the Communist Parties were turned into obedient followers of the dictates of the bureaucracy in Moscow. Each twist and turn of Stalin's

policy was immediately adopted in the Comintern and slavishly adhered to by the various national CPs.

The degeneration of the Russian CP and of the Comintern was vigorously resisted by the remaining cadres of Bolshevism, who organised themselves as the **Left Opposition** with Trotsky's leadership. But, by means of ruthless expulsions, deportations, the suppression of debate, and the physical liquidation of tens of thousands of revolutionaries, the Stalinist apparatus gained an iron grip on the Party and the International.

The forces of the Left Opposition remained oriented to the CPs and the Comintern until 1933, when it was clear that these bodies could never be regenerated.

In 1943, Stalin peremptorily dissolved the Comintern, as a gesture of assurance to his imperialist Allies in the Second World War that the Communist Parties had abandoned their former aims of world revolution.

Kulak—Literally "fist". Russian nickname for a rich peasant.

Kuomintang—Literally "People's Party", this was the Chinese nationalist organisation founded in 1911 by Sun Yat Sen. It looked for support to the peasantry, urban middle class and workers, but its leadership was in bourgeois hands.

In the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, the Kuomintang, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, played the main counter-revolutionary role as butcher of the working class.

After the eventual defeat of the Kuomintang by the Chinese Red Army in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek took refuge on the island of Formosa (Taiwan), where he established his dictatorship under the protection of American imperialism—and where his successors rule to this day.

NEP—"New Economic Policy." An economic retreat which was forced on the Bolshevik government in Russia as a result of the dreadful destruction of the economy caused by the civil war and the intervention of the armies of imperialism.

For the overwhelmingly peasant population of the Soviet Union, Lenin and Trotsky had advocated a programme

of gradual collectivisation of agriculture, by the example of voluntary model collectives established with the aid of industrial development and the provision of tractors.

However, to overcome extreme food shortages in 1920-21, concessions had to be given to peasants to encourage production for private profit (the NEP). This had been intended by Lenin as a temporary retreat.

But the emerging Stalinist bureaucracy perverted the NEP, against the warnings of the Left Opposition, and blithely encouraged the kulaks to "enrich yourselves".

Then, panicking that he had created a social base for his own overthrow and the restoration of capitalism, Stalin and his henchmen switched in 1929 to an extreme policy of forced collectivisation of agriculture and "liquidation of the kulaks"—on the basis of the existing *primitive plough*. The peasants resisted, destroying livestock and crops; in the ensuing famine 10 million died.

Peking—Chinese capital city (indicated as Peiping on the old maps, and as Beijing on maps today).

Russian Revolution, 1917—The first (and, so far, the only) victorious workers' revolution in history.

Soviets—Elected councils of workers' delegates from the factories and districts. First created on the initiative of organised workers in Petrograd (now Leningrad) during the Russian revolution of 1905, the soviets provided a non-party representative body which could readily gain authority in the eyes of the masses, and serve as instruments of working-class power.

Soviets sprang up again at the outset of the Russian revolution of 1917, when the Tsar was overthrown. During the course of this revolution, the Bolsheviks won a majority in the key soviets and, in October, led the working class in the struggle to take power on the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"

Although the name 'Soviet Union' is still used to describe Russia, in fact all vestiges of soviet power have been eliminated as a result of the Stalinist counter-revolution.

TUCSA CONFERENCE

Despite the growth of the independent unions, large numbers of black workers have been organised in TUCSA unions in recent years. TUCSA now has 430 675 members—226 860 coloured and Asian, 102 670 African, and 101 145 whites.

Within the ranks of the TUCSA unions there is a developing awareness of the need to unite and fight against redundancies, low wages, victimisations and all the other burdens which workers suffer.

This year's TUCSA conference passed resolutions in favour of a forty hour week, against the victimisation of workers engaged in 'legal' strikes etc. But the leadership continued in its refusal to stand firmly against detention without trial, influx control, intimidation and harassment of trade unions and all the political and economic chains enslaving the workers.

Above all, the conference came out with no plan of campaigning, or for uniting the whole trade union movement to fight for its interests.

Instead, sections of the leadership attacked the independent trade unions for 'poaching' members, and for resisting the Industrial Council system.

The General Secretary of the Mine Surface Officials Association actually attacked the government for allowing unregistered unions to gain an equal footing with registered unions, so that unions were beginning to question the 'benefits' of registration!

In attacking the independent unions, the TUCSA leadership reveal the crisis in their own ranks. Because of their failure to give a lead in struggle, they have seen five unions leave the federation in the past year.

The TUCSA leadership blames the independent unions for the seeping away of their membership. They refuse to understand that the pressure of the capitalist crisis on the working class is impelling the workers into action, and that workers are seeking maximum unity to achieve the greatest effect. Such workers are seeing that only militant independent

unions can provide a rallying point. By attacking the independent unions for their resistance to the Industrial Council system, the TUCSA leadership further exposes its utter weakness and bankruptcy. This leadership rightly fears that if the majority of the workers resist ICs, the ICs will be completely undermined.

This would threaten the cozy niche which the bureaucratic leaders of the old registered unions have carved for themselves.

The ranks of TUCSA have always been more militant than the leadership. The latter has consolidated its position in the unions by undemocratic means, supported by the state-enforced labour machinery.

So when Anna Scheepers, the President of TUCSA, accuses the independent unions of "weakening the workers' movement" by undermining the ICs, she actually means that **the TUCSA leadership will be weakened.**

By rejecting the ICs, by insisting on plant-level bargaining and combining this with democratic and militant organisation on the factory floor and industry-wide, the independent unions are showing the TUCSA unions by example how to fight.

By uniting, the independent unions could serve as a pole of attraction for TUCSA members. A programme of action uniting their own ranks would appeal even more to the rank-and-file of TUCSA.

The independent unions must reach out to their brothers and sisters in TUCSA and assist them in their efforts to democratise their unions and wrest control from the bureaucrats that dominate them.

This could bring about in SA a single trade union federation representing the mass of the workers, which would decisively weaken the forces of capitalism and oppression, and give enormous impetus to the struggle for national and social emancipation.

NO to registration!

NO to Industrial Councils!

For a national minimum wage of R100 a week, linked to the cost of living!

For a mass trade union federation for all workers!

No to CIA visits! For genuine links with US workers!

"We told them that if they set up a labour centre, not one of our people will be seen there."

This was the reaction of one black trade unionist to the millions of dollars in programmes and grants being offered to the independent unions by the US African-American Labour Centre (AALC).

Though the AALC is funded by the giant American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO), the class collaborationist leadership of that organisation has allowed the AALC to be infiltrated by the CIA.

One of the visiting delegation was Irving Brown, a notorious CIA agent, who has split and manipulated unions in France, Portugal, Italy and Africa.

In Latin America the AFL-CIO's equivalent to the AALC was involved in the savage right-wing coup which overthrew the democratically-elected government of Allende in Chile. In embattled El Salvador they routinely give information about trade unionists to the CIA.

Who invited these 'dirty tricksters' on their 'fact-finding' mission? On their own admission: "I don't know...it was a general invitation made over many years by many people."

MAWU, SAAWU, GAWU and others have emphatically rejected these attempts to tame the independent trade union movement and protect the profits of the US monopolies.

These trade union thugs in no way represent the US workers. Under the whiplash of Reagan's right-wing policies, and the capitalist recession, US workers are moving into struggle to reclaim their unions from the agents of the bosses.

SA workers need to link up with the genuine strugglers in the US working class. The exchange of the lessons of experience against the common capitalist enemy will strengthen the movement in both countries.

On this basis real training programmes under democratic workers' control can be developed.

Spanish Revolution, 1931-37—For a study of this revolution and the causes of its defeat, see *INQABA Supplement No.6*.

Stalinism—Term to describe the social phenomenon of (and the policies pursued by) a ruling bureaucracy which establishes itself on the basis of state ownership of the means of production. (See explanation of Proletarian Bonapartism above.)

The first historical example of this was the rise of the bureaucracy in Russia, notably from 1923 onwards, when the exhausted working class had been unable to sustain its hold on state power and the revolution degenerated.

The head of the bureaucratic counter-revolution was Stalin, who eventually became an absolute dictator. Hence the term "Stalinism".

Tito—Leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party which organised the partisan guerilla resistance against Nazi German

occupation during the Second World War. The support of the population as a result of this gave Tito a basis of independence from Moscow.

The partisans assisted the Soviet Red Army in driving the German forces out of Yugoslavia. The CP gained power towards the end of the Second World War, and, carrying through the elimination of capitalism, established a regime on Stalinist lines.

Tito's relative independence was in contrast to the countries of Eastern Europe where, following the victory of the Soviet Red Army against Hitler, regimes completely obedient to Stalin were set up.

The simmering conflict between the Russian and Yugoslav bureaucracies reached the point of an open split by 1948, with Tito being denounced as an "imperialist spy" and even a "fascist" in the Russian press.

Trotsky—Born 1879. Together with Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution of October 1917; organiser of the Red Ar-

my and its leader in the civil war and the successful defence of the country against 21 invading armies of imperialism.

Trotsky was deposed from the Soviet leadership after Lenin's death, in the course of the bureaucratic counter-revolution which set in. The leader of the Bolshevik Left Opposition against Stalinism, he was expelled from the Communist Party and banished to a remote rural area in 1928; then deported from the Soviet Union in 1929; and eventually murdered by an agent of Stalin, in Mexico, in 1940.

Wuhan government—In 1927 there were two rival Kuomintang governments, one in Nanking under Chiang Kai-shek, and one in Wuhan under Wang Ching-wei.

Wang, the leader of the so-called "Left" Kuomintang, nevertheless followed Chiang's example in attacking the Chinese CP and trade unions in July 1927.

Later Wang went over to open collaboration with Japanese imperialism.



PROTECT THE UNEMPLOYED!

Every week a contribution to the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) is taken off workers' pay packets. The employers, out of the profits they make from our labour, also pay into the UIF.

In June 1982 the UIF stood at a massive R253 500 000, produced completely by our labour.

Despite all this money in the UIF, few unemployed workers are getting relief.

Contract workers from the 'independent' Bantustans have been cut off from long-term UIF benefits—in spite of the fact that thousands of them had been contributing for years.

Many bosses (who usually only know their 'boys' by a first name, and then an English one) don't bother to check which of their workers are entitled to UIF, and just go on making deductions. So these workers pay for benefits they can't receive.

Workers who are entitled to UIF benefits often have to wait up to nine months before money is paid out.

Now the government plans to set up a special UIF for non-strikers, using R2 million from the UIF.

The government is responding to pressure from the white racist-led SA Iron, Steel and Allied Workers' Union, whose members tried to scab during the recent motor assembly strikes in Port Elizabeth, but were laid off by the bosses.

As far as bosses are concerned, if you don't work, you don't get paid. So this privileged section of the workers wants to be paid by the government.

In other words, if we go on strike and some of our brothers and sisters refuse to join us, they will be rewarded by the state. In particular, the state wants to isolate the white workers from the militancy of the black workers.

By this strike-breaking fund, the government hopes to drive wedges in our ranks and divide our efforts.

But the money in the UIF belongs to us. So we should decide how the money is spent.

Let us fight through our trade unions for control of that money. The trade union movement must demand control of the UIF by trade unionists elected by the rank-and-file.

We must also demand:

*full unemployment benefits for **all** workers at 100% of the present wage, linked to inflation;

*full unemployment benefits for all workers on strike;

*no special deduction from workers' wages to the UIF.

Unemployment benefits are a basic need, like education, health care etc, and should be paid for by the state without taxing the workers twice.

Koornhof tightens influx control - as bosses slash jobs

Every worker in this society precariously lives and works only by permission of the bosses. The very existence of a worker depends upon the capitalists' greed to make profit.

In 1952 the Nationalist Party government, through the ingenuity of the then Native Kaptein, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, as Minister of Native Affairs, passed the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act.

According to the Act, every African (male and female) has not only to carry a pass on his/her person, and even on his/her corpse until buried, but also to produce it on instant police demand, or face summary arrest, imprisonment and subsequent deportation to the Bantustans.

In consequence, the whole society for Africans and particularly for African workers has been reduced to an even more infernal hell. Only in the grave can African workers hope for sanctuary.

Regimenting

This state of affairs has continued unabated since the 'abolition' of passes by the Act.

The Act abolished, in fact, the up-to-then police inefficiency regarding the enforcement of the pass system for regimenting and regulating the movements of the African workers in accordance with labour requirements. Verwoerd found the evil trick for the enforcement of influx control in combining the various unwieldy passes into a Dompas, alias Reference Book.

By P. Qubulashe

Thirty years later, in 1982, this same government has, through yet another Native Kaptein, Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Cooperation and Development, introduced in parliament the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill

in an insane bid once more to tighten up influx control.

In the interests of SA capitalism—structured on African cheap migrant labour—every African is regarded as a migrant, and this is particularly so of African workers.

The NP laws in the 1950s cut down the legal period of 14 days for a migrant worker to seek work in the industrial areas to 72 hours. Now



Evicted people in Kliptown, amid the ruins of their demolished homes.



Protest meeting in Nyanga against Koornhof's new bill.

Koornhof's Bill seeks to cut it down to 17 hours or less. Underlying this savagery is the denial to Africans of the right to live in the urban areas, called 'white spots', unless they are slaving for the capitalists.

But SA capitalism necessarily feeds on African cheap labour. In conformity with this, the same laws made provisions for the retention of a certain number of African workers as required by industry, while mining, agriculture etc., are fed from the Bantustans through the labour recruiting agencies.

Thus a small section of the African labour force were given so-called Section Ten 'rights'. These could only be acquired if an African worker, not born in an urban area, has lawfully lived there for fifteen years in a stretch, or has worked for one boss for ten years in succession. In consequence, large numbers of African workers are locked up in the Bantustan labour reserve camps.

Section Ten 'Rights'

Koornhof's Bill seeks with the aid of the 'Bantu' Homelands Citizenship Act, to reduce and phase out Section Ten 'rights', ferret out Africans from urban areas and jam the outlet gates of the Bantustans. While contract workers are the first

victims of the Bill, over the heads of African workers with Section Ten 'rights' hangs the sword of Damocles.

The Riekert Commission recommendations, accepted by government, have laid down conditions for the legal presence of an African worker in the cities, based on the availability of officially approved accommodation and legal employment. An absence of one or both renders an African worker an "unauthorised person" liable to arrest, imprisonment and deportation to the Bantustans.

As the economy contracts under the impact of world recession, not only contract workers are retrenched but also workers with Section Ten 'rights'. The housing shortage is worsening, and government is trying to impose legal limits on the number of people living in a house. Thus, on both counts, fewer and fewer workers will have the right to remain in the cities.

More and more of African workers with Section Ten 'rights' will have their heads equally rolling under the blade of the labour guillotine.

According to the Bill, an "unauthorised person" seeking work in the urban areas will face, if arrested between 10pm and 5am, a sentence of six months' imprisonment or a fine of R500.

There have always been night-time curfews on African workers impos-

ed in cities and towns. Koornhof's Bill is to extend this curfew to the townships. It is a 10pm to 5am curfew to operate not only in the dark streets but also on the rough, cold floors of the township slums as the police, to enforce the observance of the law, must increasingly mount night raids.

Capitalist weapon

It is obvious that no worker can be in a position to pay a fine of R500. In consequence, he must land in jail for six months instead of getting a job for which, in any case, it is an offence to look.

It is an inherent law of capitalism to exploit and pay workers low wages, and keep, in reserve, an army of unemployed.

But it is typically SA capitalism to lock up workers in labour reserves without the bare necessities of life, and lock them up in jail if they dare, as they must, escape from these labour camps to the cities in search of employment.

After locking the workers in jail, though, the capitalists are pleased to come and take them out again, provided they will work for them for nothing, as convict labour.

In the final analysis, influx control is a foul weapon in the hands of the capitalists to fight and subdue the

working class.

The militancy and the developing trade union movement of the black working class have driven the capitalist class into a state of frightful nightmare. The old days of relative passivity of the black working class are over.

Thus the present ongoing struggle of the black working class is, for the capitalists, like a sudden raising of the head and tensing of the muscles by a giant long kept in chains, and presumed subdued for ever.

In fear of the present turn of events in the class struggle and the economic downturn, a treacherous enemy like the capitalist class can only hope to survive by throwing at the working class every weapon at its disposal.

Even before Koornhof's Bill has become law its brutal provisions are already being implemented against contract workers in the Cape and on the Rand.

The reason behind this insanity is the fact that major industrial sectors are experiencing the effects of the recession. The capitalists, as a result, have embarked upon a programme of mass retrenchments, reducing working hours, suspending overtime, and cutting down on labour recruitment.

Capitalist lunacy

The aim of this capitalist lunacy is to cut production, with the further deadly effect of worsening social poverty—the main victims of which are workers, particularly African workers.

Faced with these worsening hardships, the workers have no other choice except to struggle against the capitalists and their state.

It is in fear of this struggle that the state, in defence of the capitalist class, has launched its offensive against workers. This malevolent little man Koornhof has ordered that *contract workers should not be permitted to change jobs, and those already fallen victim of retrenchment should not be re-employed but be endorsed out to the Bantustans.*

This is a deliberate effort to weaken the workforce by scattering retrenched workers to the Bantustans, forcing those still employed into submission to the profit-making cravings of the capitalists, flinging in-

to jail those defying the influx control regulations.

The whole battery of influx control legislation is a wide-ranging political attack on the working class. The endorsement of African workers to the Bantustans as a result of retrenchments—no fault of workers—and as a result of losing jobs for whatever reason—again, no fault of workers—is the meanest, most treacherous way of handling workers by the capitalists.

Banishment

But the capitalists also use influx control legislation to deal with militant workers, trade unionists and political activists. Under the influx control measures, workers stand to lose even their entire leadership at one stroke as the state banishes them to the Bantustans.

Here, workers are not only subjected to the worst economic hardships and psychologically debilitating scourges, but are also politically preyed upon by the Bantustan zombie governments.

The harassment and battering of the African workers by the capitalist state with its use of the vile influx control measures are all aimed, finally, at defeat of the entire workforce. Thus the influx control legislation is nothing else but a capitalist legislation to bring into submission the entire SA labour force in all its racial components.

It is upon the migrant labour system that SA capitalism stands. It

is equally by influx control, which regulates migrant labour like a conveyor belt, that SA capitalism is protected. In a nutshell, the migrant labour system is the nerve centre or the life-blood of SA capitalism.

Thus the capitalist class cannot think in any other way but to maintain the migrant labour system. Influx control is the political and legislative machinery to preserve the migrant labour system at whatever cost.

The moral indignation of 'liberals', often puffed up as a make-believe attack on the state, calling on it to scrap influx control, creates false hopes in the minds of the African workers that it is possible for the capitalist state to abolish influx control.

To abolish influx control necessarily means to abolish migrant labour, the pass system, and consequently capitalism itself. No amount of moralising, however, can bring to an end capitalist rule.

It is only the organised might of the workers that is capable of resisting the legislative and political armoury of the capitalist class. It is only this might that is capable, finally, of bringing an end to racism and capitalism.

To achieve this goal—the liberation of the blacks from racist oppression; of the working class from capitalist exploitation; of society from capitalist rule—workers must organise themselves in their millions.

Thus to fight influx control effectively, the immediate task facing workers and revolutionary youth is to build revolutionary trade unions, and the ANC on a socialist programme.

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Swaziland -

Rulers and bosses get rich while workers starve

It is just over 14 years ago (on 6 September 1968) that British imperialism was forced to grant political independence to Swaziland.

Independence has meant the enrichment of the foreign monopolies and traditional

By Florence Bosch

rulers. But, for the Swazi masses, impoverishment has increased.

Libby's—80% controlled by Nestle, 10% by the Swazi government,

and 10% by the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC)—is a multi-national company with extensive plantation and canning interests in Swaziland.

Women working for Libby's revealed recently the full horror of their working conditions.

In an interview in the *SA Labour Bulletin* (April 1982) they told how they work long hours unprotected against fruit juices which ulcerate their skin; how they sleep at night overcrowded in makeshift shacks without water or sanitation, at the mercy of slumlords who demand E10 (= R10) for the 'privilege'; how they fear pregnancy, which usually means dismissal; and how insecure they are as casual labourers, who in spite of many year's service must join the job queue each year and take the starting wage of 44c per hour.

And most of all they complained of the wages paid. After deductions, they take home E21.08 every two weeks. The permanent workers get, on average, E38 per fortnight for a 56 hour week.

With permission from the Deputy Prime Minister, the company is allowed to pay below the established minimum wage. When the season is over, and the pressure of work eases, the working week is cut and their wages reduced as a result.

And when the bosses can squeeze no more from them, and they are bent with fatigue and disease, they are cast out.

Their conditions of life are no different to those of factory and plantation workers elsewhere in Swaziland. In July 1977, the legal minimum for a labourer in the sugar manufacturing industry was 115c per day; in construction, 20c per hour.

Although wages have remained low, prices have rocketed. According to government figures, prices of goods bought by low income groups increased 100% since 1975.

The Swazi workers are needed for unskilled labour; capitalism has no interest in them apart from that. So by the mid-1970s, only 25% of the population could read and write. Of those over 25 years of age, 73% had no schooling, and 0.4% had some kind of post-secondary school education.

In 1976, there was one hospital bed



On sugar plantations even children are forced into wage labour.

for every 294 people; one doctor for every 10 000. With the majority of the population living in dreadful poverty, exposed to the hazards of poverty-related diseases like T.B., it is hardly surprising that the average person lives no longer than 46 years.

Swaziland gained political independence not because the British imperialists suffered a change of heart and became freedom lovers rather than oppressors, but because their position was weakened, internationally as well as at home, after the Second World War. The tides of resistance were pounding on their colonial doorsteps.

British imperialism realised that political independence of its colonies was a necessary price to pay to defend its long-term economic and political interests. It carefully sought allies within the colonies with whom it could make political deals against the colonial masses.

If independence was resisted too long, it feared, the colonial masses would destroy not only the colonial administration, but the economic robbery it protected.

Deal

So it was with Swaziland, tiny though it is (just over 500 000 people today on 1 736 400 hectares). Resistance of the small working class (numbering about 30 000 in 1972) during the 1960s forced Britain to make a deal with the traditional rulers (*the King, his family and the chiefs*) and draw them into a common defence of capitalist interests.

A wave of strikes hit the mines, saw mills, processing factories, plantations, ranches and railyards of Swaziland. Usutu Pulp, Ubombo Ranches, Peak Timbers and Swaziland Plantations were a few among them.

Strikers' demands again and again hammered the same theme—better wages, better housing, better food and working conditions, and an end to the repressive Nduna system so ardently supported by the King.

The strikes gave impetus to the building of trade unions, like the Pulp and Timber Workers Union, the Railway Workers Union and the

Mineworkers Union.

One of the most important strikes took place at Havelock Asbestos Mine in May 1963. In June, a virtual general strike took place in the Mbabane area in support of the Havelock workers, many of whom had been arrested.

Strikes

A further spate of strikes followed that at Havelock, taking up the miners' demand for R2 per day.

The British Resident Commissioner, alarmed by this growing resistance, appealed to the King for help. But the King could do nothing but make empty appeals, which the workers completely disregarded.

The Commissioner's alarm was not only on account of the enormous pressure for higher wages, but also because increasing numbers of strikers were rejecting the British constitutional proposals for independence.

By the end of 1963, 66 000 days in labour time had been lost. From mid-June the British began to fly troops from Kenya. On arrival, they set to work rounding up and arresting thousands of workers, and coercing them back to work.

After elections in June 1964, a new wave of strikes opened up in Manzini and Sidvokodvo. Strikes of agricultural workers were broken up by police in 1965.

As a result of state harassment, and the lack of clear political leadership, the workers' militancy temporarily subsided. The British wiped their brows with relief, and handed the reins of power to the King in alliance with white settlers and foreign capitalists.

Although many of the whites had initially resisted independence, they realised that strong backing for the King and a tightly-controlled constitution would be the best way of protecting their interests.

In the 1972 elections, the workers expressed their rage by voting in large numbers for the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, which, although led by the middle class, had been involved in a number of strikes. To find a basis of support in their campaign against the King's Imbokodvo Party, the leadership had

turned to the working class.

In the 1964 elections, the NNLC had got 12% of the vote; in the 1972 elections they got their first three members of parliament. The King's party swept the elections because of its ability to demand support in the Trust Lands, whose inhabitants are the King's direct tenants.

But the King's victory didn't diminish his rage and fear. He regarded the election of these three NNLC MPs as an insult to his authority and a threat to his security. With strike waves mounting in Durban, he decided to act quickly to nip any resistance movement in the bud.

Failing in his efforts to deport one of the opposition MPs, he suspended the constitution and banned all political parties. Trade unions, although not formally banned, were heavily restricted by security legislation. The King, and other employers, pushed a system of workers' councils and Ndunas.

But constitutions can be suspended more easily than poverty. By 1973, the average unskilled working class household was living at **48% of the Poverty Datum Line**. Although not on the scale of the 1960s, worker resistance continued.

Anger

In 1977, in the aftermath of Soweto, students and teachers came out on strike together in support of teacher's wage demands. A strike of sugar workers in 1979 continued the struggle for a better deal.

Under the pressure of simmering anger and discontent from below, the King was forced to make the pretence of reconvening Parliament in 1979.

But this was just for show; parliament is a talking shop with no real decision-making powers. Power remains in the hands of the Monarch and the royally appointed advisers. With the death of Sobhuza in August this year his mantle has passed to the Queen Mother. Political parties remain banned.

So independence has not meant liberation of the Swazi masses from oppression. On the contrary, it has meant that capitalism could continue its robbery at an even greater pace, behind the smokescreen of

The British Princess Anne visited Swaziland in October to help boost the prestige of British imperialism and the Swazi royal rulers.



Swaziland, previously an independent African kingdom, was ruled as a British colony from the 1870s until 1968 (except between 1894 and 1902 when it was ruled by the Transvaal Republic).

Imperialism carved its boundaries, leaving it a small, dependent land-locked country surrounded by South Africa and Mozambique. Not content with this, however, imperialism also proceeded to dispossess Swazi tribespeople of their land.

By 1914, the Swazi had been pushed off two-thirds of their land, and confined to reserves or 'Trust Lands'—the poorest land, scattered about in 35 pieces. The rest of the land was in the hands of farmers and speculators who had grabbed and countergrabbed Swazi soil since the mid 1880s.

The aim of this relentless policy of dispossession was the same as that in South Africa itself—to force tribesmen off their land and 'free' it for use by white farmers, and to force tribesmen from the reserves into wage labour on the farms and mines.

This was achieved by the imposing of cash taxes. Those imposed on Swazis were often higher than those imposed in South Africa.

Although the Trust Lands have now been increased to 55% of the total land area, 44% of the land is still held by a small group of multinational companies and white farmers.

'independence'.

The monarchy has aided and abetted the capitalist robbers. Not only has it lent its weight to the repression of strikes and trade unions, but itself has become a major investor in Swazi agriculture and industry, in alliance with foreign capital.

At independence the King on behalf of the 'nation' was given the National Land (now 55% of the total) and mineral rights. Money from mineral royalties was used to increase the National Land, but also to swell the coffers of what is in effect a private trust—the Tiboyo Taka Ngwane Fund—whose trustees are appointed by the King.

Answerable to neither the Ministry of Finance nor Parliament, this fund

(and another set up along the same lines) has been used to promote the financial interests of the monarchy in agriculture and industry. This has been done directly—such as its investment in the new sugar development at Simunye—and indirectly, through taking shares in foreign multinationals like Turner and Newall, Lonrho, Swazi Breweries, Rennies, CDC, etc.

“Trouble-makers”

It is little wonder that with these financial interests, the King was in the habit of describing trade unions as 'un-Swazi' and strikers as 'troublemakers'!

Independence meant that those that had, got more. After independence the foreign monopolies—especially those based in Britain and SA—tightened their stranglehold on Swaziland's natural resources.

Foreign investors smile on Swaziland, not only because of the rich, well-watered soil and lavish tax concessions, but because labour is cheap and stripped of effective political and trade union rights.

The 44% of the land owned privately belongs to a small handful of foreign companies, Transvaal farmers (who use their Swazi farms for winter grazing) and white settler farmers. Forests, sugar cane, citrus and cattle cover most of this land,

which is producing mainly for export.

The giants in plantation agriculture and ranching are British-based CDC, Tate and Lyle, and Courtaulds, together with the Anglo American Corporation.

SA capital

SA capital predominates also in construction, commerce and tourism. Not only does it control the Swazi economy through direct investment, but exerts its stranglehold in many other ways. As a result Swaziland has no more economic independence than an 'independent' Bantustan.

For example, to move its imports and exports, Swaziland depends largely on rail links through SA and on SA ports. 80% of imports come from SA.

As a member of the Southern African Customs Union and Monetary Union, government economic policy is effectively determined from Pretoria. Although Swaziland has its own currency, this is completely backed by the Rand, which is also legal money.

Not only does SA sway economic policy, but it can apply pressure to prevent industries developing in Swaziland in competition with its own. It has already done this in relation to a planned fertiliser plant.

Televisions can only be produced in Swaziland because SA has allowed a given quota to be sold on the SA market each year. Without this, the venture would have been impossible. Swaziland has natural resources which could be harnessed to generate and export electricity—but this would depend on SA being prepared to buy it. Swaziland alone lacks the internal market to make it viable.

Imperialism, particularly through the domination of SA capitalism, has left the Swazi people impoverished and deprived.

The tribal lands are hopelessly overcrowded, overgrazed and eroded. In 1976, 40 700 families lived on the National Land, and 15 000 on the freehold land, making up 75% of the population.

Unable to eke a living from the land, men, women and even children are forced into the factories and on to the farms and plantations in search of wage labour, not only in

Swaziland, but in SA as well, where some 30 000 are employed.

As wage labourers they confront the appalling conditions that South African workers know so well.

As the effects of international recession bite deeper, conditions will worsen. Unemployment in SA will combine with growing unemployment in Swaziland to increase the burden of poverty. Every year now, 7 000 school-leavers are coming on to the market to compete for 2 400 new jobs.

Like all the countries of the Third World, Swaziland is particularly vulnerable to the ups and downs of the world economy. 'Developed' only to the extent that it provided the labour and raw materials required by imperialism, Swaziland remains completely dependent on the produce of agriculture, and most importantly, sugar.

Agriculture contributes about one third of Gross Domestic Product (a measure of the wealth created in Swaziland in a year). Including subsistence farming, three quarters of the labour force work on the land.

From the sale of exports (the bulk of which are agricultural) Swaziland must import the oil, machinery and equipment it needs, buying and selling on terms laid down by the world market.

Manufacturing industry (which contributes about one quarter of GDP) is almost wholly tied to agriculture in that it has developed on the basis of processing agricultural produce. Most important is sugar and wood pulp processing, which, together with fruit-canning, account for 80% of income from manufacturing.

Sugar industry

The sugar industry lies at the heart of Swaziland's economic survival. Making up three quarters of the total value of agricultural production and half the value of exports, it provides directly or indirectly the source of livelihood of 60 000 people. With the development of the Simunye sugar project, Swaziland will become the second largest sugar producer in Africa.

Its heavy reliance on sugar makes

Swaziland particularly vulnerable to world sugar prices. While a quarter of output has guaranteed markets under a quota system, three quarters must be sold on the open market, in competition with South Africa and other sugar-producing countries.

Already the Swazi economy has been tossed to and fro by ups and downs in the world sugar price. A sharp rise in the 1970s encouraged the government and business to vastly expand production, and foreign loans were raised to assist this. But in the early 1980s, the price fell, and with the present economic downturn, world commodity prices will be unstable.

Swaziland in 1981 had a deficit of E60 million on the balance of payments and will soon confront serious problems in repaying its foreign debts. In this crisis, even greater attacks will be launched against the working people.

Terrible poverty will force the Swazi workers again and again to struggle against their conditions of existence. There will be no end to this battle so long as the farms, mines and factories remain in capitalist hands.

The experience of independence shows that there can be no real liberation from oppression so long as the land and factories are in the grip of capitalism.

More and more in the struggle ahead the question will be raised of who controls the land, mines and factories.

Real independence for the Swazi people will mean taking control of the ranches, plantations and commercial farms, and running these on a collective basis in the interests of society. Industry and mining will also need to be brought into public ownership under workers' control and management. With the profits from agriculture, money could be spent to improve production in the National Land and expand industry.

But this can only be achieved by linking the revolution in Swaziland with the South African revolution. Only when capitalist power in SA is broken down will it be possible to break its back in Swaziland. Democratic planning could open SA to Swazi goods, make resources available for Swazi development, and open up a period of prosperity and security for the whole of Southern Africa.

PAKISTAN Five years of dictatorship

On 17 October Dutch police armed with Sten guns stormed the homes of Pakistani exiles in Holland, and wrecked the offices of the newspaper *The Struggle: Voice of Socialism in the Pakistan Peoples Party and the Labour Movement*, from which this article is reprinted.

The Dutch authorities, claiming to have uncovered a "conspiracy to hijack an aeroplane", launched this as a major security operation. Over 500 plain-clothed and heavily armed police were involved; and tanks ringed Amsterdam airport. Eighteen Pakistani socialists were arrested and bundled into police stations where they were stripped and interrogated. Dutch supporters of *The Struggle* were also held.

In reality the raid was engineered by the Pakistani secret service as the latest attempt by President Zia to smash *The Struggle* and its supporters. But this new 'dirty trick' by Zia's military dictatorship backfired. No evidence could be found to implicate those arrested in any way.

As a result of the pressure rapidly brought to bear by the labour and trade union movement in Holland, all those arrested were eventually released.

In fact *The Struggle* completely rejects the methods of hijacking and terrorism. As this article explains, the Pakistani masses can rid themselves of dictatorship only by a struggle which links democratic and social demands to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of democratic workers' states throughout the sub-continent.

This means a struggle led by the working class, organising and mobilising on a Marxist programme.

It is because it puts forward these policies that *The Struggle*, although in existence for only two years, has evoked a strong echo among the working masses struggling against Zia's brutal military dictatorship.

As the events in Holland show, *The Struggle* and its supporters are regarded as dangerous opponents by the Zia regime and its imperialist backers.



Anti-Zia demonstrators protest Bhutto's execution.

On 5 July the most vicious regime Pakistan has ever experienced completed five years of military rule.

Zia's dictatorship has survived, despite committing acts of unprecedented cruelty and barbarism. Hundreds of thousands of people have been jailed for their political beliefs; thousands have been flogged, and hundreds shot, as, for example, during the police attack on workers at the Colony Textile mills in Multan.

The outraged world watched in horror as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Hamid Baluch were hung. During the last five years the struggle between the oppressor and oppressed classes has come increasingly into the open.

The politicians—puppets of the capitalists—are collaborating with the regime to further their own interests. All the ministers in Zia's government are direct representatives of Pakistan's capitalists and landlords.

The military Junta has tried various methods to prolong its rule. After the coup in 1977 Zia promised to hold elections within ninety days. In 1978 the regime attempted to divert public attention from its brutality by claiming it was ridding the country of corrupt politicians and by framing Bhutto in a murder case.

In 1979/80 the dictatorship promised "Islamic rule" in order to whip up and exploit religious feelings. In 1980/81 its appeal was to national unity and security. And this year the gimmick is an "advisory council" established to give the dictatorship a "democratic" appearance.

Throughout the period a tremendous propaganda campaign has been conducted in the newspapers, television and radio, attempting to improve the image of this hated Junta.

Military puppets

Internationally the US and other imperialist governments have always backed their puppet military regimes in Pakistan; and following the revolution in Afghanistan, world imperialism has provided Zia with all the support he needs to suppress the Pakistani masses. **While millions of our people live in poverty the USA is arming the junta with billions of dollars worth of military hardware.**

Pakistan has been under army rule for 18 of its 35 years' history. This is the third military regime imposed on our people. Before Zia, Generals Ayub and Yahya acted as agents for capitalism and imperialism. For ten

years before Ayub Khan Pakistan was ruled by a series of unconstitutional and corrupt governments which made a mockery of democracy.

An analysis of the creation of Pakistan clearly indicates that British imperialism only relinquished direct control of the country in favour of indirect economic control. "Independence" in 1947 was granted in name only, for the state machinery stayed in the hands of the exploiting class. As far as the masses were concerned the only difference between the old colonialists and the new ruling elite was—skin colour!

But the Pakistani capitalist class was too weak to establish itself as a force in the world economy. It could not compete with the big monopolies of the imperialist countries. This national bourgeoisie thus became the local representative of international capitalist interests in Pakistan. It wields power on behalf of the British and other imperialist powers.

As Karl Marx said "Conditions determine consciousness". Politics arise out of economics. Those who have economic control have ruled through politicians and military dictators.

But in 1971, after 23 years of oppressive regimes, for the first time a democratically elected government came to power in Pakistan: Bhutto's PPP government.

The PPP government

The Pakistan Peoples Party was strengthened by the defeat of the army in Bangladesh and the widespread demonstrations against General Yahya Khan's junta.

Immediately after taking power the PPP announced its commitment to reforming agriculture, education, health, housing, industry and all aspects of life for the workers and peasants.

But the corrupt state machinery was left intact! The bureaucracy remained hostile to the masses and continued to act as the instrument for capitalist rule. The Pakistan Peoples Party failed to educate and organise the workers and peasants in support of the implementation of its reforms.

Therefore the reforms could not make any fundamental improvement to the people's living condi-

tions. Instead rich landlords such as Sadia Hussein Qureshi, Nawab Abbas Khan Abbasi, the Khotak Khandan and the Nawab of Kalat were chosen to run provincial governments.

Democratic principles were established on paper but never put into practice. Instead the government used section 144 of the Public Order Act to suppress public gatherings.

Coup

As a result the National Alliance (PNA), a right wing grouping of various political parties, gained some support amongst the masses. In the 1977 general elections it won 35% of votes. Then, claiming the ballot had been rigged, the PNA refused to accept Bhutto's overall majority and attempted to play on religious feelings. Its call for the "Rule of Islam" was eventually answered by General Zia's coup.

At partition, Pakistan inherited an army which had imposed imperialism on the peoples of the sub-continent and smashed many national strug-

gles. The officers had been exclusively chosen from the landlord class—the class most faithful to British Imperialism—with the most reactionary types being preferred.

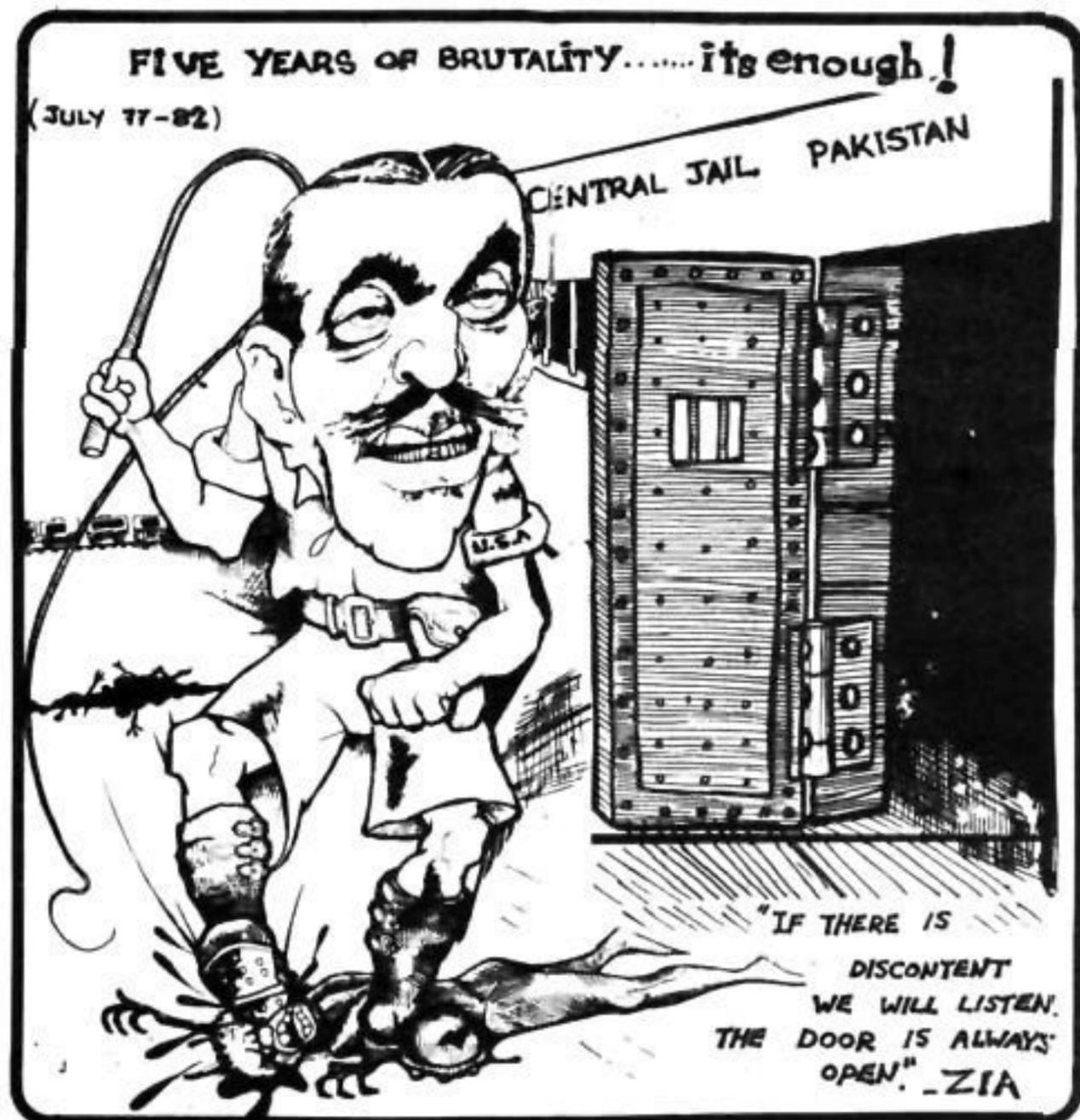
Immediately after independence the military was still too weak to play any significant role in politics, but behind the scenes the generals were busy strengthening the army and building links with the capitalists and landlords.

The inability of capitalism to raise living standards, and the politicians' failure to control the masses, forced the capitalists and landlords to turn to the use of naked force and the army. General Ayub Khan was installed in power in 1958 and the military ruled until 1971.

Zia takes power

For a brief spell the forms of capitalist democracy were readopted. Then once again, their system plunging from one crisis to another, the capitalists turned to the army, and Zia came to power in July 1977.

In any country the army comes to power as a result of an acute



economic and social crisis. In doing so it reveals the weakness of the capitalist system in that country and the army's true colours as a weapon of the ruling class.

It was the army's severe defeat in Bangladesh in 1971 which prompted the experiment with civilian politics. But even the limited democracy after 1971 allowed the masses openly to organise for their rights and better conditions.

When this movement began to threaten the state itself, the capitalists gave the army the go-ahead to reimpose its rule. The vicious circle of military junta and bourgeois democracy turns only to defend capitalism.

During the political crisis which followed the March 1977 general election the generals perfected their justification for the planned coup. Following the putsch in July they announced that they had taken power solely to ensure that free and fair elections took place.

Zia promised a swift return to the barracks (*Newsweek*, 18 July 1977). The promise succeeded in temporarily lulling the masses' resistance.

But Zia's first act was to ban all trade union and political activity. The moment restrictions were eased the masses turned towards the PPP. Begum Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto addressed enormous gatherings.

Mass support for PPP

The people's enthusiasm stemmed from the PPP's programme which promised a better life and classless society, rid of capitalism and landlordism.

Although the PPP government had not implemented this programme, it had raised expectations and roused the masses, for it promised a future far better than that offered by the PNA or the junta.

But in Pakistan as in the rest of the "third world," it would be impossible to implement even modest reforms without the elimination of landlordism and capitalism.

The prospect that the PPP might be returned to power on the basis of such a programme made future elections too dangerous for the army and the interests it represents.

On 6 October 1977 the PNA talk-

ed Zia into cancelling the elections. No clear lead was offered by the PPP leadership but party activists began a campaign to free Bhutto.

On 16 October the rank and file took to the streets, demonstrators were arrested and many were later flogged as the army attempted to terrorise the masses into submission. Nevertheless the continued willingness of the rank and file to struggle has been demonstrated on many occasions, and remains an immeasurable asset to the PPP.

However, rightwing members of the PPP leadership under Kosar Niazi had no stomach for a fight against the army and disowned the actions of the rank and file. Without an organised direction and ideological content, large scale resistance petered out.

Workers massacred

In November, Zia announced that elections would be held at the end of 1978. The judiciary was purged and a decree of the Supreme Court recognising the Junta's government was used to give a veneer of legitimacy to a lawless regime.

Thus the "civilian generals" of the judges were mobilised to support the army generals. The decree was followed by widespread and indiscriminate arrests and detentions.

January 1978 saw the police massacre of 133 strikers at Colony Textile Mills in Multan—an unprecedented event in Pakistani history. Fear and demoralisation swept the Pakistani labour movement and no general struggle developed. Further arrest waves took place in early 1978 and then came the sentence of death pronounced on Bhutto by Lahore High court.

Following these events, the regime attempted to establish a social base. A civilian cabinet, composed of rightwing politicians notable for their greed and self-interest was set up and a massive propaganda campaign was conducted.

But Zia's intention to retain power was made clear when he became president of the cabinet and postponed elections for another year.

A renewed opposition to the regime was stirring among PPP activists who demanded a struggle

against the government. Once more, however, the right-wing leadership betrayed the rank and file by arguing for negotiations with the junta!

The militant activists formed the Peoples' Action Committee but this, lacking a correct strategy, only survived for a few weeks during September/October 1978. The leadership of the Committee encouraged the public suicide of a number of activists believing their heroic example could trigger off a mass movement.

Inspired by their hatred of the regime and admiration for Bhutto, six PPP members set fire to themselves and the PAC issued a call for a general strike.

But this emotional appeal had little effect on the masses. No attempt had been made to mobilise workers and peasants around the party programme linked to their everyday needs and struggles. Nor had the PAC built the unified left necessary to sustain a successful action against the regime. The Committee fell apart in disarray.

The hijacking

The tactic of hijacking has similarly proved unsuccessful. In 1981 the seizure of a Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) plane by certain members of the PPP did not, as intended, advance the masses' cause but, on the contrary, strengthened the state.

The attack provided the junta with a pretext for a political crackdown.

The hijacking of a PIA airplane in 1981 did not advance the masses' cause, as intended, but strengthened the state. 6 000 people were arrested in the month following the hijack.



Women demonstrators clash with police in the time of Bhutto's government. The PPP, despite mass support, continued to administer the capitalist system and used the Public Order Act to suppress public gatherings.

Amnesty International reported that 6 000 people were arrested in the month following the hijack alone. Thousands more were harassed and beaten up.

An even more serious effect was that the hijack diverted effort and attention from the real task necessary if the regime is to be overthrown: the building of a **mass movement**.

Such acts by small groups do not "inspire" the masses but rather suggest to them that their own role is unimportant, and make them feel powerless.

They also obscure the understanding of workers in other countries as to the nature of the struggle in Pakistan.

Pretext

The hijacking also served as a pretext for government attack on unions, beginning with those in the PIA. The exploitation of workers is always worst where there are no effective trade unions to safeguard their interests.

The PIA unions were suppressed—except for that controlled by the fascist organisation Jamaat-e-Islami, which was given complete freedom. The clampdown at PIA was used as an example to other unions.

In December 1981 police fired on workers at Karachi Steel Mills.

Twelve were wounded. And yet in the same month, right wing members of the PPP participated on Zia's newly-formed "Advisory Council!"

This council has revealed the true class colours of such gentlemen. It also indicates the increasing instability of the regime, which is trying once more to build itself a social base and take on the guise of democratic consultation.

The present world economic recession has increased its effects on Pakistan. As the economic situation worsens the national structure of the country is threatened. People begin to believe changes in national status might help solve their problems.

This is true in all four provinces but especially in Baluchistan with its long history of oppression. It is true that the majority of big capitalists and army generals are Punjabi, and "leftist" leaders tend to encourage nationalist feelings.

But the issue is fundamentally one of class: the exploitation of the Baluchi masses stems from the capitalist and feudal conditions in which they live. If these are not challenged, national rearrangement will be like independence in 1947: a change of master perhaps but little material gain.

We would not argue for the break up of Pakistan as a way out of the crisis although we recognise the right of self-determination of all nationalities. **We should not pretend**

that the problems of the Baluchis, Pathans, Sindis or Punjabis will be solved by their respective ruling classes exploiting them in separate states.

Only a Socialist transformation of the economy within whatever political framework is most appropriate can offer a way forward. And the maximum co-operation between the toilers in all four provinces is vital if Zia's powerful army is to be defeated.

Foreign Aid

Following the Afghan Revolution and Russian intervention, imperial backing to Zia has become quite open, and has reached astronomical proportions.

In 1981 following the dictator's visit to America the US loaned Pakistan \$3.2 billion and the World Bank gave it \$107 million aid.

These "gifts" serve to place our country even tighter in the imperialist grip.

The present loans were made under condition that government subsidies on essentials were reduced. Thus it is the workers and peasants who must pay for imperialist generosity.

Zia's attempt to establish an "Islamic Economy" seeks to exploit the religious beliefs of the Pakistani

people and to legitimise the financial system. But changes made are only superficial. Interest (which is against Islamic law—*Editor*) has been renamed profit. A separate counter has been established in banks for customers wishing to donate their "profit" to the government!

But the capitalist system is built around "interest" and could not survive without it. It would only be possible to eliminate private exploitative interest if the roots of capitalism were eradicated.

Lessons for the future

The regime is unstable and riddled with weaknesses. It rests on the narrow social base of the capitalists and landlords who can offer no way forward economically and socially. Indeed the continued existence and growing harshness of the junta stems from the inability of the bourgeois to defend their position in any other way.

Yet the dictatorship knows that repression and economic hardship cannot indefinitely prevent resistance, and will indeed make it more determined and widespread. The situation is at present potentially explosive: the masses may erupt onto the streets at any time (as they did in 1968 and 1970).

Thus the government also attempts to defuse class struggles which contain the seeds of mass resistance. For example, it uses *agents provocateurs* in the unions and tries to demoralise strikers through prolonged negotiations. Dedicated class fighters are an especial target and are singled out for the harshest punishment.

Today it is crucial that those who oppose Zia seriously consider which strategy should be adopted in order to bring down the regime.

"Reconciliation" and dialogue with the government means acceptance and legitimisation of a brutal dictatorship which cannot solve a single one of the country's problems. There is no widespread tradition of guerilla warfare in Pakistan and little likelihood of its success. Individual acts, such as public suicide, voluntary arrests and urban terrorism have failed to bring the masses out onto the streets.

Rallies, strikes, demonstrations have been the methods by which the people of Pakistan brought down Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan. Today the masses' sympathies lie with the PPP but they are not as yet prepared to act upon them.

The problem is not one of courage or self-sacrifice. These are qualities the people have demonstrated countless times. Yet they do so only when they believe there is a real chance of improving their conditions.

They know that the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (a broad alliance against the regime) is led by the same old landlord and capitalist politicians who previously failed to solve any of their problems. A clear fighting programme and a well thought out plan of action is needed if a mass movement is to be organised.

End landlordism and capitalism

The PPP must put forward such a programme and strategy. It must get rid of the landlords and capitalists in its leadership and unite all those genuinely seeking to struggle in the interests of the workers and peasants.

Instead of spending its efforts pressurising the regime through the MRD, the PPP must take its programme on economic and social issues to the masses.

The struggle against Zia must be linked to the struggle against capitalism and landlordism. The grip of imperialism and the stultification it has brought to our country must be broken and this is only possible through a socialist transformation of the economy ●

INQABA NEEDS CASH!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**INQABA YA BASEBENZI,
BM Box 1719, London
WC1N 3XX**

FOR A R100 NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE!

Poverty wages has always been one of the worst problems faced by black workers. The need to struggle for better wages has pushed hundreds of thousands into struggle.

On the East Rand over the past year, the demand for R2 an hour spread among the 25 000 workers involved in strikes. Often the demand was for a R2 per hour increase, with MAWU, CWIU, AFCWU, and CUSA unions all involved.

To the fainthearts who say that in no case was the demand won, and that it is a mistake to demand a national minimum wage of R100 a week because 'the system cannot afford it', we reply: workers cannot wait to feed their families and pay their bills.

The determination of the workers to abolish poverty has been reflected in the demand of the Freedom Charter: **There shall be a national minimum wage!** In 1977 SACTU put this demand at R50 per week, linked to rising prices, as being the minimum that workers need to live.

At today's prices, this demand would be equal to at least R100 a week.

But the bosses as well as the government have always been totally opposed to paying black workers a living wage. The whole capitalist economy in SA has been built on the foundations of cheap labour and national oppression.

Not only the most reactionary employers but also the so-called 'liberal' capitalists have paid their workers starvation wages. There is nothing surprising about the fact that the biggest 'liberal', Oppenheimer, is also the biggest employer of sweated migrant labour.

In practice these gentlemen and ladies show that their real loyalty lies not to their 'humanitarian' principles but to the capitalist system of squeezing huge profits from cheap labour.

But over the last years the



Mitchell's Plain residents demonstrate at Cape Town Civic Centre against increased electricity charges.

By Ariel Simpson

employers have been finding that their traditional methods of police repression are no longer enough to hold the workers down. Pressed by massive strike waves—many for higher wages—and faced with the unions the workers have built up, the ruling class are resorting also to 'theoretical' arguments to justify their parasitical system.

'Liberal'

One such effort has been the article by the 'liberal' professor Jill Natrass entitled *Minimum Wage Legislation*, which succeeds in proving that, under capitalism, workers cannot hope for a living wage (*Black Sash* magazine, May 1982).

The basis of her argument is clear. The bosses produce for profit only.

To push profits up, they try to keep costs down; and to them, 'labour' is a cost like any other.

Therefore, she explains, under a capitalist government any 'national minimum wage' would only be a hollow mockery of the workers' demand for an adequate income:

"The minimum wage for a particular job might perhaps be stated in terms of 'not less than 60% of the average in the industry in that area for that occupation...' This process is not unlike the one at present in use by the Wage Board which bases its decisions largely on what it considers to be the industry's ability to pay." (Emphasis added.)

Indeed, madam, and that is why all over this country the bosses continue, even now in a recession, to make huge profits while we and our families can barely exist on what the Wage Board considers the "in-

dustry's ability to pay".

The "industry's ability to pay" is also quoted by Gold Fields of SA and Gencor as a reason for paying starvation wages to black miners. The increases granted in July, well below the rate of inflation, led to immediate action by thousands of workers before being bloodily crushed by the Chamber of Mines and the state forces.

This followed on the declaration by GfSA of after-tax profits of R602 million for the year ending 30 June 1982, while Gencor's profits have been growing by an average of 29% for the past ten years!

Having thus 'disposed' of the arguments for a minimum wage, Natrass puts the case against. A legal minimum wage, she says, will affect job creation:

"Firms which cannot pay the national minimum wage will be put out of business, the overall cost of labour will be increased, profits will be reduced, affecting adversely the rate at which jobs will be created."

Employers, she explains, would switch to more 'capital-intensive' methods—i.e., using more machinery and less workers—and "the number of individuals in poverty may rise as a result of a minimum wage".

Learned nonsense and treacherous deception

In particular, she claims, a minimum wage would weaken the position of what she calls "less preferred workers" (i.e., groups of workers who are treated by employers as being 'less productive', whether they are or not, such as migrant workers).

She actually seems to believe that if a minimum wage of, say, R100 per week was introduced for miners, the Chamber of Mines would immediately rush off to get white workers from abroad at R300 or R400 per week—the black miners being, as she puts it, "less preferred"!

Workers will recognise the professor's learned arguments for the nonsense and the treacherous deception that they are. We do not need to 'prove' our right to a living wage that will enable us to share fully in the wealth of the country (which is pro-

duced by our labour in any case). The only questions are: who should determine a national minimum wage, what should it be, and how can it be won?

The bosses, their Market Research bureaux and their paid hacks in the universities, publish what they call the 'Household Subsistence Level' (HSL) for a family of six. We do not accept this HSL. Our figure for a national minimum wage will be determined by our organisations, by our trade unions, by housewives who know better than anyone else what it costs to live, and by genuine community organisations.

In deciding the amount of the minimum wage, workers will take into consideration:

- What do we need **now** to feed and clothe our families properly as food and clothing prices continue to increase?
- How much do we need now to pay for rent and fuel and how can we pay the increases being imposed?
- How much do we need for buses, taxis and train fares—for leisure and work—when they continue to be increased by huge amounts?
- How much do we need for the education of our children, for school books and uniforms? For medical expenses? For furnishing our homes decently? For recreation and enjoyment?

A wage to cover these necessary expenses will never be paid by the employers out of the goodness of their hearts. **Determined organisation, and unity behind our demands, is the only language the bosses will understand.**

To those who doubt if we can win it, we say: consider the impact it would have if the ANC came out with a clear call to action, backed by an all-out campaign to build and unite the trade unions, to mobilise the workers and all their organisations around the demand for a national minimum wage of R100 a week!

In 1953 Nelson Mandela summed up the lessons which the active workers had learned from the strug-

gles of that time:

"You must protect and defend your trade unions. If you are not allowed to hold meetings publicly, then you must have them over your machines in the factories, on the trains and buses as you travel home. You must have them in your villages and shanty-towns. You must make every home, every shack, and every mud structure where our people live, a branch of the trade union movement, and you must never surrender."

We shall need a clear understanding of our tasks

The same approach must be followed today in the struggle to enforce a living wage. To achieve our goals and avoid the defeats of the 1950s, however, we shall need a clear understanding of our tasks.

Prof. Natrass is correct in proving one thing only: that the capitalist system in SA is too bankrupt and rotten to pay us a living wage. From this she concludes that we have no choice but to submit tamely to starvation.

But workers **do** have a choice, and will draw the opposite conclusion: if the apartheid state and the capitalist system behind it cannot afford a living wage for us—**then we cannot afford this system!** Capitalism, which refuses us any joy in our lives, which crushes us daily, degrading us in the townships and in the 'homelands', must be overthrown.

We must build up a mass ANC on a programme to abolish poverty, homelessness and starvation, to place the factories, mines and banks in the hands of the working people, and to end the bosses' rule.

For a national minimum wage of R100 a week, rising as prices rise!

Forward to freedom in a socialist Southern Africa, democratically ruled by the working people!

*Pryse styg, pryse styg
Die base word ryk, die base word ryk
Die werkers se lewe word swaarder en swaarder
Ons kinders word daaglik maerder en maerder
Ons werk word ook harder en harder
Pryse styg, pryse styg.*

Crime and violence - how can it be stopped?

Over the weekend of 2-3 October 25 murders, 30 robberies, 29 thefts and 19 rapes were reported in Soweto.

This situation has become part of daily life in the township. The *Rand Daily Mail* of 16 September described a weekend over which 13 people were murdered as "the quietest period in the past three weeks".

The growing number of crimes, committed each and every day that passes, is the clearest indication of the desperate crisis in society—of the poverty and joblessness that is killing the old and dooming the youth to unemployment for all their adult lives. Capitalist crisis is straining all social ties to breaking point.

The latest in a series of trials as a result of such offences is the notorious Wire Gang trial. Fourteen people are charged with 32 counts of attempted murder, robbery, theft, rape, illegal possession of firearms and escaping from custody. Twelve of the accused are in their early 20s—young people whose talents should be used to develop society.

Instead this treasure is being wasted. These children of the working class have been turned into ferocious animals.

No human being can have the depravity of axing a 98-year-old granny and bless this act with the words: "You witch, why don't you die. Our grandmothers are long dead, why are you still alive?"

Only capitalism has made it possible for such crimes to be committed. Capitalism can only flourish by degrading and exploiting the working masses.

Hundreds of workers are laid off their jobs every day because capitalism is unable to solve its problems. This pool of unemployed constitutes more than two million among the blacks.

Some of this 'surplus population', incited by their distress, stripped of their sense of dignity and worth, revolt against society and become thieves and murderers. They begin to wage an open war not only against



The police will no more defend workers than arsenic can cure cancer.

By D.Sikhakane

the rich, but against their fellow poor as well. Poverty becomes too much for them. It is for this reason that the rate of crime has so much increased.

As statistics indicate, the greatest number of offences are crimes against property. Even a number of murders occur as a result of people trying to lay their hands on anything that can help them fill their stomachs. Such offences are obviously due to poverty.

The working class itself, robbed daily on the factory floor by the exploitation of the bosses, is ready prey for the attacks of gangs of criminals on their way home.

The police will no more defend them than arsenic can cure cancer. The only job they perform well is demanding passes from workers and breaking their strikes. These enemies of the masses cannot cleanse society of crime—they defend the very system that breeds it.

Neither can the Makgotlas provide protection. Many of them actually become involved in crime. When they punish people in the name of "justice", they impose sentences out

of the Dark Ages: lashing women in public and practising John Vorster Square tactics in trying to get information, hanging people from their fists for hours on end, etc.

Crime will continue to eat at society until capitalism has been overthrown. For workers, the means of defending themselves against crime will be the same as defending themselves against the capitalists.

Defence committees in the townships will inevitably arise as workers are forced to protect themselves, their homes and their families.

In the mid-1970s, for example, working people in the Cape, in Manenberg, Heideveld, Bonteheuvel etc, organised an 'alarm system' against attacks, on a street by street basis.

As the trade unions develop into a mass force, they will become able to organise the protection of workers against crime, violence, and even police attacks.

Linked to a socialist programme, such trade union defence committees could organise large masses of working people to impose their will and discipline those who have turned to crime as a way out of desperate poverty.



MONONO'A BONA — MASAPO A RONA

The Ciskei Department of Education has found a new way to complete the school syllabus on time. More schools, teachers, books and libraries? No—just don't pay the teachers until they get through the required quota of work!

Then, last month, a circular went out asking all teachers to give R2, principals R3 and inspectors R5 to—a special fund for sending 'President' Sebe's two children to US universities!

A list is made of teachers who refuse to contribute. Teachers reacted angrily to this blackmail, but a Department official explained:

"This unhappiness might come from a few detribalised entities who are trying to destabilise the system."

Well, at least all Ciskei teachers are likely to get their salary cheques this month....

On 22 September the right-wing British prime minister, Thatcher, arrived in China and got from the bureaucracy the "most lavish welcome" given to any Western visitor since the revolution. (Mrs Thatcher also happens to be one of the most rabidly anti-Russian individuals to have turned up in that time.)

On the same day, hundreds of thousands of trade unionists in Britain demonstrated their support for the health workers' struggle and their hatred for that same Margaret Thatcher's government. "Maggie, Maggie, out, out!" was the most popular slogan.

We wonder which view of Mrs Thatcher the Chinese workers would share.

The late Russian President Brezhnev may not have been a remarkable revolutionary leader, but workers will certainly find his hobby remarkable—collecting luxury cars.

He owned at least two Rolls Royces, a black Cadillac (given to him by US ex-President Nixon) and a Mercedes 450SL (given to him by West German ex-Chancellor Brandt). In 1977 the right-wing French government tried to give him a green Matra Rancho—but Mr Brezhnev wanted a blue one, so it had to be resprayed and reupholstered.

During working hours, however, Mr Brezhnev (like his fellow top bureaucrats) was driven about in a hand-built

Russian Zil limousine, costing about R100 000.

Lenin explained that under socialism no leader should receive a higher wage than a skilled worker. Either the living standards of Russian skilled workers have gone up a bit since Lenin's time—or the Soviet Union under its present bureaucratic rulers is not quite what Lenin would have called socialist.

With the SA ruling class in crisis and the black workers' movement preparing for great struggles, you'd think that the Russian regime would be optimistic about the perspectives for majority rule.

Not so. Mr A. Gromyko (director of the Africa Institute in Moscow and son of the Foreign Minister) declared in an interview:

"Only after the year 2000 does it seem probable that SA will be a totally different state, governed by its people and not by rascists."

Which might explain the friendly reception Bantustan leader Gatsha Buthelezi got when he recently called at the Soviet Embassy in Washington. They wanted to discuss the proposals of his Buthelezi Commission which suggest an 'alternative' to majority rule.

On that basis, come to think of it, the prospect of "a totally different state" would be very optimistic—even in 20 years' time!

Hitler's fascist regime in Germany was notorious for the horrible 'experiments' it carried out on living prisoners in the name of 'science'. No less sickening is the treatment being inflicted on thousands of unemployed in the USA today through companies known as 'meat markets'.

These companies recruit unemployed labourers to crawl into the insides of nuclear power stations and repair pipes that are spewing nuclear radiation. The men, called 'glowboys', are paid \$6 an hour and receive the equivalent of 100 medical X-rays every five minutes on the job. As a result they are likely to get a whole variety of cancers.

5 000 unemployed will be recruited for this purpose in the USA this year. What clearer case can there be for workers' democratic control and management to make every industry safe for workers and end these grotesque abuses for ever?

ZIMBABWE: Miners demand a living wage

Workers in Zimbabwe are struggling to defend jobs and living standards against the same monopolies that we are fighting in SA.

In connection with the Veldspun dispute at Uitenhage, FOSATU has asked the Zimbabwean government to support the South African workers by suspending imports of Barlow-Rand textile products.

That would mean the Zimbabwean government taking action against a SA monopoly which operates also in Zimbabwe.

This article shows that the Mugabe government has in fact been unwilling to tackle the capitalist monopolies, with the result that Zimbabwean workers have had to suffer.

It also shows the big potential for links to be built between workers in Zimbabwe and workers in SA who are fighting the same battles.

The latest wage demands of the mineworkers in Zimbabwe have caused "diarrhoea in the Chamber of Mines camp", in the words of a trade unionist in the industry. The union is asking for a wage increase which would bring miners up to the level of commercial workers.

But the mining capitalists are not prepared to offer higher wages and improved conditions. Instead the Associated Mineworkers' Union (AMWU) is having to fight to retain jobs in the industry as the mine bosses threaten mass redundancies.

Wages for Zimbabwean miners have been cut over 20% by rising prices since the last increase in January 1982. In the small rural towns where many of the miners are, prices are rising even more rapidly than in the cities. Despite the enormous contribution the miners make to the wealth of the country they live in desperate poverty.

Wages are even lower than the starvation wages paid on South African mines—and many mines still enforce the apartheid-type regulation that the families of 'single' miners are not allowed to use mine facilities.

By Sam Parkin

Medical research workers investigating conditions at Anglo-American's Bindura nickel and gold mines found more than half the children are severely malnourished. These conditions are found throughout the mining industry. Even more disgraceful is the low record of immunisation against diseases for these children.

Zimbabwe's mining exports have contributed up to 46% of total exports in the past. Now they have been hard hit by the world slump. No country today can hope to be an economic island. The disastrous recession in the US motor industry, for example, has severely cut Zimbabwe chrome exports.

The big companies—Anglo-American, Rio Tinto, Lonhro, etc.—are all trying to off-load the capitalist crisis on to the backs of the workers. The miners have responded by demanding a shorter working week to avoid lay offs.

One of the first companies to enter into a showdown with the workers with threats of wholesale sackings has been Rio Tinto. The struggle over redundancies at its Em-

press Nickel Mine has drawn the lines on which future battles are likely to be fought.

It is no accident that this threat of dismissals, and talk of large-scale redundancies throughout the industry, have come up just as wage negotiations were beginning.

Without getting authorisation from the Ministry of Labour, the mine management sent out redundancy notices to over 1 000 workers in September. This the workers could not accept.

The leader of one of the workers' committees said: "We proposed a shorter working week of perhaps five days, with some reductions in wages, so that the company would be able to keep on a larger number of workers and save our comrades from losing their jobs. We told them that we did not believe that we were so selfish that we could not make a small sacrifice at the expense of losing so many employees."

The committee also suggested that the company could make savings by doing away with perks for highly-paid executives.

But the company would have none of this! Rio Tinto demanded that the government program of loans to help the mines should be turned, in its case, into an outright gift. They argued they could not repay any loan with the current depressed price of nickel, which has nearly halved in the last six months.

According to the Minister of Mines, the company was being totally unreasonable: "We have been trying to help them, but it appears that they want to take advantage of our reasonableness. We will not compromise on this issue."

Although the redundancy notices were withdrawn after the company was given a \$2,7 million loan, this gives no long-term guarantee for the workers. (This loan has now been converted into a minority government shareholding—*Editor*)

These problems for the workers are

an inevitable result of the government's policy of leaving the mines and factories in the hands of the big monopolies. The government has even guaranteed in advance that no mine will be taken over by the state.

(Indeed, so far is the government bending over backwards towards the capitalists that when it recently bought a 40% share holding in Wankie Colliery, it did so at double the market price of the shares! Anglo-American, the owners, were reported—not surprisily—to be delighted by this.)

'Boss boys'

On top of this, Industrial Relations Officers in the Department of Labour have tied the hands of workers and local union officials in resisting dismissals by the mine monopolies. These bureaucrats, called 'boss boys' by the workers, have paid little attention to the disciplinary code agreed between the Chamber and the mine union.

Although this agreement requires several warnings before suspension or dismissal, managers (many of them brought up from South Africa) have been having a field day suspending workers and victimising workers' leaders. The final dismissal of workers has often been agreed to by 'boss boys' without the workers' committees or union officials having any information at all.

The union is now insisting that these 'boss boys' keep off the mines and that all disciplinary issues be discussed directly with a trade union official.

Housing

For the mine workers bad housing is another burning issue, particularly as the mine workers have to pay quite high rents. According to the AMWU President, Jeffrey Mutandare, "Living standards in the mines are abysmally low and few mine villages supply water-borne sewerage". He said that the mine monopolies concentrated on single accommodation without thought for the families of the miners: "Every mine in the country has a backlog in providing married accommodation."

Shockingly, it has been the ZANU

government which has agreed to make mineworkers pay rent for their houses.

Pleading poverty, the Chamber of Mines approached the Minister of Labour, Kangai, to allow them to make a deduction from wages for housing. Without listening to the unions' case, emergency regulations were then published by the government at the beginning of 1981 setting the minimum wage at \$70 per month, but allowing a housing deduction of \$27!

"The Minister, who has never set foot in a mine, was conned by the best brains the Chamber could hire",

a mining trade unionist said. "Every time the Chamber goes to see him I get scared. During these negotiations we are not moving an inch on our demand to have all rents removed."

The Chamber of Mines, which has sucked thousands of millions of dollars from the labour of the workers, is now trying to put the whole question of housing into the government's lap.

The president of the Chamber, Lander, said recently that at least 30 000 family houses were needed which would cost at least \$300 million—"clearly beyond the means of the industry except over a very



Miner at Rio Tinto Zinc in Zimbabwe—with wages even lower than the starvation wages paid in SA mines.

long period."

Washing his hands of the problem, he said mine housing "must be considered as part of the nation's overall housing policy"!

Deadly sickness

The disastrous state of the mining industry and the falling living standards of the workers shows the deadly sickness of the capitalist system in Zimbabwe and abroad.

The conditions of all workers are being attacked as the government gives way to the pressures imposed by the capitalists as the result of the crisis of their system. It is now the policy of the government to remove subsidies from basic foods. This has led to price rises for bread and mealie meal.

The government has abandoned an increase in minimum wages set for July 1982.

Their much-publicised goal of raising wages to at least the Poverty Datum Line has been quietly dropped.

Without bold policies for the socialist transformation of society it will be impossible to end poverty, provide sufficient housing, or end starvation wages. In fact, under promising stand on the workers' interests.

In the present negotiations the union leadership will get enthusiastic support if they put up an uncompromising stand on the workers interests.

To defend themselves the mine workers will need to insist on:

- *No dismissals or redundancies;
- *Shorter working hours without loss of pay;
- *An end to all rents; and
- *A living wage.

These demands can only be enforced with 100% trade union organisation and the most determined struggle against the mine monopolies by the workers.

The trade unions and ZANU and ZAPU, as the mass organisations to which the workers look, must be committed to this struggle.

—Inqaba interviews

Militant's editor



This year the capitalist media in Britain have launched an unprecedented hate campaign against the *Militant*, newspaper of the Marxist wing of the Labour Party. Their vicious slanders have been echoed in the SA press.

The media attack coincides with attempts by the right wing of the parliamentary Labour Party and right wing trade union bureaucrats to purge *Militant* supporters from the party.

Following an 'investigation' by Labour Party officials, the annual conference in September voted to establish a 'register' of 'approved' pressure groups in the party. The three to one majority for this resolution did not however reflect rank and file opinion, as many right wing trade union leaders voted against the decisions of their own organisations. 90% of constituency Labour Party representatives opposed the resolution.

The National Executive's latest proposals for expelling *Militant* supporters from the party involve reintroducing proscriptions (undemocratically drawn up lists of left-wing groups not allowed to affiliate to the Party) which were abandoned in 1973 under pressure of the rank and file.

Inqaba spoke to Peter Taaffe, Editor of *Militant*.

Q: Why are the Labour Party leadership taking action against *Militant*?

A: One has got to see this action in the context of the general political situation in Britain and its effect on the Labour Party.

We now have the worst economic crisis in Britain for 50 years—in some ways worse than the depression of the 1930s. Manufacturing output dropped by 11% during 1929-31 compared to a 19% drop between 1979 and 1981. There are four million unemployed and 25% of the population live below the poverty line.

There is tremendous anger amongst working people against Thatcher's Tory government.

At the same time, there is disenchantment among the active layers of the labour movement with the right wing labour leaders. Since 1979, when the Tories came into office, the most advanced sections of workers (in particular the 350 000 shop stewards) have moved increasingly to the left, with more and more among them supporting the Marxist ideas of *Militant*.

During this time, too, a whole set of democratic measures have been introduced in the party (for example, all M.P.'s have to be re-selected by their local party branch between elections). These have greatly strengthened rank and file influence in the party, and hence the voice of the left and of Marxism.

Against this, the weakened right wing has chosen *Militant* as the number one target in their attempt at counter-revolution in the party. This is what the witchhunt is all about.

But you know from your experience in SA, and the whole of history has shown, that repression has never been capable of defeating an idea, especially when it is a cor-

"Witch-hunts can't separate Marxism from British labour movement"



A delegate addresses the 2 700-strong Labour Movement Conference Against the Witchhunt organised by Militant on 11 September. As one speaker said of the assembled constituency delegates, trade unionists and youth: "This is the real Labour Party!"

rect idea which represents historical progress, which we believe the Marxism of the *Militant* does.

Q: What are the present policies of the Labour Party leadership?

A: The programme of the last Labour government from 1974-79 became one of watered-down Thatcherism. But party conferences have adopted more radical policies.

Conference decisions call for a national minimum wage, a 35 hour week, unilateral nuclear disarmament, trade union rights for the police and armed forces, etc.

Militant fully supports the struggles for these measures, while explaining that in the context of ailing British capitalism it is impossible to carry through lasting reforms.

This is not a theoretical question; it's in the living experience of workers in Britain. If we have a Labour government remaining within the framework of capitalism, it will be forced to operate according to the laws of capitalism. It will soon be forced into a position of counter-reform.

The resulting pressure from the labour movement for taking radical measures could lead to a split in the Labour Party. Right wing labour

leaders could form a coalition with the Tories, the Liberals and Social Democrats to force through the capitalists' policies, and this would mean a period of disillusionment for British working people.

That is why we argue that the reforms which we all support can only be achieved by implementing the Labour Party constitution, which calls for the nationalisation of the banks and the commanding heights of the economy under workers' control and management.

I understand there is a similar clause in the ANC Freedom Charter, which expresses the instinctive striving of the working class for a socialist solution.

A socialist plan of production could then be implemented leading to the elimination of mass unemployment, poverty, and industrial decay.

To give just one example, today 30% of the capacity of British factories is lying idle. Why? Because it is not profitable for the capitalists to use it. Under a planned socialist economy millions of now idle hands could be brought together with that idle industrial capacity. That alone would generate, it has been estimated, an extra £70 000 million a year—which would give every man, woman and child in Britain, from the

oldest pensioner to the newest-born baby, an extra £25 a week.

Q: Many SA workers see the Communist parties internationally, as opposed to the social-democratic parties, as the real enemy of capitalism. How do you view the policies of the British Communist Party?

A: The programme of the British CP today is no different from that of the left reformists in the Labour Party. The CP do not put forward a full-blooded socialist programme.

This is a result of the political degeneration which CPs in every country suffered in the period when Stalinism carried out its purges of the genuine Marxist policies fought for by Lenin and Trotsky.

Also, because the CP has not broken its umbilical cord with the Stalinist regimes of Russia and Eastern Europe, it is not attractive to British workers. In an advanced industrial country with a long democratic tradition the workers reject the form alleged 'socialism' has taken in Russia, where you have a planned economy but a totalitarian one-party regime. That is not socialism at all.

Every political crisis in areas like Poland causes new problems for the

CP and new splits in it.

So we believe it's impossible for the CP to win significant support among workers. The working class are very practical people. The Labour Party is based on the trade union movement with millions of supporters. The CP is a party of 15 000 paper members, in reality far fewer.

Faced with two parties with the same programme, the working class will always support the big party. What's the point of any advanced worker in Britain joining the CP today?

Q: What are the perspectives for Marxism within the British labour movement?

A: *Militant* started off in 1964 as a monthly newspaper with a circulation of 1 500. But we had a clear programme, clear perspectives, and we had confidence in our class, confidence in the rank and file of the labour movement rejecting the ideas of the right wing and accepting the ideas of Marxism.

The march of events has confirmed our programme and perspectives and that is why the best elements of the working class are coming towards us.

We now have a 16-page weekly paper with plans to go over to a twice-weekly and a daily in 1983-4, which will be a big step forward for us. We have up to 35 000 paid sales per week—total readership is of course much higher than that.

The overwhelming majority in the LPYS, the youth wing of the Labour Party, and the biggest working-class youth movement in Britain, support our programme.

So far eight Labour Party parliamentary candidates support our ideas, and they are creating a tradition in industrial areas like the Merseyside which the right wing fear.

We have significant and growing support in the trade unions. For instance the President and eight members of the Executive of the biggest civil service union in the country, the CPSA, are supporters of *Militant*.

Militant does not have a majority in the Labour Party or the trade unions. But we are the most organised in the sense that support for our ideas is growing more than in the case of any other left wing group. This is

shown by the amount of money we are able to raise through our paper from the pounds and pennies of our supporters—last year, for example, our Fighting Fund raised £105 000, and this year our target is £150 000.

Any attempt by the right wing to suppress our ideas will fail. If the right wing believes it will be the end of the matter if they expel the five members of our editorial board, or our eight parliamentary candidate supporters, or 50 of our full-time workers, or 500 or 5 000 rank-and-file Labour Party members who support us—they've got another think coming.

On September 11th, we organised a marvellous Labour movement conference against the witch-hunt, and that was attended by 2 700 delegates and visitors. This showed the opposition of the rank and file to any witch-hunt of socialists from the Labour Party, and the growing support for Marxist policies.

Militant will go from strength to strength, increasing its support and developing. Even if there are some expulsions, we won't form a separate party. At most we will form a sort of supporters' club to organise a campaign for readmission to the party. We'll continue the campaign, we'll go to every corner of the labour movement, and we'll get rank and file support. Of that we are confident.

There is no way this witch-hunt will succeed in separating Marxism from the British labour movement. Marxism has been within the Labour Party since its inception. Marxists participated in the formation of the Labour Party, as a wing of the party. Now Marxism is a growing wing capturing more and more support.

Q: What message do you have for SA workers from the present experience in the British labour movement?

A: The SA working class are struggling against one of the worst regimes on this planet. And the struggles of the SA and British workers are linked.

Imagine if we in Britain can defeat the capitalist regime here what the consequences would be for SA workers, and for oppressed people throughout the world.

First of all there would be revolutionary upheavals throughout

Europe, as in the 1920s after the Russian revolution of 1917. Only this time we believe the working class would succeed in creating a United Socialist States of Europe, which would have an enormous impact on the working class throughout the world.

Look at the effects of even the uncompleted and unsuccessful Portuguese revolution of 1974 on the struggles in Angola and Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, and in SA itself. A workers' government in Britain based on the ideas of Marxism, and overthrowing capitalism, would have an incomparably greater effect.

Another lesson is this, that if the ANC is to achieve democratic rights and social reforms in SA, this can't be within the framework of capitalism, especially the horrible version of capitalism in SA.

SA is the most industrialised country in Africa, with a powerful working class. Just as in Britain, the SA working class holds the key to victory over capitalism, not only in SA but throughout the continent.

But that means the workers in the ANC, the rank and file of the ANC, working out and struggling around a clear Marxist programme. Even if disciplinary measures are taken against the Marxist wing of the ANC by those leaders not able to answer your arguments, such measures cannot succeed any more than in Britain.

Q: What do you think about the call of the independent trade unions in SA for direct links with British workers?

A: This shows the instinctive internationalism of the SA working class. And we have the responsibility to ensure that we do not just give lip service to internationalism but give concrete material aid to these attempts by workers in struggle in SA to link up with workers in struggle in Britain.

One of the most important features of struggles in the present period is the way the working class have instinctively linked up into shop steward committees, trade union combine committees, etc., which have spread all over the world.

That is why we support, and work actively and concretely for, the strengthening of direct links between the British and SA workers.

GHANA

Workers demand power

Following the defeat of the counter-coup on 23 November, tens of thousands of cheering workers crowded Black Star square, Accra, to hear Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, chairman of the Provisional National Defence Committee.

Shouts of "revolution" went up as Rawlings appeared. "Hold on to this revolution", he shouted back, "hold it with your lives".

The world capitalist press is alarmed by these developments. "It was the clearest sign yet", commented the British *Guardian*, "that the urban workers, who make up as much as 30% of Ghana's population, have (with a rather small group of left-wing intellectuals...) become the pace-setters of Ghana's revolution.

"In the last few months the expectations of real power for the workers...have become electric."

At the same time, mounting problems are facing the working people as Ghana, despite Rawlings' radical promises, remains in the grip of crisis-ridden capitalism. In this article, written before the counter-coup attempt, a Ghanaian socialist looks at the gains, the problems and the tasks of the present revolutionary movement.

Kalabule is the name given in Ghana to the practice of seeking excessive profits, e.g. selling a tin of milk at 12 Cedis instead of C1,20. This practice, a symptom of the bankruptcy of the capitalist economy, has eroded the meagre benefits workers have gained from their struggles.

It was against this background of corruption and worsening economic crisis that the PNDC, led by Lt. Jerry Rawlings, took power on 31 December 1981.

The PNDC had enormous support from the workers and the youth to carry out a revolution in the country. The youth and workers were calling for a complete takeover of the major companies like the Volta Aluminium Company, the textile companies, Lever Brothers, etc.

However, the pronouncements of

the members of the PNDC show that they do not intend to go that far. Instead they have based themselves on the local capitalists.

From April, the traders have been back in business with the slogan 'ehuru-a-ebe dwo' (literally meaning 'it will cool after boiling'). What they meant was that the tempo of the revolution was dying.

The real situation now is that the country is steadily returning to pre-31 December conditions, with only two differences. One is that this time overpriced goods are not in the open but underground, and the other is that *kalabule* has now a new name—*walabebe*, meaning, 'those in need will come looking for it'.

In reality Ghana, as well as other so-called "third-world" countries, will continue to have an unstable economy while tied to the capitalist world economy dominated by Western imperialism.

Unfortunately, the PNDC does not realise the crisis that world capitalism is in. It has shown little faith in the radical promises it made during the early days of the coup.

The regime has readily accepted a \$7 million loan from the US to purchase grain, and has gone to join the IMF queues again for a possible loan—which will only be given if tough measures are taken to boost profitability at the expense of the working people.

In order to solve inflation the PNDC has resorted to deflation. C50 notes have been withdrawn from circulation. This has caused a lot of concern among the low-paid, since from November to January workers were paid with these notes.

Now the money they held became worthless. Not even the refund to farmers and pensioners who deposited between C50 and C500 could cool off matters.

The PNDC's 'green revolution', aimed at increasing food production and consequently reducing imports of food, also has yet to materialise.

For the green revolution to make

any headway, the country needs about 200 000 tonnes of fertilizer. In 1980-81 Ghana imported 60 000 tonnes only—and these lay rotting at Tema harbour.

Since then the fertiliser situation has become even worse. By May 1982 the Ministry needed 60 000 tonnes, but there was no foreign exchange to pay for it. By July no fertilizer had been ordered, nor a single cutlass (*panga*) for the farmers.

Cocoa

Cocoa export—Ghana's main source of foreign exchange—is in crisis. The evacuation of 100 000 tonnes of cocoa from the hinterland by students early in the year helped the export trade. However, with the students returning to their campuses, no alternative arrangement to overcome the problems of transporting cocoa to the ports had been made.

It is clear that the PNDC regime cannot carry Ghanaian society forward due to its lack of socialist policies. Its failures have resulted in splits and disillusionment, with some members of the ruling body planning to overthrow the regime.

Many workers, organised in the Workers' Defence Committees, have moved into action, and in some cases taken over their factories, eg GTP and Lever Brothers. But with the lack of state ownership over the commanding heights of the economy and a democratic plan of production, these moves will unfortunately come to a dead end.

The only way out is to overthrow the capitalist system and break with the world capitalist class.

Conditions in Ghana and on a world scale are ripe for the workers to organise on a socialist programme and go all out to establish workers' rule in Ghana, linked to the spread of the workers' revolution in West Africa and internationally. revolution in West Africa and internationally.

CRISIS in the MIDDLE EAST

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has resulted in a shattering military defeat for the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Leaving 50 000 dead—mostly Lebanese civilians—and hundreds of thousands homeless, it has added a savage new twist to the spiral of crisis, repression and mass upheaval in the Middle East.

A direct result of the invasion has been the brutal murder of 2 000 men, women and children in the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut on 16-18 September. Nothing could have brought out more starkly the bitter divisions and sectarian hatred stoked up among the peoples of the region under the domination of capitalism and imperialism.

The Israeli government has admitted responsibility for sending the right-wing Christian ('Phalangist') butchers into the refugee camps of Sabra and Chatila to 'flush out' any remaining PLO guerillas. Under the eyes of the Israeli forces on the edges of the camps, the Phalangists set about slaughtering the helpless inhabitants.

After two days the orgy of killing reached a gruesome climax:

"Camp residents were gunned down wherever they were found. Men were chained together and dragged behind a jeep. Throats were slit, genitals and breasts sliced off. Doctors were killed in hospitals and patients in their beds."

A journalist of the London *Times*, entering Chatila the next day, described the aftermath:

"Down every alley-way, there were corpses—women, young men, babies and grandparents—lying together...where they had been knifed or machine-gunned to death (20 September).

As these revelations filtered through to the outside world, fury and revulsion spread among the

By Daniel Hugo

masses of the Arab countries and working people throughout the world.

On the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan, spontaneous demonstrations by thousands of Palestinians broke out in many areas. In Israel itself, unprecedented anger erupted among the Jewish population, leading to violent protests against the right-wing government of Menachim Begin and culminating in a rally of 400 000 people—one in seven of the total population of Israel, Jews and Arabs combined.

Abroad, the US and other Western governments arming and propping up Israel were forced to express "shock" at these atrocities. A 'peace-keeping' force of US, French and Italian troops was sent to Beirut—in reality to back up the newly installed Phalangist regime of the Gemayels.

The Arab regimes have looked on passively, denouncing Israel from the sidelines. The Syrian forces in the east

of Lebanon made no serious attempt to halt the Israeli invasion.

In Morocco, the Arab League (of Arab states) held a special meeting on 22 September—but could agree on no action except a protest by Arab ambassadors in Washington.

The Palestinian refugees in Lebanon now find themselves in an even more desperate position than before. Disarmed and helpless, they are at the mercy of their bloodthirsty enemies.

Terrible though the setbacks of the past months have been, however, the national struggle of the Palestinian people will continue. Workers in South Africa and the world over will support their Palestinian brothers and sisters as they seek a way out of their impasse.

How can the problems of the Palestinians and all the oppressed people of the Middle East be resolved? This question can only be answered by carefully examining the developments which gave rise to the present situation.

Armed with a scientific understanding of events, the workers of the Middle East will be able to develop

policies for achieving national and social liberation: and workers internationally, learning the lessons of the struggle, will be able to give them effective support.

Zionism

During this century the Middle East has become increasingly vital to the imperialist powers on account of its strategic position but above all its enormous oil reserves.

Up to 1918 most of the area had formed part of the Turkish empire, which sided with Germany in the First World War and was defeated by British and Arab armies. In a secret agreement in 1916, the region was carved up between Britain, France and Tsarist Russia.

During the 1920s, British and French imperialism further split up the Middle East by handing over pieces of land to puppet rulers. In the French zone, Lebanon was set up as a separate state dominated by the Christian bourgeoisie on the basis of compromise with the leaders of the Druze and Moslem peasantry.

The British zone was split into three parts—Palestine, Jordan (originally called Transjordan) and Iraq (Mesopotamia)—with Arab princes tied to Britain being installed in Jordan and Iraq.

As in the rest of the colonial world mass poverty was perpetuated and worsened under imperialist domination.

In Palestine (the present-day Israel) as in other Arab countries, a small Jewish minority—about 11% of the population in 1920—lived side by side with the Arab majority. However, the class struggle internationally was to produce dire consequences for the territory.

In Europe—and Eastern Europe in particular, where the majority of the world's Jewish population were living at the time—anti-Semitism had been cultivated by the ruling classes as a means of splitting the working masses and fighting against the social revolution. In reaction to this persecution the Zionist movement developed, led by the Jewish bourgeoisie, calling for an independent homeland for the Jews.

Palestine, where the Jews had lived in ancient times, was chosen as the



Lebanese children amid the ruins of their homes, following Israeli bombardment. Tens of thousands will be spending the winter in tents.

site for this homeland. The Zionist leaders, with considerable finance available, systematically bought land there from Arab landowners for the purpose of creating Jewish settlements.

Initially, Zionism had no echo among Jewish workers even in Tsarist Russia. While hundreds of thousands fled to the USA, only a handful went to Palestine.

But in the 1920s British imperialism, practising its classical policies of divide-and-rule, began to encourage Jewish immigration. Increasingly, Palestinian peasants were squeezed from the land while the Jewish settlers, highly organised, began laying the foundations for the future Israeli state.

The Arab ruling class connived at this whole process, profiting from the cheap labour of the dispossessed peasants. At the same time, the creeping occupation of Palestine laid the basis for explosive national divisions between the Jewish and Arab masses.

Resistance

Stubborn resistance against dispossession, building up among the Palestinian masses, led to violent upheavals in 1920 and 1929. With the general strike of 1936, the Palestinian

working class paralysed the country and confronted the rulers of Syria, Lebanon and Jordan with the threat of spreading revolt.

Thus, as in other colonial countries, the working class emerged at an early stage as a force that could spearhead the struggle for national and social liberation.

But the Arab regimes, acting on British instructions, succeeded in pressurising the Palestinian leadership to call off the general strike.

Without a revolutionary leadership, the stage was set for middle-class nationalist leaders to derail the movement onto lines of class-collaboration.

Aspirations

The independence demanded by these leaders had nothing in common with the national and social aspirations of the masses. The Palestinian leaders looked for support to an unstable alliance of Arab kings and rulers paying lip service only to the struggle of the Palestinian people.

False perspectives lead to false policies. Diplomatic wheeling and dealing developed in place of a revolutionary campaign for support by the workers' movement internationally; guerilla action involving an armed minority took the place of

mass mobilisation.

It was the lack of a revolutionary leadership, more than any other factor, which paralysed the Palestinian workers and peasants and made possible the establishment of the Zionist state in their country.

The Jewish state

The main concern of the imperialist powers has always been to suppress the threat of revolution from the exploited Arab masses. While British and later US imperialism have maintained their alliances with reactionary Arab rulers, the cornerstone of their policy has been to build up the Jewish state as a bastion of capitalist power in the region.

The decisive impulse for the creation of Israel was given by the barbarous persecution of the Jews in Europe by the German Nazi regime between 1933 and 1945. Six million Jews were massacred during this period and millions more fled for their lives.

In Palestine, Jewish immigration rose sharply in the 1930s. This was followed after the war by a flood of destitute Jewish refugees. By 1948 the Jewish population had risen to 600 000 out of a total of two million people.

In 1947 the British authorities handed over the Palestinian question to the United Nations. The UN resolved on partition, dividing Palestine into Jewish and Arab sectors. The 'solution', in reality, set the seal on the dispossession of hundreds of thousands of Arabs.

With partition, the simmering national conflict—at root a class conflict between expropriators and expropriated—erupted into war. Mass pressure forced the regimes in Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon to move against Israel.

But the Arab armies were crushingly defeated. The war of 1948-9 ended with big territorial gains for Israel, while the remnants of the Palestinian sector—the West Bank and the Gaza strip—were occupied by Jordan and Egypt (see map).

Before 1948, 250 000 Palestinians had been pushed from their land by Jewish occupation. The war of partition was used by the Zionist leadership to expel a further 800 000—the

vast majority of the Arab population.

Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were forced into 'temporary' camps in the Arab countries, where the regimes have confined them ever since. Many found work in the Gulf states as the oil industry developed. A small bourgeois minority were able to go into comfortable 'exile' in the USA and Europe.

The ruthless dispersal of the Palestinian people has led to acute new contradictions inflaming the already crisis-ridden Middle East. Among the Arab masses, hatred of the Israeli regime and its imperialist backers was sharpened. This, above all, forced the decrepit Arab rulers into conflict with Israel.

Thus the struggle over Palestine took on the dimensions of a conflict between nations. War, once begun, develops a momentum of its own. Since 1948, full-scale wars have been fought in 1956, 1967 and 1973, apart from numerous border clashes.

Each new trial of strength has confirmed again Israel's overwhelming military superiority. This superiority has stemmed not so much from technical factors as from the make-up of Israeli society compared with the Arab states.

From the beginning, the Israeli state was geared to sustain the maximum productive and military effort.

A Zionist militia had been formed as early as 1920, together with an administrative network and a trade union apparatus, to consolidate the Jewish settlement of Palestine.

Today every Israeli citizen is regarded as a soldier with eleven months annual leave.

Immigration from the West brought the most advanced skills and technical knowledge to Israel. Though economically bankrupt, the new state was kept afloat by massive doses of foreign aid (mainly from the US) totalling \$31 500 million between 1948 and 1977. The dispossession of the peasantry gave scope for the development of advanced agriculture.

These factors enabled the Israeli economy to be developed far more quickly than the Arab states.

The essence of Israeli military power, however, has been the political force of Jewish nationalism tying the working people to the ruling class and the state.

The message of 'national unity' plus 'military preparedness' has been preached by the labour leaders as well as religious and capitalist leaders. For as long as an expanding economy made possible improvements in living standards, militant nationalism seemed the only way forward in the



After 1945 thousands of Jewish refugees from the European ghettos and Nazi concentration camps flooded into Palestine, driving Arab peasants from their land.



US Marines invaded Lebanon in 1958 to suppress the revolutionary mass movement.

face of the bankrupt Arab regimes.

The result has been the most highly motivated conscript army in the world.

The Arab revolution

The Arab states, not enjoying the special conditions on which Israel's growth and strength have been based, have remained sunk in the poverty and backwardness which capitalism has imposed on the colonial world in general. Even their oil wealth, during this period, was largely siphoned off by the Western oil companies. What remained has been hoarded or squandered by the sheikhs and reactionary ruling classes.

Presiding over mass destitution and centuries-old repression, the Arab rulers have been much less successful than their Israeli counterparts at papering over divisions between the classes. In contrast to Israel, the Arab countries have constantly seethed with revolutionary tensions.

In Egypt the rotten monarchy was overthrown in 1952 by an officers' coup which set out (in the words of its leader, Colonel Nasser) to "establish a clean, fair government which would work sincerely for the good of the people". The utter bankruptcy of Egyptian capitalism, however, combined with the stranglehold of foreign imperialism, made it impossible to carry through

the reforms so desperately needed by the masses.

Some land was divided among the peasantry; but Nasser's regime had no programme for abolishing capitalism and landlordism. Thus it was trapped between the conflicting pressures of the capitalists, landowners, workers and peasants—none of which it was able to satisfy.

Its reaction, like every regime in crisis, was to concentrate power more and more into its own hands, in an effort to impose stability on society from above. But the limitations of Nasser's Bonapartist regime only gradually made themselves felt in the consciousness of the masses. For a period, Nasser's message of social reform and Pan-Arab nationalism seemed to offer a new way forward to the downtrodden people of the Arab world.

Following the revolutionary tremors in Egypt, social unrest convulsed Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq in turn. In Syria, these struggles resulted in the overthrow of capitalism and landlordism.

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, Syria was in a state of intense instability. One pro-capitalist regime was toppled by another, only to be toppled in turn.

With every possible method of capitalist rule exhausted, the Ba'ath Socialist regime that took power in 1963 resorted to radical measures

against the monopolies. The capitalists, landlords and merchants resisted. Following a further coup in 1966 by more left-wing junior officers, a full-scale revolutionary confrontation developed.

Faced with an imperialist-backed military counter-revolution, the regime appealed to the masses for support. In their hundreds of thousands, peasants and workers were armed. Capitalism and landlordism were crushed, with 85% of the land and 95% of industry being nationalised by the Ba'ath regime.

But power remained with the military leadership; the workers and peasants were disarmed again. The regime transformed the economic basis of the country into that of a workers' state, resting on state ownership and central planning. But the regime itself was Bonapartist—in Marxist terms, "proletarian Bonapartist" as opposed to the "bourgeois Bonapartist" regimes in the capitalist states like Egypt—with a narrow, nationalist perspective, becoming increasingly privileged and remote from the people.

Freed from capitalist fetters, the Syrian economy could take some strides ahead. A third of the landless peasants were given land, and industry expanded. But within the confines of a backward country, under the rule of a military-bureaucratic elite, the development of society was

inevitably limited and distorted.

Inequality, the oppression of national minorities and women, and all the other problems of poverty and dictatorship can only be eliminated in Syria through a further, political revolution.

Power must be conquered by the working people in the context of a revolution leading to the overthrow of capitalism in Israel, Turkey and internationally. This alone can create the conditions for workers' democracy and harmonious social development in a backward country like Syria.

Compared with a capitalist country like Egypt, therefore, the immediate results of the Syrian revolution could not be measured in terms of spectacular economic advance. The fundamental difference is rather that in Syria, with capitalism and landlordism decisively defeated, the reforms could no longer be turned back without a full-scale counter-revolution.

In Egypt, on the other hand, Nasser moved to the brink of overthrowing capitalism—but then turned back. The power of the ruling class, based on private property, remained essentially intact. As would be seen in the 1970s, a shift in policy by the regime could restore them to their former position, while destroying the gains of the peasants and workers.

These examples show that the Arab states have remained shot through with national contradictions and bitter social conflict. The revolutionary pressure of the working people, lacking a socialist leadership, has failed to resolve the fundamental crisis in any of those countries.

Class rule and class divisions have inevitably spilled over into the armed forces. Even in Syria, as in the capitalist states, the downtrodden workers and peasants in uniform have remained under the command of an officer elite drawn from the upper strata of society.

War against Israel, for the Arab soldiers, is not a struggle for survival. Hatred of the enemy in front is offset by hostility towards the oppressor in the rear. Victory over Israel, without social revolution, promises no improvement of their conditions—indeed it would consolidate the power of their present rulers.

Poorly trained, badly led and politically unmotivated in comparison with the Israeli forces, the Arab soldiers could not fight with the élan of a revolutionary army of liberation. This has been the fundamental reason for their impotence in the face of the Israelis.

'Black September'

The expulsion of the Palestinians from their country was followed by reprisals against Jewish communities that had lived for centuries in the Arab states. Hundreds of thousands fled to Israel, filled with fear and hatred of Arab rule.

The Jewish population of Israel swelled to 1 300 000 between 1948 and 1951. Overnight, the former Palestinian majority had become an oppressed minority in Israel. Formally they were allowed democratic rights; in reality they were impotent and discriminated against.

The Palestinian nationalist leadership, however, remained wedded to the seemingly 'practical' policy of relying on the Arab regimes for support. The Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), formed in 1964 as an umbrella body of various political and military groups, was accepted by the Arab heads of state in 1974 as "sole legal representative of the Palestinian people".

This "legal" status, while providing the PLO leadership with diplomatic credentials, at the same time shackled them to all the contradictions, bankruptcy and impotence of the most reactionary Arab rulers.

Caught in this impasse of leadership, the Palestinian struggle has been agonised and prolonged.

From the 1950s Palestinian militancy, denied the avenue of revolutionary mass struggle, has spilled over into sporadic guerilla attacks on Israeli settlements along the

borders of Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon. The Israeli regime, systematically developing its military machine, has hit back with increasing viciousness.

The Arab 'front-line' states, while compelled to give refuge to the Palestinians, could not afford protracted border wars against a vastly superior enemy. Unable to beat back Israel, they attempted to curb the Palestinian guerillas.

The greatest menace to the Arab rulers, however, was the possibility of a revolutionary alliance between the Palestinian refugees and the workers and peasants in the Arab countries. Highly politicised and with access to arms, the Palestinians faced much the same intolerable conditions as the masses in the Arab states themselves.

Nothing but the policy of the PLO leadership headed them off from taking their place immediately in the vanguard of the Arab revolution.

In Lebanon and Jordan, however, even these policies could not prevent revolutionary crises from throwing the armed Palestinians into conflict with the Arab regimes.

In Jordan, the reactionary Bonapartist regime of King Hussein was despised and isolated. The Palestinians, with close ties to the Arab population, actually formed a majority of the people in Jordan.

By 1969, a state of dual power had developed between the Palestinian forces and the forces of the King. Even the Jordanian army was divided between the regime and the pull of the mass movement.

Objectively, all the conditions existed for the overthrow of Hussein and the taking of power by the working people, which could have paved the way for revolution throughout the Middle East.

But the PLO leaders had no intention of following this road. In January 1970 Hussein attempted to clamp down on the guerillas. In the struggles that followed, the guerillas won control of half the capital,

The enormous revolutionary potential of the Arab masses has remained suppressed by the Arab ruling classes and their 'revolutionary' clients in the PLO leadership.



PLO leader Arafat (right) in consultation with the King of Saudi Arabia—head of a barbarous regime imposing a reign of terror over the Arabian masses. Medieval punishments are imposed, like chopping off the right hand of persons convicted of theft and publicly stoning to death women found guilty of adultery.



Away from the royal meeting rooms, a Palestinian woman surveys what is left of the refugee camp at Tyre, Lebanon, following the Israeli invasion.

Amman—but Hussein was allowed to remain in control of the state.

By September Hussein, encouraged by the weakness of the PLO leadership, was ready for a

showdown. Demonstrations and uprisings in most Jordanian towns showed the depth of revolutionary ferment. In the north, the Palestinians took over towns and territory;

the town of Irbid was declared the "First Arab Soviet".

Yet no programme was put forward by the PLO leadership, and no country-wide lead was given, to draw in the Jordanian soldiers and guide the working class towards the capture of power. On 17 September Hussein (with Israeli and US troops ready to support him) threw his elite Beduin troops against the guerillas. PLO leader Arafat signed a ceasefire agreement on 23 September—and publicly reconciled himself with Hussein.

But sporadic fighting continued until July 1971, when the Jordanian army could finally be sent in to crush Palestinian resistance. Over 10 000 were killed, including many refugees; thousands of guerillas were captured or fled to Lebanon—their last base for across-the-border raids on Israel.

The Jordanian regime, an Israeli officer summed up, had "killed more guerillas in one year than we did in ten."

The dead end of terrorism

The PLO's policy of guerilla attacks on Israel has proved equally futile and disastrous.

Militarily these raids were mere pinpricks; but they served the Israeli regime as a pretext for massive retaliation against Palestinians in exile, and for tightening the screws on those in Israel. Politically, guerilla struggle could neither mobilise nor show a way forward to the masses in the West Bank and Gaza, the refugees, or the Palestinian workers in the Arab states.

Nor could it lead to the political isolation and defeat of the Israeli regime. The PLO leadership failed to understand that the victories of guerilla armies in some third-world countries—notably in China and Cuba—had only been possible under radically different social conditions.

With capitalism very feeble, with power held by weak, unstable regimes of capitalists and landlords, and with imperialism on the defensive, peasant armies were able to defeat these regimes. Later, in Vietnam, even the support of big US forces could not save the Thieu regime.

The result in each case was the col-

lapse of capitalism and landlordism, and the transfer of power to the guerilla leadership. This gave rise to deformed workers' states modelled on that in the Soviet Union, on which the guerilla leaders depended for support.

Fighting to overthrow a developed capitalist state, however, there was no prospect of victory for the PLO's guerilla strategy. Substituting for the social struggle a series of armed clashes between Palestinian guerillas and the Israeli military, it ensured the polarisation of Israeli society along national lines—thus swinging the Jewish majority overwhelmingly behind the regime.

The only road out of this impasse lay in developing a programme, strategy and tactics that could link the Palestinian struggle to the one force capable of defeating the Israeli regime and carrying through the revolutionary transformation of the Middle East—the working class inside and outside Israel, mobilised and armed.

In the absence of a socialist leadership, however, the ideas and traditions of guerillaism tended to push Palestinian activists further down the same dead-end street. Driven to despair by the ineffectiveness of the leadership, some resorted to what they saw as 'more revolutionary' tactics—known, in the language of Marxism, as individual terrorism.

A series of aeroplane hijackings were launched by the 'Marxist' Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (one of the groups in the PLO) during the late 1960s. This provoked merciless Israeli retaliation, and sparked off a new spiral of terror.

A climax was reached with the massacre of civilians at Lod airport (near Tel Aviv) by pro-Palestinian Japanese terrorists in 1972, and the murder of Israeli athletes at the Olympic games by Palestinian terrorists during the same year. These were followed by savage Israeli raids into Syria and Lebanon, sowing death and destruction among the refugees.

In these and later events, the impotence of the terrorist groups was exposed. Random and bloody attacks on civilians could never take the place of an armed, revolutionary mass movement. The PLO leadership has itself admitted that terrorism has

been counter-productive.

While reducing the Palestinian workers to mere onlookers at the 'armed struggle', it has pushed Jewish workers more solidly than ever behind the regime. It is the terrorist atrocities of the early 1970s, and not the 'fine print' in the PLO constitution about a democratic state in Palestine, that has left a lasting impression in the minds of Jewish workers as to what the PLO leadership stand for.

This bitter climate prepared the way for the coming to power of the reactionary Begin government in 1977.

Crisis of leadership

The spiral of terror, once begun, can be cut across only by great events. Bombings and assassinations by Palestinians, met with Israeli counter-terror, have continued. Political or military setbacks for the Palestinian struggle have been followed by futile acts of 'revenge'—and even more savage Israeli reaction.

This reflects the crisis of Palestinian leadership. The bankrupt policies of the PLO have left a seething hotbed of anger and frustration in the refugee camps. In the absence of a clear revolutionary lead, linking the national liberation of the Palestinian people to the socialist transformation of the Middle East, a basis will remain for new waves of terrorism.

This danger is especially great in the present situation, following the humiliating defeat of the PLO in Lebanon.

What is the alternative to a dismal future of continued oppression, slaughter and counter-slaughter? How can the Palestinian workers, and all the working people of the Middle East—including the Israeli workers—achieve a genuine solution to their problems?

In the next issue of *Inqaba* these questions will be discussed.



**inqaba
YA BASEBENZI**

To overthrow white domination, to win the struggle for democracy — we will have to break down the entire state machinery created over generations by the bosses and their supporters to enslave us for exploitation.

Only the mass of the working people, when organised and armed, can carry through this revolution.

To eliminate poverty and hunger, to secure work and homes for all — we will have to end the capitalist system and take the factories, mines, banks and farms into common ownership, so that production and distribution can be democratically planned and controlled for the benefit of the people.

Only when equipped with a clear socialist programme and strategy for workers' power, can our movement carry through these tasks.

Seeking open political expression of their revolutionary aims, tens of thousands of workers and youth are turning to the banner of the A.N.C. as their rallying point.

For the A.N.C. to effectively unite and lead the liberation struggle of the working people to the conquest of power, it must be consciously built and transformed into a mass organisation with a socialist programme.

INQABA YA BASABENZI ('Workers' Fortress') fights for this. The task of supporters of INQABA, in the course of every struggle, is to convince other comrades of the need for these policies.

WHERE TO START

I. FORM AN INQABA READERS' GROUP OF TRUSTED COMRADES.

Study and critically discuss the articles in the journal, as well as other publications of the movement. Study the theoretical sup-

Support *INQABA YA BASEBENZI!*

Build a MASS A.N.C. with a SOCIALIST PROGRAMME!

plements with every issue of *INQABA*. Also get hold of other writings especially of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky to discover the rich lessons and traditions of the international working class.

Plan together how to fight for socialist ideas in all the specific conditions in which you are involved — in building the trade unions and community and youth organisations; and above all, in building the A.N.C.

2. MAKE *INQABA* AN EFFECTIVE VOICE OF THE WORKING CLASS.

Because of its experience, the working class is the instinctive bearer of socialist ideas — which Marxism clarifies and puts together scientifically. In the daily life of every worker is an armoury of facts and arguments to prove the need for socialist policies to overcome their problems. Bring them to the fore!

Use your initiative to the full. Collect facts, opinions, interviews, reports on struggles, criticisms of the journal and suggestions for improvements. Write about local, national and international issues. Send articles, letters, photographs, cartoons, reviews — whatever should be brought to the attention of comrades in the struggle all over the country.

Encourage workers to write about their own conditions. The best articles are those which are drawn directly from experience. Because the ruling class has systematically denied the working class access to education, many workers feel they lack the ability to contribute.

It is essential to overcome this hesitation. Even workers without literacy can speak about what they know and think, so that other comrades who have the ability can write down what they say.

Encourage also those activists

who disagree with *INQABA*, but whose ideas have an echo within the working class (or even a section of it) to write for the journal. By raising important questions for debate in this way, we can make the journal a more effective instrument in raising political consciousness in every area.

3. HELP TO CIRCULATE *INQABA*.

The name "*INQABA*" is already fairly well known among activists in South Africa. But all too few are able to get hold of a copy; much less to receive it regularly. This is because of the big problems of clandestine distribution.

INQABA supporters need to give systematic and careful attention to this, using all possible facilities for copying the journal and then getting copies swiftly through reliable networks into the right hands.

Every individual reader should try to pass on a copy regularly to at least one other person, and if not already part of an *INQABA* readers' circle, work to form one.

In distributing *INQABA*, the main concentration should be on workers, especially in the large industrial and mining areas. For added effectiveness, translations of material from *INQABA* should be made into the different languages spoken by workers in all areas, and reproduced.

4. USE *INQABA* TO BUILD THE BASIS OF A MASS, SOCIALIST A.N.C.

It will not be enough for the A.N.C. to simply have the *support* of the working people. The working class needs to make the A.N.C. *its own* — by building it within South Africa, organising it, filling it with the power of the workers' movement and bringing it under the democratic control of its membership in struggle.

The most resolute fighters in all

the various organisations of the working class — especially in the trade unions and the youth movement — are the backbone for the mass, socialist A.N.C. of the future. *INQABA* supporters among them must work steadily to group together those who share our ideas on the building of the A.N.C., to begin putting these ideas into practice.

The A.N.C. will take on flesh — will be able to develop structures embodying large numbers of workers in open organisation — as the strength of the mass movement drives back the state's powers of repression and enlarges the space for open revolutionary work.

INQABA supporters should themselves combine open with 'underground' work, proving themselves the most steadfast builders, not only of the A.N.C., but of the trade unions and the youth and community organisations of action.

We must be able to show in our own work the correctness of the policies we stand for. That is the only way to arm the movement with the ideas of Marxism and to win the struggle for a socialist programme.

Apply the ideas and method of *INQABA* to every local struggle. Summarise the main arguments and conclusions from articles in the journal to use in agitational leaflets. Combine the general demands raised in *INQABA* with the detailed demands put forward in each particular struggle. Link the day-to-day struggles over wages, education, transport, housing, etc., to an *understanding of the need for the socialist transformation of society*.

Organise round the ideas of *INQABA* to build the A.N.C. Let every workplace, college and locality where *INQABA* supporters are present become a fortress of this work — a firm foundation for the mass, socialist A.N.C. of the future.

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For security reasons, fictitious names have been used by writers of articles in this issue of INQABA YA BASEBENZI. In every case, however, care has been taken not to give a misleading impression of the background and experience of the comrade concerned. Details about writers are provided only when security considerations make this possible.