

inqaba YA BASEBENZI

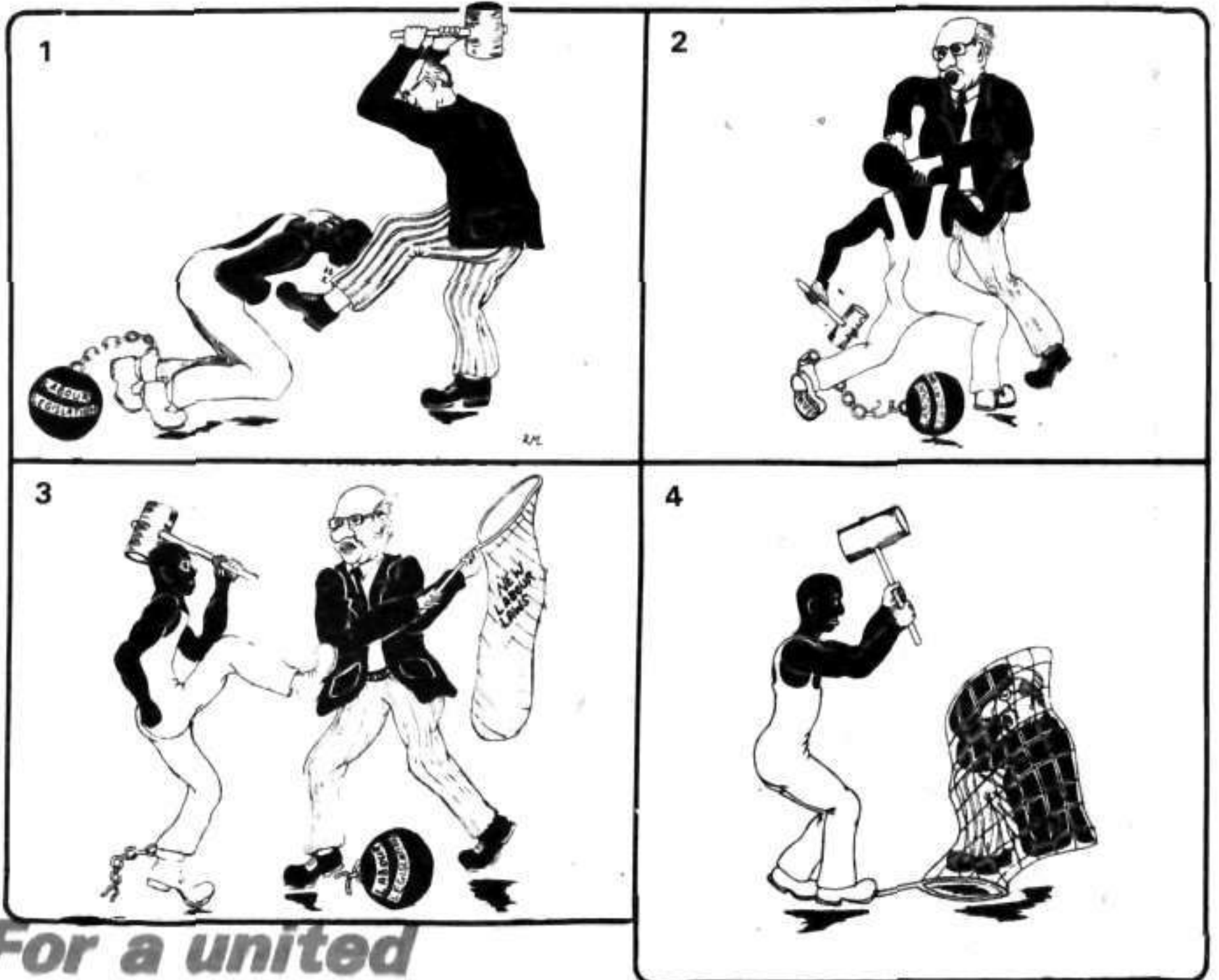


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***For a united
mass trade union movement!***

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For a United Mass Trade Union Movement

The last ten years have seen an historic development—organised black workers taking matters into their own hands. Now there are mighty struggles daily against low wages, rising prices, high rents, fare increases and the whole system of oppression.

In the last two years the numbers in independent trade unions have almost trebled. This is a magnificent achievement in the face of persistent and intensifying police raids, victimisations, arrests, detentions and bannings of trade unionists.

Yet membership of the independent unions is still only a tiny proportion of the workforce. That shows the huge potential of the workers' movement still to be mobilised in organised struggle.

The armchair critics of the working class who argued that workers can never become a match for the power of the bosses' state are having to swallow their words.

The increase in working class activity has polarised the classes in South Africa. Among the blacks everybody wants to define themselves as workers.

The powerful pull of the trade union movement affects the oppressed middle classes. Some are attracted to it by ambition to enhance their own prestige. But the healthiest elements are drawn to the workers away from middle-class strivings for respectability and a privileged place in the sun.

Ever-increasing membership and success in struggle also draw the most conscious youth towards the essential productive and revolutionary force: the working class.

In this period, victories and defeats alike have been a training

and a spur for greater organisation and further struggle. The initiative is still moving to the working class.

This weakens and divides the ruling class all the more. They are hopelessly split on the trade union question as on every vital question of the day. In desperation they fall back on their old, futile policies of vicious and naked repression.

This sharpening of class struggle firmly underlines the revolutionary potential of the black workers' movement when organised in mass trade unions behind a fighting programme of working-class demands. But even more important, it stresses the absolute need for unity of trade unions.

Trade union unity is the basis of strength of the working class, for defence and struggle both against the bosses and their oppressive state.

The recent mass arrests, detentions of trade unionists and deportations to the barren ghettos of the Transkei bring out more clearly than ever that the state is inseparably linked to the bosses and is the ruthless enemy of the trade union movement.

With the migrant workers (the most oppressed mass of the workers and main source of cheap labour for the South African capitalist system) still largely unorganised, workers' unity between migrants and non-migrants is the key to the future strength of the trade union movement.

Already positive attempts towards united trade union action are under way. This is a milestone in the progress of the movement. But much more remains to be done.

What would be the effect, for example, of a national campaign around the demand for a minimum

wage as a basis for uniting the trade unions and workers all over the country?

Given a clear lead by the unions on these and other problems, unorganised workers would flock to join the struggle. By launching an all-out drive to recruit the unorganised masses, the independent unions could realistically set themselves the target of a million members by the end of 1982.

United and strengthened, the trade union movement could go far beyond the bosses' fear of a "spate of sympathy strikes". Effective campaigns to force the release of political prisoners, an end to the pass laws and police repression, through all means including the general strike, could then be on the order of the day.

This is the strategic course which comrades of the ANC and SACTU need to explain and promote within the workers' movement.

Such a clear programme of action would unite all the oppressed around the workers' movement, preparing the struggle to smash the capitalist state.

Essential in this struggle will be the development in the workers' movement of a political leadership with a clear programme and perspective which can guide the movement against the bosses and their state to a revolutionary conclusion. This is the task which faces the advanced workers in building the ANC as a fighting mass organisation, above all of the working class.

On this basis every effort towards building the trade union united front would cut short by many miles the road to a successful socialist revolution in South Africa.

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Introduction

“While the democratic petty bourgeois want to bring the revolution to an end as quickly as possible, achieving at most the aims already mentioned (tax reforms, easy credit, constitutional democracy, better wages, etc—*Editor*), it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent until all the more or less propertied classes have been driven from their ruling positions, until the proletariat has conquered state power and until the association of the proletarians has progressed sufficiently far—not only in one country but in all the leading countries of the world—that competition between the proletarians of these countries ceases and at least the decisive forces of production are concentrated in the hands of the workers.”

Karl Marx, *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League*, March 1850.

The article which follows was written by Leon Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Russian revolution, as an appendix to his biography of Stalin. Written at the end of Trotsky's life, it was first published in 1941, the year after his assassination by agents of Stalin's secret police.

The article outlines three different perspectives on the Russian revolution which were put forward in the years before 1917 by different tendencies within the political party of the Russian workers, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.

Every revolutionary movement needs perspectives for its struggle, to identify what it is fighting against, how victory can be achieved, and what will take the place of the old society.

With the forward thrust of the mass movement in South Africa there rages an unprecedented level of debate among the black workers and the youth about perspectives—about the character and the tasks of the South African revolution and the forces that must be mobilised to carry out these tasks.

The overwhelming majority of the people are subjected at one and the same time to the vicious degradation of white racism, and to the miseries of the cheap labour system imposed by capitalism. All these chains on the people must be broken.

Does the destruction of racism

and capitalism require two separate revolutions? Can national liberation be achieved unless the struggle against capitalism is victorious? On the other hand, some ask, can racist oppression and the domination of the capitalist class be destroyed together in the course of a single revolution?

Won't a programme of simultaneous struggle for national liberation and against capitalism lead perhaps to division in our ranks and a weakening of our forces—or is it rather the only basis on which successful unity in action of all the oppressed can be built?

Here important lessons can be learnt from the clash of ideas which took place over the character and tasks of, and the relation of forces in, the Russian revolution—and by the test which these ideas underwent in the heat of the revolution itself.

The three conceptions of the revolution outlined here are those of the Mensheviks; of Lenin and the Bolsheviks between 1905 and early 1917; and of Trotsky himself in this period.

All three conceptions were in agreement on the general character of the revolution that was impending in Russia: it was 'bourgeois' in that Tsarist absolutism and the power of a feudal landowning class needed to be overthrown.

But between the Mensheviks on the one hand, and Lenin and Trot-

sky on the other, there was a fundamental disagreement: on the relation of the classes in the society, and therefore on the forces that were capable of carrying out the tasks.

Trotsky explains these differences in the article, and sets out the basic idea of the *permanent revolution* (which from 1904 he had applied to the Russian situation). At the same time he explains certain differences which existed between him and Lenin on this question up until the beginning of 1917.

Their identical analysis of the actual course of the Russian revolution in 1917 brought them together on precisely the same practical standpoint. This course of events confirmed absolutely the position that Trotsky had taken: that to carry the revolution to victory required the working class to take state power.

In February 1917 a revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants forced the abdication of the Tsar (the Russian emperor). Workers everywhere came out on strike and organised themselves in the soviets (councils of delegates elected directly by the workers in their workplaces and districts).

Workers' power

The peasantry began seizing land and national minorities rose up. Soldiers, sent to fight for the Russian state in the imperialist World War, began to mutiny and desert. The formation of soviets spread among the soldiers, sailors and the peasantry.

The conquest of power lay open to the masses. But the Mensheviks and other reformists, initially in the majority in the Soviets, entered a Provisional Government which remained based on the remnants of the old state and compromised with the bourgeoisie. The Provisional Government was unable to meet a single one of the basic demands of

Kopanelong ya Mokgatlo wa Sephara wa Babereki

Leshome la dijara tse difitileng le nnile tswelolepele ya kgakgamatso—babereki ba bantsho baipopile mme ba ikemisitse ka maoto. Jaanong, malatsi otlhe go gathabanelwa tuelo e e ko tlase, gotura go go tlathogang, dirente tse dikogodimo, tlathoso ya madi a dipalamo le kgatelelo kagotlhe.

Mo dijareng tse pedi tse difitileng makgotla a babereki a aitshwereng a atile gararo. Go gase thaka yamotho fa re seba ditlhaselo tsa mapodisi tse diatang disafele, gotlhrisiwa, gotshwarwa, gotswalelwa kante go tsheko, le go iidiwa kopano ga *maloko a makgotla a babereki le baetapele babona.*

Legale bontsi jwa babereki ga ise bo tsene mo makgotleng. Ke sesupo sa gore mokgatlo wa babereki o na le thata e e bobileng, e e tshwanetseng go tsosiwa ke thulaganyo ee bopilweng sentle.

Basupa-ka-monwana ba setlhopa sa babereki, ba bane bare babereki ga ba kake ba shebana ba lekana le thata ya mmuse wa bo rraditshete, jaanong ba kometsa mafoko a bona.

Goitsosa ga setlhopa sa babereki go kgaogantse seemo sa ditlhopa mo Afrika-Borwa. Mo bantshong mang le mang o batla gotwe ke mmereki.

Kgogo e bodipa ya mokgatlo wa babereki wa babereki e ama setlhopa sa baema-gare ba ba gateletsweng. Babangwe ba tliwa ke goikgopolela, go leka goikgoromeletsa kwa pele. Mme gontse jaalo mathaka a siameng a setlhopa sona se baipopa le babereki, balesa go rata bokopele le gojagotlhe ga setlhopa sa baema-gare.

Koketso ya bontsi le tswelolepele ya tlabano le tsone di goga lotsha lo lo bonang goipopa le motlakase wa legadima, ke gore setlhopa sa badiri, babereki.

Mo nakong ena, gofanya le gofengwa entse e le thuto le

nonofatso ya boipopo le tlabano. Mme ntsha e wela ka mo setlhopeng sa babereki.

Ke ka moo babusi bantse ba koafala mme ba ntse ba kgaogana kagona. Ga ba lentswe-lengwe ka tsa makgotla a babereki; fela jaaka dilo tsothe tse di babang gompjeno. Se baseitseng ke go boela mo mekgweng ya kgatelelo e e setlhoko ya boitlhobogo.

Goata gantwa ya kganetso ya ditlhopa gosupa nonofo e e bobileng ya go tsubukanya mo mokgatlong wa babereki ba bantsho, feela fa ba kopane mo makgotleng a sephara, a na le letheo la ntwala dilelo tsa babereki. Le gale se se leng botlhokwa tota, ke kopano ya makgotla a babereki.

Kopano ya makgotla ke mmoko wa thata ya babereki, goitshireletsa mo go bo-rra-dikhumo, go lwantshana gape le bone, le mmuso wa bone wa kgatelelo.

Ditshwaro tsa bontsi jwa batho tsa maloba, go tshwarwa ga ba makgotla a babereki kante ga tsheko, le go kojelwa ko makweteng a bo-Transkei go bontsha sentle gore muso o kopa-kopane le boradikhumo, mme gape ke mmaba wa kopano ya babereki.

Go ntse jaalo, babereki ba dijoiini, ba eleng bone ba ba gateletsweng gofeta, mme e bone ba ba emisitseng ya bokapitalisti, ga baise ba tsene makgotla ka bontsi, kopano ya babereki ba dijoiini le babangwe keyone feela tsela ya tswelolepele ya mokgatlo wa babereki.

Ebile go setse gona le maiteko a go kopanya diemo tsa makgotla. Ke tswelolepele tota! Le gale go gontsi tota go goiseng go diriwe. Go ka nna jaang fa go ka nna le pitso e ralalang sechaba ee bakang tuelo-nyane, e nne setshwaraganyi sa makgotla le babereki lefatshe phara.

Babereki ba kaitshela mo tlabanelong fa makgotla a ka tsa

seemo se se popota mo dilong tse le mo matshwenyegong otlhe a mangwe. Ka goithaopa go kgobokanya babereki ba ba fokolang, makgotla a ka nna le maloko a le-millione sentle fela ka bofelo jwa ga 1982.

Mokgatlo wa babereki, o kopane mme o thatafaditswe jaalo, tota o ka feta molelwanyana o o tshabiwang ke borra-dikhumo bahiri, "go emisa pereko fa babereki babangwe ba kobilwe kgotsa babaka ditshwanelo". Go ka tse: "a go gololwe batho ba ba tshwaretsweng go ganetsa muso wa kgatelelo"; "a go fedisiwe dipasa le kgatelelo ka mapodisi"; go diriwe gotlhe, go emisiwe tiro lefatshe phara; dilo tse e ka nna borotho jwa malatsi.

Ke yone tsela ya boithaopi e makolwane a ANC le SACTU a tshwanetseng go etlhalosa le go e atisa mo mokgatlong wa babereki.

Tsela e e tlhamaletseng jaana ya go tlabana e ka kopanya botlhe ba ba gateletsweng go ipopa mo mokgatlong wa babereki, ba bangkanya ntwala ya go thuba puso ya bo-rra-dikhumo.

Mme se se batlegang mo ntweng e, ke go bopiwa ga boetapele jwa bo-politiki mo mokgatlong wa babereki o o nang le maikemisetsa a tlhamaletseng, a a ka supang tsela go babereki mo ntweng ya kganetso le bo-rra-dikhumo bahiri ba kopane le mmuso wabona, gore go fele ka phenyo ya tswelolepele ya ntsha ya babereki.

E ke yone tiro e e emetseng babereki ba ba kopele mo go ageng ANC jaaka lekgotla-sephara la ntwala, thata-thata ya setlhopa sa babereki.

Godimo ga motheo ono boiteko jotlhe jwa go aga kopano ya makgotla a babereki bo ka dira tsela kgautshwane ya go aga muso-tlabanelo ya boja-mmogo mo Afrika Borwa.

the masses, which were summarised in a simple slogan of the Bolsheviks: "Bread, Peace, and Land".

Lenin, returning from exile in April, recognised that the immediate task for the working class was to prepare for taking power. This was summed up in the Bolshevik slogan: "All power to the Soviets". In the months which followed, growing numbers, seeing the paralysis of the Provisional Government, rallied to the Bolsheviks, giving them a majority in the crucial soviets in the main cities of Petrograd and Moscow.

On 25-26 October the revolutionary workers and soldiers overthrew the Provisional Government in an armed insurrection led by the Bolsheviks. Power passed to the soviets of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies.

Only on the basis of this revolution in October, by which the working class came to power, could the immediate tasks of the Russian revolution be carried out. The new soviet government immediately published a proclamation on the land question, calling on the local peasants' soviets to seize the land from the big landowners and share it among the peasants. The right of national minorities to self-determination was immediately recognised by the proletarian government.

These were precisely the main tasks of the revolution which had been identified in advance in all three conceptions of the Russian revolution outlined in the article published here. But, as Trotsky had anticipated (and as Lenin was in the forefront of arguing from April 1917), they could be accomplished only when the working class took power in its own right and established its own state. (Moreover, it took a workers' government to make the first moves to end Russia's part in the imperialist World War).

At the same time, taking power, the working class inevitably moved forward to crush capitalist exploitation and begin laying the foundations for socialism. Thus, in the period after 1917, the big factories and banks were soon nationalised and the basis of a planned economy laid. This process, too, Trotsky had anticipated in the theory of permanent revolution.

Thus it is completely false to regard the Russian revolution as having occurred in 'two stages': a 'bourgeois-democratic' stage in February, followed by a 'socialist' stage in October. Yet this is how every classic text of Marxism is footnoted in the editions produced in Moscow since the rise of Stalin.

The point is that the Provisional Government was *unable*, because it remained on a capitalist basis, to carry out any 'bourgeois-democratic' tasks. The October proletarian revolution at one and the same time carried through the immediate bourgeois-democratic tasks facing Russia and passed on to the socialist tasks.

Internationalism

Equally, however, Lenin and Trotsky had always recognised that the socialist transformation of society could not be completed in one or even a few countries in isolation—let alone in the conditions of economic backwardness which prevailed in Russia. This has always been the ABC of Marxism.

A truly socialist society is possible only in conditions of material abundance together with the democratic rule of the working class. To consolidate their democratic rule and carry through the transition to socialism, the Russian working class depended on the victory of the working class in industrialised Europe.

As Marxism has always stressed, the socialist revolution is a world-wide process against the world-wide power of the capitalist class, bringing the commanding heights of the world economy under the control of the working class.

This lesson, the final aspect of the theory of permanent revolution, was fundamental to the internationalist policy of the Russian workers' state, governed by the Bolsheviks in the first years after the 1917 revolution.

Despite heroic revolutionary struggles by the workers in Western Europe after the First World War, the advance of the socialist revolution was halted and defeated for a whole period.

In isolation, the Russian workers' state degenerated. What Trotsky called the "thermidorian reaction" set in—a political counter-revolution which destroyed the democracy of the first workers' state, entrenched a privileged bureaucracy in power, and led to the dictatorship of Stalin.

Resting on (and defending, in its own interest) the framework of nationalised production and planning, this bureaucracy organised the development of the Russian economy. At the same time it monstrously deformed and corrupted the machinery of the workers' state, turning it into a dictatorship against the workers and peasants.

Seeking to build for itself a position of privilege on the basis of the national economy, it inevitably also turned its back on the international struggle of the working class for socialism.

Proclaiming (against all the fundamentals of Marxism) the possibility of building 'socialism in one country', as a cynical device to justify its narrow nationalism and abandonment of internationalism, it denounced the idea of permanent revolution—in reality, the method of Marxism itself—as the capital crime of so-called "Trotskyism".

Disastrously, the degeneration of the Soviet Union has contributed both to the delay in the world socialist revolution and to the eradication of Marxism as a mass force internationally for several generations. Since before the Second World War Marxist ideas have been defended and developed by only a slender cadre within the workers' movement.

Stalinism

The 'Communist' leaderships today who claim the heritage of the party of Lenin have in fact abandoned Marxism for variations of nationalism and reformism. Nowhere in the world do they set before the working class the task of taking power.

Yet, as Trotsky remarks in the article published here, no power on earth has yet been discovered which

Okwenhlangano Ebambheneyo

Yamabutho Abasebenzi

Iminyaka elishumi edlulile isibone ukuqhubeka kwezinto okubalwayo—abasebenzi abamnyama bethatha izindaba ezandleni zabo. Manje sekunzimpizinkulu mihla yonke ezilwela imihlo eyehlile, ukubiza kwempahla okuqakemeyo, imikhokhelo yezindlu ephezulu. Imbhadalo yokugibela eqakanyiswayo, nendlela yonke yokucindezela.

Eminyakeni emibili edlulile inani labantu abakumabutho angabotshiswa ngu hulumende seliphose lakhula okufika kathathu inani lakuqala. Lokhu yikuphumelela okubabazekayo kakhulu phakathi kokuhlukuluzwa njalo-njalo nguhulumende okujulileyo, ukuthunjwa, ukuboshwa, ukuvalelwa emajele ungagwetshwanga njalo nokubanjelwa inkululeko amabutho abasebenzi.

Kepha inani lababhalisa kumabutho angabotshiswa nguhulumende lisaseyingcosana nje yenhlangano yonke yezisebenzi. Lokho kubonisa ubukhulu inhlanganiso yabasebenzi engaba yikho, obusamele bubunjwe empini yokulwela inkululeko.

Abasoli bemindeni yabasebenzi ababephika ukuthi abasebenzi bangephinde bawamele amandla ababusi bakahulumende sebesala beginya amazwi abo.

Ukukhula kwemisebenzi yemindeni yabasebenzi sekusehlukanisa iminde ye Zansi Africa, phakathi kwabamnyama wonke muntu usethanda ukuzitshengisa enjengowabasebenzi.

Amandla adonsayo awamabutho abasebenzi azwiwa langumdeni waba phakathi naphakathi ocindezelwayo, abanye bahugelwa kiwo yizifiso zokuyaphambili, ukuthi bakhweze inhlalakahle yabo. Kodwa sikhathi sinye abalushwana abaqondile badonselwa kuzisebenzi besuka ekukhathaleleni komdeni wabaphakathi naphakathi odinga ukuhlonipheka nendawo ekhethiwe elangeni.

Inani lababhalisayo elikhula njalo-njalo, nokuphumelela kokulwa njalo kudonsela abasakhulayo abavuke engqondweni bedonselwa kusigaba esiyiso esiphumelelayo nesigukukayo—umdeni wabasebenzi.

Ngalelithuba, ukuphumelela nokwehlulwa ngokufanana kube yi-

mfundo nenqubela phambili ekukhuliseni ukubumbana nokulwa okuyaphambili. Isikhuthazi silokhu siyikusondelela kumdeni wabasebenzi.

Lokhu kuncibilikisa njalo kwehlukane umdeni wababusi kakhulu. Batshayana amakhanda bengavumelani ngendaba yamabutho abasebenzi, nangazo zonke izindaba eziqakathekile eziyimbuzo yakulezinsuku. Ekwehlulekeni kwabo babuyelela kuziga zabo ezindala zokuhlukuluza nokucindezela abantu okungenamusa.

Lokhu kucija kwempi yemideni kubonisa ngamandla imfanelo yengukoko yenhlangano yabasebenzi abamnyama, ma ibumbene emabuthweni abasebenzi, bonke bemi ngemva kwamalungiselelo amele ukulwela izifiso zomdeni wabasebenzi. Kodwa into eqakathekile okungaphambili ikuthi iqonqosela imfanelo emqoka yokubambhana kwamabutho abasebenzi.

Ukuhlangana kwamabutho abasebenzi yiwo amandla omdeni wabasebenzi ekuzivikeleni nekulweni lababusi kanye nohulumende wabo ocindezelayo.

Ukuboshwa kwabantu abaningi okusanda kwenzeka, ukubanjwa kwabasebenzela amabutho abasebenzi, nokulahlelwa enkangala yase Transkei kuveza kasobala manje okwedlula kuqala ukuthi uhulumende angeke ehlukane nababusi, nokuthi nguye isitha esibi samabutho abasebenzi.

Abasebenzi magoduka (okuyilo iqembu labasebenzi elicindezelwa okwedlulayo, njalo eliyilo elinika uhulumende we Zansi Africa umthombo wezisebenzi ezibhadalelwa phansi) elokhu ngendlela enkulu engakumbani, ukuhlangana kwabasebenzi phakathi kwabasebenzi magoduka nabasebenzi nje yiso isivulamnyango samandla azadingeka kunhlangano yamabutho abasebenzi.

Khona manje imizamo ebonakalayo ekuhlanganiseni amabutho abasebenzi isikhanya isondela. Lokhu yisiboniso esihle ekuqhubekeni kwenhlangano. Kodwa kuningi okusasele ukuba kwenziwe. Kungazala nkomoni kambe ma kungaba nemvukela yezwe lonke ilwela imbhadalo engehlanga ngaphansi kwenani ethile — njengenjongo

yokuhlanganisa amabutho abasebenzi nabo abasebenzi ezweni lonke?

Ma bengaboniswa ukhokhelo olukhanyayo ngamabutho abasebenzi kulezi nezinye izindaba ezidubayo, abasebenzi abangakahlangani bangeza ngamandla ukuzangena impi yokuqhubekela phambili. Ngokuthatha imizamo emikhulu ukunxusa abantu ezweni abangakahlangani, amabutho abasebenzi angabotshiswa nguhulumende, yisifiso esingenzeka esokuba nenani lababhalisileyo abafika isigidi ekupheleni komnyaka ka 1982.

Ibambene njalo inamandla, inhlangano yamabutho abasebenzi ingafika khatshana ngaphambi kokuthandabuza kwababusi nge "ncozana yabasebenzi abenza isiteleka ngenxa yenzwelo". Imvukela ezwayo yokubambekelela ukukhululwa kwezibotshwa zepolitiki, ukuqeda imithetho yamapasi, nencindezelo kahulumende ngayo yonke imizamo kunye ne "Siteleka Esikhulu" (General Strike) isingaba yindaba yanamuhla.

Yiyona le ndlela esicacisiwe engavezwa ngamaqembu enkululeko awe ANC ne SACTU, njalo ikhuliswe kunhlangano zabasebenzi.

Indlela yokwenza izinto ecacile kanje ingahlanganisa bonke abacindezelweyo ngakunhlangano yabasebenzi, ilungisela impi yokuphumelela engadiliza umbuso wenotho.

Okuzadingeka kakhulu ekulweni lokhu yikubumba phakathi kwenhlangano yabasebenzi inkokhelo yepolitiki enendlela yokwenza izinto ecacile, nendlela ebona izinto kahle, engakhokhela inhlango ma isilwa nababusi nohulumende endleleni egcina ngenguqulo yokuyaphambili.

Yiwolo umsebenzi omkhulu okhangele abasebenzi asebeqhubekile ekwakheni i ANC ukuba yinhlangano elwela abantu ezweni lonke—umdeni wabasebenzi.

Phezu kwalenjongo, wonke mzamo oqhubekela ekwakheni ibutho labasebenzi eliyinkokhelo ebambeneyo ingaphungula ngomango omkhulu indlela eqonde enguqukwani ephumelelayo yenhlalakahle e Zansi Africa.

can halt the class struggle. The theory of permanent revolution is taking its own revenge on the bankrupt conceptions of Stalinism.

Today, throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the correctness of the permanent revolution is revealed starkly.

During the epoch of imperialism (roughly from the end of the nineteenth century) the world-wide development of capitalism has meant the imposition of the most modern forms of capitalist production within societies where the old social systems have not been fully destroyed. No room has existed for the development of strong national capitalist classes in a "Third World" dominated by a world market under the control of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Colonial revolution

The 'national' capitalist class in these countries where capitalism was late on the scene could develop only as a minor cog in the wheel of imperialism—leaning, for support against the masses, on the pillars of the old society. The all-round development of society has been impossible; the democratic tasks heap up, insoluble on the basis of capitalism.

Progress for the peoples in the colonial world has been possible only on the basis of breaking the stranglehold of capitalism.

The huge revolutions which have engulfed the "Third World" in the period since the Second World War confirm this central idea of the permanent revolution, if in a distorted way.

In countries where the proletariat is a decisive factor, only the proletariat can carry out the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and then carry through the socialist revolution. Now historically since the Second World War it has been demonstrated that under certain conditions the peasants and the middle class in a caricatured form can carry out in part the bourgeois-democratic revolution and then pass on to the socialist tasks—but only in the form of deformed workers'

states.

In these struggles the decisive role has been played by the peasant masses, led and organised by middle class intellectuals, soldiers, etc. The working class, lacking independent organisation and leadership, has played an insignificant role. The middle-class leaders of these revolutions have invariably set out on the basis of programmes for national liberation and democratic reform—but without consciously linking these to the task of overthrowing capitalism.

But the very rottenness of capitalism, falling apart under the pressures of the masses, has left the leadership no alternative but to replace the capitalist system by nationalised production and planning.

Without workers' democracy—the conscious control and management of society by the working class itself—these new states have come into existence as deformed workers' states under bureaucratic domination from the outset.

The new basis of production gives the bureaucracy, for a whole period, an ability to develop the economy. At the same time the integration of the world market under the domination of monopoly capitalism places severe limits on what can be achieved within the framework of a single nation-state.

We will explain these processes of the colonial revolution in more detail in future supplements.

In South Africa, in contrast to much of the former colonial world, large-scale industry has developed, and the working class has emerged as the decisive force. Here too, the method of the permanent revolution is indispensable to understand the coming revolution.

Here, the development of capitalism has been possible only on the basis of the most monstrous dictatorship over the majority of the people, and the racial division and fragmentation of society. These conditions are summed up in the system of migrant labour—the basis of cheap labour and capitalist profitability.

National liberation, the reconquest of the land by the people, and the establishment of democracy remain in consequence as tasks to be

carried out.

There are those who still argue that national liberation can be achieved before the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist class is mounted. But the course of events themselves, in which the youth and the politically active workers increasingly recognise the inseparable interconnection between national oppression and capitalism, is causing this 'two-stage' theory to fall into disrepute.

More frequent today is the argument that, if there is such an inseparable connection, then mobilising for national liberation will in and of itself result in the defeat of the capitalist class. Did this not happen, after all, in Mozambique and Angola?

But, in contrast to Mozambique and Angola, the capitalist class in South Africa is strongly entrenched (even if on the defensive) and able to rely on potentially large forces of reaction. To hold back the movement of the workers the capitalist class will use every device, twisting and wriggling in all directions, seeking to crush, disarm, and deceive. The need for a **conscious** movement of the working class, developing a programme on the basis of Marxism, with a **conscious** leadership, becomes a decisive factor.

Counter-revolution

There have been numerous instances, inside and outside the "Third World" where a working class with a decisive weight in society has pressed forward, to resolve all the daily burdens thrust upon it, to the point of revolution.

The capitalist class has been brought to its knees—yet the knockout blow has not been delivered. Invariably this has been the result of the failure on the part of the workers' leadership to put forward a conscious programme for workers' power, relying instead on the existing machinery of the capitalist state.

With society still locked in the grip of the system of profit, none of the fundamental tasks of concern to the masses can be carried out. The

Vir 'n Verenigde Massavakbeweging

**inqaba
YA BASEBENZI**

Die laaste tien jaar het 'n historiese ontwikkeling gesien—georganiseerde swart werkers vat sake in hulle eie hande. Daar is nou daaglikse geweldige stryd teen lae lone, prysstygings, hoë rent, busgeldverhogings en die hele sisteem van onderdrukking.

In die laaste twee jaar het die aantal werkers in die onafhanklike vakbonde amper verdriedubbel. Dit is 'n groot prestasie gesien die aanhoudende en toenemende polisieaanvalle, viktimisasies, arrestasies en hulsarres van vakbondlede.

Tog is die ledetal van die onafhanklike vakbonde nog maar 'n klein deel van die werkmag. Dit wys op die kolossale potensiaal van die werkersbeweging wat nog gemobiliseer moet word in georganiseerde stryd.

Die mense wat die werkende klas uit die studeerkamer kritiseer, en glo dat die werkers nooit opgewasse kan wees teen die krag van die base se staat nie, moet nou hulle woorde insluk.

Die versterkte beweging van die werkende klas het die klasse in Suid-Afrika teen mekaar gepolariseer. Onder swart mense wil almal hulleself nou werkers noem.

Die kragtige trek van die vakbonde het 'n uitwerking op die onderdrukte middelklas. 'n Paar word aangelok deur die ambisie om hul eie aansien te verhoog. Maar die beste van hulle word na die kant van die werkers getrek, weg van die strewe van die middelklas vir 'n bevoorregte plek in die son.

'n Groeiende ledetal en sukses in die stryd trek ook die mees bewuste jeug na die werklik produktiewe en revolusionêre mag: die werkende klas.

In hierdie tyd is oorwinnings en

neerlae albei 'n opvoeding vir die werkers en 'n aansporing tot groter organisasie en stryd. Die inisiatief beweeg nog altyd in die rigting van die werkende klas.

Dit verswak en verdeel die heersende klas nog meer. Hulle is hopeloos verdeel oor die vakbondskwessie en alle ander belangrike kwessies. In wanhoop val hulle terug op hulle ou, mislukte politiek van oop en bloot onderdrukking.

Hierdie verskerping van die klasestryd onderstreep die revolusionêre potensiaal van die swart werkersbeweging, georganiseer in massavakbonde agter 'n strydprogram van werkerseise. Belangriker nog, dit lê nadruk op die absolute noodsaaklikheid van vakbondseenheid.

Vakbondseenheid is die basis waarop die krag van die werkende klas berus vir selfverdediging en stryd teen sowel die base as hulle onderdrukkende staat.

Die massa-arrestasies van vakbondlede en deportasies na die Transkei het die laaste tyd duideliker as ooit laat sien dat die staat heeltelmal verbind is met die base, en die genadelose vyand van die vakbondsbeweging is.

Met die trekarbeiders (die mees onderdrukte massa van die werkers en die vernaamste bron van goedkoop arbeid vir die Suid-Afrikaanse kapitalistiese sisteem) nog grotendeels ongeorganiseer, is eenheid tussen die trekarbeiders en ander werkers die sleutel tot die toekomstige krag van die vakbondsbeweging.

Positiewe stappe na verenigde vakbondsaksie is al aan die gang. Dit is 'n mylpaal in die vooruitgang van die beweging. Maar baie meer moet nog gedoen word.

Wat sal die gevolg wees, byvoorbeeld, van 'n nasionale veldtog

rondom die eis vir 'n minimumloon as 'n basis om die vakbonde en die werkers dwarsdeur die hele land te verenig?

As daar duidelike leiding gegee word deur die vakbonde by hierdie en ander probleme, sal die ongeorganiseerde werkers toestroom om by die stryd aan te sluit. Deur met alle mag te probeer om die ongeorganiseerde massa by die vakbonde te betrek, kan die bonde hulleself realisties die doel stel van 'n miljoen lede teen die einde van 1982.

Verenig en versterk kan die vakbondsbeweging baie verder gaan as die base se vrees vir "'n golf van simpatiestakings". Die stryd om bevryding van politieke gevangenes en 'n einde aan die paswette en polisie-onderdrukking, met alle middele inklusief die algemene staking, sal dan op die program staan.

Dit is die strategiese rigting wat die lede van die ANC en SACTU binne die werkersbeweging sal moet verklaar en aanmoedig.

So 'n duidelike aksieprogram sal die hele onderdrukte bevolking rondom die werkersbeweging verenig en die stryd voorberei om die kapitalistiese staat te vernietig.

Noodsaaklik in hierdie stryd is die ontwikkeling in die werkersbeweging van 'n politieke leiding met 'n duidelike program en perspektief wat die beweging teen die base en hulle staat na 'n revolusionêre einde kan voer. Dit is die taak wat die bewuste werkers afwag by die opbou van die ANC as 'n veggende massa-organisasie, veral van die werkende klas.

Op hierdie grondslag sal elke poging om 'n verenigde vakbondfront op te bou, die pad na 'n suksesvolle sosialistiese revolusie in Suid-Afrika met baie myle verkort.

forward movement ebbs; the masses become demoralised and divided; the middle classes desert them.

Granted a reprieve, its state machinery not yet smashed, the capitalist class rises from its knees like a wounded beast, and prepares for revenge.

In just such circumstances revolutionary movements of the workers and peasants have suffered crushing defeats—for example in Spain in the 1930's (leaving 1 million dead); in Indonesia in the 1960's (at least half a million Communists and trade unionists slaughtered); in Chile in 1973 (where 50-100 000 were shot or tortured to death).

History demonstrates that it is the failure to gather the struggles around all the unresolved tasks of society into a programme of strug-

gle for workers' rule which leads to fatal division of the masses.

By linking the national and democratic tasks to the socialist revolution the method of permanent revolution makes it possible for the workers' movement to advance a detailed programme to meet the needs of all oppressed sections of society. The essential element in this programme of unity is an implacable struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

Cadre

The conscious understanding of this lesson is vital for our struggle.

Armed with the lessons of the permanent revolution, the politically active workers and youth can build the ANC as a fighting mass organisation, drawing together all the oppressed. The struggle for decent wages and jobs for all, an end to the pass laws and migrant labour system, and the abolition of all forms of racial and national oppression will thus at the same time consciously become the struggle to overthrow the capitalist state and establish workers' democracy.

In this way the world socialist revolution, begun in Russia in 1917, will take a step nearer completion.

Towards this end, mastering the theory of the permanent revolution and learning how to apply it, will be a part of the essential development of every cadre.

Build the trade union united front!

By Jake Wilson
and
Rocco Malgas

Despite sharp crackdowns by the police there has been a magnificent increase in the activity and struggles of the independent trade union movement. Through strikes, and the consolidation of union membership, workers are winning a whole spate of recognition ballots and agreements, shop steward elections and wage increases.

The latest Labour Relations Amendment Bill and the whip of the police, far from taming the movement, have already led to new steps to unite the workers' ranks against the bosses and the state.

The growth of worker militancy comes at a time when South African capitalism is entering a period of crisis following on the general decline of world capitalism. In the coming year it is anticipated there will be no growth in world trade on which South Africa is so dependent.

The world-wide recession has meant increasing unemployment, higher prices, shut-down factories, and cuts in social spending. It has in turn thrown millions of young people into the ranks of the jobless.

But throughout the world, recession has been made even worse by the monetarist policies of many capitalist governments. In Britain Thatcherism (cutting social spending and raising interest rates) has brought about an economic slump even deeper than the depression of the 1930s. Hence the widespread rioting of the unemployed youth. The United States is now on the same road.

Internationally the workers have met the deepening social crisis with an unprecedented increase in trade union and political struggles to defend their living standards against the constant attacks of the decaying capitalist system.

These attacks have been marked by many capitalist parliaments frantically enacting legislation to curb the powers of trade unions and outlaw strikes. In America, India, Britain, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Zambia, for example, trade union controls or arrests are the order of the day.

The trade unions are the first line of defence of the working class against attacks by the bosses and the state. They bear the brunt of the ruling-class attack, but are also a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class to fight back.

In every country of the capitalist world, the class struggle will be driven to new levels of intensity in the period ahead.

It is no different in South Africa. Since the mass strikes of 1975, the bosses and the regime have used every possible measure to frustrate or repress the independent organisation of the black workers.

But there is an added thrust to trade union struggles in South Africa. Unlike in Europe where the trade union movement came of age during the rise of world capitalism, the independent trade unions in South Africa have been

born in struggle against a capitalist class which has always been too narrow-based and economically weak to concede the reforms which the workers in Europe have won.

Today the independent trade union movement has entered a period of explosive growth precisely as capitalism in South Africa and on a world scale is moving into decline.

Dependent on cheap black labour and a violent police state, capitalism in South Africa can provide no reforms on any lasting basis. It is this which removes any foundations for stable reformist policies within the unions of the black workers and pushes the mass trade union movement in South Africa in a revolutionary direction.

The ruling class understands this only too well, yet is powerless to halt the forces which are being unleashed by the decline of the capitalist system.

Drastic powers

In its attempts to bring the independent trade unions under control through the whip in one hand and carrots in the other, the Botha regime has got itself deeper and deeper into trouble.

The latest Bill in Parliament is just another attempt to bring the quarrelling between the government, the bosses, and the bureaucracy of the registered unions to an end. But this Bill drops nearly all the carrots intended to encourage registration and vigorously cracks the whip against the independent unions.

Inspectors are provided with drastic powers to search the offices of trade unions, registered and unregistered, and seize documents.

Three concepts of the Russian Revolution

By Leon Trotsky

The Revolution of 1905 came to be not only the "general rehearsal" of 1917 but also the laboratory in which all the fundamental groupings of Russian political life were worked out and all the tendencies and shadings inside Russian Marxism were projected. At the core of the arguments and divergences was, needless to say, the question concerning the historical nature of the Russian Revolution and its future course of development. That conflict of concepts and prognoses has no direct bearing on the biography of Stalin, who did not participate in it in his own right. The few propagandist articles he wrote on that subject are utterly devoid of theoretical interest. Scores of Bolsheviks who plied the pen popularized the same thoughts, and did it considerably better. Any critical exposition of Bolshevism's revolutionary concepts naturally belongs in a biography of Lenin. But theories have their own fate. Although during the period of the First Revolution and subsequently, as late as 1923, at the time when the revolutionary doctrines were elaborated and applied, Stalin had no independent position whatever, a sudden change occurred in 1924, which opened an epoch of bureaucratic reaction and radical transvaluation of the past. The film of the revolution was unwound in reverse order. Old doctrines were subjected either to a new evaluation or a new interpretation. Thus, rather unexpectedly at first glance, attention was focussed on the concept of "permanent revolution" as the prime source of all the fallacies of "Trotskyism." For many years to come criticism of that concept formed the main content of all the theoretical—*sit venio verbo*—writings of Stalin and his collaborators. Since on the theoretical plane every bit of "Stalinism" has issued from the criticism of the theory of permanent revolution as it was formulated in 1905, an exposition of that theory, as distinct from the theories of the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, clearly belongs in this book, if only as an appendix.

Russia's development is first of all notable for its backwardness. But historical backwardness does not mean a mere retracing of the course of the advanced countries a hundred or two hundred years late. Rather, it gives rise to an utterly different "combined" social formation, in which the most highly developed achievements of capitalist technique and structure are integrated into the social relations of feudal and pre-feudal barbarism, transforming and dominating them, fashioning a unique relationship of classes. The same is true of ideas. Precisely because of its historical tardiness, Russia proved to be the only European country in which Marxism, as a doctrine, and the Social-Democracy, as a party, enjoyed a powerful development even prior to the bourgeois revolution—and

naturally so, because the problem of the relation between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism were subjected to the most profound theoretical examination in Russia.

The idealistic democrats—for the most part, the Populists—superstitiously refused to recognise the advancing revolution as a bourgeois revolution. They called it "democratic," attempting to hide under that neutral political label—not only from others, but from themselves as well—its social content. But Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism, in his fight against Populism, showed as far back as the 'eighties of the past century that Russia had no reason whatsoever to rely on preferential ways of development; that, like the "profane" nations, it would have to go through the purgatory of capitalism; and that on this very path it would wrest political freedom, which was indispensable to the proletariat in its continuing fight for socialism. Plekhanov not only segregated the bourgeois revolution, as the immediate task, from the socialist revolution, which he in turn relegated to the vague future, but he foresaw distinct combinations of forces for each of them. The proletariat would secure political freedom jointly with the liberal bourgeoisie; then, after many decades, on a high level of capitalist development, the proletariat would proceed with the socialist revolution in direct conflict against the bourgeoisie.

"To the Russian intellectual ...," Lenin wrote toward the end of 1904, "it always seems that to recognise our revolution as bourgeois means to make it colourless, to humiliate it, to vulgarise it ... The struggle for political freedom and the democratic republic in bourgeois society is to the proletarian merely one of the necessary stages in the struggle for the social revolution." "The Marxists are thoroughly convinced," he wrote in 1905, "of the bourgeois character of the Russian Revolution. What does that mean? It means that those democratic transformations ... which became indispensable for Russia, not only do not signify in themselves the undermining of capitalism, the undermining of the domination of the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, they will be the first to really clear the ground for a widespread and rapid, a European rather than an Asiatic, development of capitalism; they will be the first to make possible the rule of the bourgeoisie as a class...." "We cannot jump out of the bourgeois-democratic framework of the Russian Revolution," he insisted, "but we can considerably broaden that framework"—that is, create within the bourgeois society more favourable conditions for the further struggle of the proletariat. To that extent Lenin followed in the footsteps of Plekhanov. The bourgeois character of the revolution was the meeting of

All trade unions must have their constitutions available for inspection, as well as their finances and membership lists.

Other controls maintain the ban on strikes and now all trade unions are prohibited from using their funds to support 'illegal' strikes! A further sting is the re-introduction of the liaison committees, called 'works councils', as a weapon against the unions.

Another Bill requires all worker education to be brought under the control of the Registrar of Manpower Training.

This whole parcel of anti-union measures in Parliament, which have been supported by the PFP and NRP, are reinforced by unprecedented police attacks in the factories and townships. Trade unionists in Port Elizabeth, East London, and elsewhere hardly have time to get home before being arrested again.

In East London the Security Police have even drawn up a secret document on how to break trade union power.

The document provides detailed advice to the bosses on how to smash the unregistered unions generally, and particularly "to act as a millstone around the neck of SAAWU and to prevent the acceleration of the success of SAAWU".

In the secret document the fear of the regime of the unions' power to call a general strike shows through!

"Management cannot dismiss the workers because it will not be only one or two firms involved, but the whole of East London. The result is very clear—one would have to give in to the demands of the workers however extravagant or ludicrous these may be"!

The whole document eloquently testifies to the power of the working class when it is organised on an industry and city-wide basis. It proves once again how the initiative is moving into the hands of the black working class.

This power should be multiplied by organisation on a national level!

This decisive shift in class forces confirms the perspective of Marxism that the black working class, organised on a mass basis, will be the main force in the South African revolution.

While in South Africa the political and industrial organisation of the black working class has to be secured on underground foundations, the open trade union movement has a huge potential as a vehicle for mass struggle against the exploiters and oppressors.

Every step forward by the trade unions proves again their capacity to serve as centres of organisation of the oppressed masses.

The independent trade unions are becoming the focus for all the organisations of the oppressed: community organisations, legal defence committees, student groups, rural organisations and even some church organisations.

But this power can only be realised to the full through the massive consolidation of the trade union movement itself—through building trade union unity and developing a clear-sighted working-class leadership.

The need for trade union unity is being hammered home by practical experience. In periods of lull, the unions could be picked off and strangled one by one. The confused reaction by some trade union leaders to the issue of registration,

with a drift to place themselves under state control, opened the unions to this danger.

But the relentless pressure of the state through the police and laws to extinguish all trade union independence has made it impossible for even these trade union leaders to avoid the question of unity in the struggle to defend their survival.

Common programme

It is this growing confrontation which brought leaders of the independent unions, including SAAWU, FOSATU, GWU, FCWU and CUSA, to a meeting held in Cape Town early in August. The trade union leaders pledged themselves to a common programme of action in opposition to the trade union laws of the regime and the bosses.

The registration of trade unions was rejected "insofar as it is designed to control and interfere in the internal affairs of unions." The unions demanded the right to strike and decided collectively to defy restrictions on strike pay to members. Also the industrial coun-



In strike after strike workers are demanding a living wage and trade union recognition

the crossroads for the two factions of the Russian Social-Democracy.

Under these circumstances it was quite natural that in his propaganda Koba (Stalin—*Editor*) should not have ventured beyond those popular formulae which formed the common heritage of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. "The Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage," wrote he in January, 1905, "is what we should now fight for! Only such an assembly will give us a democratic republic, extremely necessary to us in our struggle for socialism." The bourgeois republic as the arena of a prolonged class struggle for the socialist objective—such was the perspective. In 1907, that is, after countless discussions in the foreign and the Petersburg press, and after the

earnest verification of theoretical prognoses by the experience of the First Revolution, Stalin wrote: "That our Revolution is bourgeois, that it must end with the demolition of serfdom and not of the capitalist order, that it can be crowned only by a democratic republic—on that, it seems, everybody in our Party is agreed." Stalin was not speaking of what the Revolution was to begin with, but of what it would end with, limiting it beforehand, and rather categorically, to "only a democratic republic." In vain would we seek in his writings of those days for as much as a hint about the perspective of the socialist revolution in connection with the democratic insurrection. Such was to remain his position as late as the beginning of the February Revolution of 1917, until Lenin's very arrival in Petrograd.

The Menshevik theory of 'two stages'

For Plekhanov, Axelrod, and the leaders of Menshevism generally, the characterisation of the revolution as bourgeois had, above all, the political value of avoiding the premature taunting of the bourgeoisie with the red spectre of socialism and thus "frightening it away" into the camp of reaction. "The social relations of Russia have ripened only for a bourgeois revolution," said Axelrod, the chief tactician of Menshevism, at the Unification Congress. "While this general political lawlessness persists, we must not even so much as mention the direct fight of the proletariat against other classes for political power.... It is fighting for the conditions of bourgeois development. Objective historical conditions doom our proletariat to an inevitable collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the struggle against our common enemy." The content of the Russian Revolution was thus confined beforehand to changes that were compatible with the interests and views of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Struggle for the land

This was the starting point for the fundamental divergence between the two factions. Bolshevism resolutely refused to acknowledge that the Russian bourgeoisie was capable of consummating its own revolution. With immeasurably greater force and consistency than Plekhanov, Lenin advanced the agrarian question as the central problem of the democratic revolution in Russia: "The crux of the Russian Revolution is the agrarian (the land) question. We must make up our minds about the defeat or victory of the revolution ... on the basis of accounting for the condition of the masses in their struggle for land." At one with Plekhanov, Lenin regarded the peasantry as a petty-bourgeois class and the peasant land programme as the programme of bourgeois progressivism. "Nationalisation is a bourgeois measure," he insisted at the Unifica-

tion Congress. "It will give impetus to the development of capitalism by intensifying the class struggle, by strengthening the mobilisation of land and the investment of capital in agriculture, by lowering the prices on grain." Notwithstanding the admitted bourgeois character of the agrarian revolution, the Russian bourgeoisie was nevertheless hostile to the expropriation of the land owned by the landed gentry, and precisely for that reason strove for a compromise with the monarchy on the basis of a constitution after the Prussian model. To the Plekhanovite idea of union between the proletariat and the liberal bourgeoisie Lenin counterposed the idea of union between the proletariat and the peasantry. He proclaimed the task of the revolutionary collaboration of these two classes to be the establishment of a "democratic dictatorship," as the only means for radically purging Russia of its feudal refuse, creating a free class of farmers and opening the way for the development of capitalism after the American rather than the Prussian model.

The victory of the revolution, he wrote, can be attained "only through dictatorship, because the realization of the transformations immediately and unconditionally necessary for the proletariat and the peasantry will call forth the desperate resistance of the landlords, of the big bourgeoisie and of Tsarism. Without dictatorship it would be impossible to break that resistance, it would be impossible to defeat counter-revolutionary efforts. That would be, needless to say, not a socialist, but a democratic dictatorship. It would not be able to dispose of (without a whole series of intermediary stages in revolutionary development) the foundations of capitalism. At best, it would be able to introduce a radical re-distribution of land ownership for the benefit of the peasantry, carry out a consistent and complete democratization, including a republic; uproot all the oppressive Asiatic characteristics in the life of the factory as well as the village; lay down the beginnings of important improvements in the condition of the workers; raise their standard of living; and, finally, last but not least, carry the revolutionary conflagration into Europe."



Alexandra, 21 June 1981: hundreds march with the ANC banner

cil system was rejected.

And most importantly, the unions decided to establish inter-union **solidarity committees** in the regions to assist organisation, develop financial support, and organise consumer boycotts.

Despite the limited programme (unfortunately, for example, not every aspect of the new Bill was rejected), the meeting marks one of the most important steps forward in the history of the workers' movement in South Africa.

Tests of strength

The panicky reaction of the Ciskeian puppets to the spectre of trade union unity, by arresting 205 activists from East London, has propelled the independent trade unions further along the road of political opposition to the state.

Despite the previous 'non-political' stance of some of the unions, a joint statement by all those involved in the unity talks condemned the arrests and the whole Bantustan policy of the regime.

But as these arrests show, if we study the situation carefully, the working class is clearly heading towards an inevitable sharper confrontation with the state.

The trade union movement therefore has to take adequate steps to prepare the workers for the tests of strength which lie ahead.

Despite the tremendous step

taken at the Cape Town meeting, the defensive pact still falls short of what will be required.

What is needed is a programme of concrete action capable of mobilising the largest possible forces for the struggle ahead. The unionisation of 7% of African industrial workers has been a big stride forward, but the task remains to organise the mass of unorganised workers into a mighty nation-wide force.

The programme would need to be made up of demands on which all the independent unions could agree as a basis for a **mass** campaign to expand and advance the gains made by the workers.

This can only successfully be decided by full freedom to discuss policy and strategy within the common front around the workers' fighting demands.

With the broadest mobilisation of the rank and file, any differences can be put to the test of experience. This should lead to growing clarity on the direction of the struggle and greater unity.

At this preparatory stage some demands on which the trade union movement could draw in unorganised workers by the tens and hundreds of thousands would be:

- * A basic minimum wage demand of R2 an hour (R90 a week) to be taken into every factory, mine, docks and farm. (The exact demand should be decided with a view to getting the widest possible unity of workers.)

- * Defiance of laws which control

the trade unions, prohibit strikes, and divide worker from worker. Now is the time for the initiative to pass into the hands of the workers against the latest Bills. Concrete plans need to be made for mutual defence against arrests, mass dismissals, and deportation of migrant workers.

Particular attention should be given to mobilising migrant workers. No full scale mass campaign is possible without mine workers and the youth.

Steps towards the amalgamation of different trade unions, or towards the creation of a single trade union federation must be supported; this organisational unity will be the stronger, the fuller the agreement on the fundamental questions of programme, strategy and tactics on which it is based.

The growing unity of the workers around the fighting demands of the trade union united front would strengthen the trade unions' ability together to defend workers against victimisation and police harassment.

The solidarity committees agreed upon at the Cape Town meeting, armed with the demands of the united front, could attract thousands of unorganised workers, especially the youth, into the trade union movement.

A target of 1 million members by the end of 1982 would be entirely possible.

The independent union movement would then be on granite foundations. It would then become possible to go further, to take up

Lenin's conception represented a tremendous step forward, proceeding, as it did, from the agrarian revolution rather than from constitutional reforms as the central task of the revolution, and indicating the only realistic combination of social forces that could fulfill that task. The weak point of Lenin's concept was its inherently contradictory notion, "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." Lenin himself emphasized the basic limitations of that "dictatorship" when he openly called it *bourgeois*. He was thus implying that, for the sake of maintaining unity with the peasantry, the proletariat would be obliged to forego posing the socialist task directly during the impending revolution. But that would have meant the repudiation by the proletariat of its *own* dictatorship. The dictatorship was consequently, in essence, of the peasantry, although with the workers participating. On certain occasions that was precisely how Lenin spoke; for example, at the Stockholm Congress, when he replied to Plekhanov, who had rebelled against the "utopia" of seizing power: "What program are we talking about? About an agrarian program. Who in that program is supposed to seize the government? The revolutionary peasantry. Is Lenin confounding the government of the proletariat with that of the peasantry?" No, he said with reference to himself: Lenin sharply differentiated between the socialist government of the proletariat and the bourgeois-democratic government of the peasantry. "And how is a victorious peasant revolution possible," he exclaimed again, "without seizure of power by the revolutionary peasantry?" In that polemical formulation Lenin very clearly exposed the vulnerability of his position.

The peasantry

The peasantry was dispersed over the surface of an immense country, with cities as points of contact. By itself the peasantry was incapable even of formulating its own interests, for in each region they were differently conceived. Economic contact between provinces was established by the market and by the railroads; but both the market and the railroads were in the city's hands. In trying to break through the confines of the village and pool their interests, the peasantry necessarily succumbed to political dependence on the city. Neither was the peasantry homogeneous in its social relations: its *kulak* stratum naturally strove to unite with the city bourgeoisie, while the lower strata of the village pulled in the direction of the city workers. Under these circumstances, the peasantry as a whole was utterly incapable of assuming the reins of government.

True, in ancient China revolutions brought the peasantry to power, or rather, the military leaders of peasant insurrections. That led each time to a redivision of the land and the establishment of a new "peasant" dynasty, after which history began all over again: new concentration of lands, a new aristocracy, new usury, new uprisings. So long as the revolution maintained its purely peasant character, society did not emerge from these hopeless rotations. Such was the basis of ancient Asiatic, including ancient Russian, history. In Europe,

beginning with the emergence of the Middle Ages, each victorious peasant uprising did not place a peasant government in power but a Leftist burgher party. More precisely, a peasant uprising proved victorious only to the extent that it managed to establish the position of the city population's revolutionary sector. Seizure of power by a revolutionary peasantry was out of the question in twentieth-century bourgeois Russia.

Liberal bourgeoisie

The attitude toward the liberal bourgeoisie thus became the touchstone in the divergence between revolutionists and opportunists among Social-Democrats. How far the Russian Revolution could venture, what character would be assumed by the future provisional revolutionary government, what tasks would confront it, and in what order it would dispose of them—these questions could be correctly posed in all their importance only in reference to the basic character of the proletariat's politics, and that character was determined, above all, by its relation to the liberal bourgeoisie. Plekhanov demonstratively and stubbornly shut his eyes to the fundamental object-lesson of nineteenth-century political history: wherever the proletariat appeared as an independent force, the bourgeoisie shifted to the camp of the counter-revolution. The bolder the struggle of the masses, the quicker the reactionary transformation of liberalism. No one has yet invented a way to paralyze the workings of the law of the class struggle.

"We must prize the support of the non-proletarian parties," Plekhanov was wont to repeat during the years of the First Revolution, "and not drive them away from us by tactless behavior." With such monotonous moralizings the sage of Marxism demonstrated that he was unable to grasp the living dynamics of society. "Tactlessness" might drive away an occasional oversensitive intellectual. But classes and parties are drawn or repelled by their social interests. "It may be safely said," Lenin retorted to Plekhanov, "that the liberals among the landed gentry will forgive you millions of 'tactless' acts, but they will never forgive incitements to take away their land." And not only the landed gentry: the upper crust of the bourgeoisie, bound to the landowners by identity of property interests and even more closely by the banking system, as well as the upper crust of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals, materially and morally dependent on the large and middling property owners, dreaded the independent movement of the masses. Yet in order to overthrow Tsarism, it was necessary to arouse scores upon scores of millions of the oppressed for a heroic, self-sacrificing, reckless, supreme revolutionary onslaught. The masses could be aroused to this uprising only under the banner of their own interests; hence in the spirit of unreconcilable hostility toward the exploiting classes, and first of all, the landlords. The "frightening away" of the oppositional bourgeoisie from the revolutionary peasants and workers was therefore the immanent law of the revolution itself and could not be forestalled by "tactfulness" or diplomacy.

campaigns against the pass laws, defiance of the migrant labour system, support for 'squatters' against the police, etc.

Trade unionism could then be poised to take on the proportions of Solidarity in Poland—speeding the shift in class forces against the ruling class with the mushrooming of centres of workers' power.

While the trade union united front has the primary task of bringing the organised black workers into action together, it can also draw the youth, the rural poor, and the radicals of the middle class under its banner.

The unity of the black oppressed can only be built around the struggle of the one consistently revolutionary class in society, the working class, which in South Africa also forms the majority of the population.

The trade union united front demands a bold approach to the 272 000 black and 97 000 white workers in the TUCSA unions. Many black members in the textile, garment, distributive, leather, furniture, engineering, and print

unions are increasingly unhappy with the close links between TUCSA and the regime, and the "tame" and "sweetheart" union strategy of the union leadership.

These workers should be called to join in the trade union united front, to pass resolutions in their unions, at TUCSA regional meetings, and at TUCSA conferences, in support of the demands and actions of the trade union united front.

In the rise of a mass independent trade union movement lies a basis for eventually breaking white trade unionists from the white trade union bureaucracy, drawing them into the genuine trade union organisation of the masses.

For the revolutionary youth, the task is to integrate its struggle fully with the movement of the working class, to strengthen the workers' organisations, and to fight for a workers' revolutionary programme.

Building the trade union united front in every city, mine, farm, small town, and in the Bantustans themselves, must become the task of every sincere struggler, and every supporter of the ANC.

In this way the trade unions will become a key force in the struggle for power by the working class. On these foundations also, the ANC can be built as a mass organisation with a socialist programme.

It is only with this perspective, the self-organisation of the working class, that the foundations will be laid for workers' power and workers' democracy—a workers' state under the command of the miners, dockers, labourers, farm-workers, cooks, etc., themselves.

Let all who support organising the unorganised gather their forces!

Defeat the new Bills by a campaign in the factories, mines, docks, and railways!

Build the trade union united front!

Forward to 1 million!



Each new month confirmed Lenin's estimate of liberalism. Notwithstanding the fondest hopes of the Mensheviks, the Kadets not only made no move to lead the "bourgeois" revolution but, on the contrary, more and more found their historic mission in fighting it. After the crushing defeat of the December Insurrection, the liberals, who, thanks to the ephemeral Duma, stepped out before the political footlights, strove with all their might to explain to the monarchy their insufficiently active counter-revolutionary behaviour in the autumn of 1905, when the holiest pillars of "culture" were in danger. The leader of the liberals, Miliukov, who carried on *sub rosa* negotiations with the Winter Palace, argued quite properly in the press that by the end of 1905 the Kadets were unable even to appear before the masses. "Those who now blame the (Kadet) party," he wrote, "for not protesting then, by convok-

ing meetings, against the revolutionary illusions of Trotskyism...simply do not understand or do not remember the moods then prevalent among the democratic public that attended these meetings." By the "illusions of Trotskyism" the liberal leader meant the independent policy of the proletariat, which attracted to the Soviets the sympathies of the cities' lower classes, soldiers, peasants and of all the oppressed, thus alienating "cultivated" society. The evolution of the Mensheviks developed along parallel lines. Time and again they had to alibi themselves to the liberals for having found themselves in a bloc with Trotsky after October, 1905. The explanations of that talented publicist of the Mensheviks, Martov, came to this—that it was necessary to make concessions to the "revolutionary illusions" of the masses.

Alliance of workers and peasants

In Tiflis political groupings were formed on the same basis of principles as in Petersburg. "The smashing of reaction," wrote the leader of the Caucasian Mensheviks, Jordania, "the winning and attainment of the constitution—will come from the conscious unification and single-minded direction of all the forces of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie...True, the peasantry will be drawn into this movement and will invest it with the character of a natural force; nevertheless, it is these two classes that will play the decisive role, while the peasant movement will pour water on their mill." Lenin made sport of Jordania's misgivings that an irreconcilable policy toward the bourgeoisie might doom the workers to helplessness. Jordania "discusses the question of a possible isolation of the proletariat in the democratic insurrection and forgets...the peasantry! Of the possible allies of the proletariat, he recognizes and takes delight in the landed gentry of the county councils, but he does not recognize the peasants. And that in the Caucasus!" Lenin's retort, essentially correct, oversimplified the question on one point. Jordania did not "forget" the peasantry, and, as is evident from Lenin's own hint, could not have possibly forgotten it in the Caucasus, where it was then stormily rising under the banner of the Mensheviks. But Jordania saw the peasantry not so much as a political ally as a political battering ram which the bourgeoisie could and should utilize in union with the proletariat. He did not believe that the peasantry could become a leading or even an independent force of the revolution, and in that he was not wrong; but neither did he believe that the proletariat could secure the victory of the peasant uprising in the role of leader—and in that was his fatal error. The Menshevik idea of union between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie actually meant submission of the workers as well as the peasants to the liberals. The reactionary utopianism of that program proceeded from the fact that the far-gone dismemberment of the classes paralyzed

the bourgeoisie from the start as a revolutionary factor. In that fundamental question Bolshevism was right: the quest of union with the liberal bourgeoisie was perforce driving the Social-Democracy into the camp opposed to the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants. In 1905 the Mensheviks merely lacked the courage to draw all the necessary inferences from their theory of "bourgeois" revolution. In 1917, pursuing their ideas to the bitter end, they broke their neck.

Stalin

On the question of the attitude toward the liberals Stalin sided with Lenin during the years of the First Revolution. It must be said that in that period, when it was a question of the oppositionist bourgeoisie, even a majority of the rank and file Mensheviks found themselves closer to Lenin than to Plekhanov. A disdainful attitude towards liberals was a literary tradition of intellectual radicalism. But it would be utterly useless to look for an independent contribution of Koba's on that question, be it an analysis of social relations in the Caucasus or new arguments, or even so much as a new formulation of old arguments. Jordania, leader of the Caucasian Mensheviks, was incomparably more independent of Plekhanov than Stalin was of Lenin. "In vain do the Messieurs Liberals try," wrote Koba after Bloody Sunday, "to save the tottering throne of the Tsar. In vain do they proffer the hand of succour to the Tsar!...The agitated masses of people are getting ready for revolution, not for conciliation with the Tsar...Yes, gentlemen, vain are your efforts! The Russian revolution is unavoidable, as unavoidable as the sunrise! Can you stop the rising sun?—that is the question!" and so forth. Koba could not fly higher than that. Two and a

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Youth and Workers Join Forces!

By Yusuf Fakir
and Paul Storey

Black youth have demonstrated time and time again their willingness to sacrifice their lives to free themselves from racism, oppression and capitalist exploitation.

Capitalism has brought to the overwhelming majority of black youth nothing but permanent unemployment, grinding poverty, gutter education, an absence of sports or recreational facilities, and a bleak future in the prison-like environment of the townships.

Over the past years there has been a constant ferment among the youth, battling for ideas and a correct programme to take the struggle forward.

The problems facing black youth are part and parcel of the national oppression and wage slavery inflicted on the black population as a whole. Experience has begun to drive home the lesson that the power

to defeat the regime and change society lies in the hands of the working class.

This growing awareness was reflected, for example, by AZASO's congress in July which recognised capitalism as the root of national oppression in South Africa, and stressed the importance of the trade unions in the struggle for political power.

The youth have begun to turn these lessons into practice. Increasingly they are seeing the need to organise with the workers and give support to strikes.

The mass struggles of 1976 and 1980 have shown how important it is to bring the magnificent fighting capacity of the youth fully into the ranks of the workers' movement. There are hundreds of thousands of militant youth, with undefeated

will, burning with anger, who are determined to transform society.

Yet, by their own efforts alone, the youth have been unable to enforce their demands. Through united struggle with the youth, the trade unions should begin to take up these demands.

The youth movement needs to become fully conscious of its working-class roots, and to boldly define itself as the youth arm of the rising labour movement. This will in turn speed up the process of clarifying political ideas among the youth.

Trotsky made a point to young revolutionaries in America in 1938, which is very relevant to our situation also:

"The basic attribute of socialist youth ... lies in the readiness to give itself fully and completely to the cause of socialism. Without heroic self-sacrifice, courage, resoluteness, history in general does not move forward. But self-sacrifice is not enough. What is necessary is to have a clear understanding of the unfolding course of development and **the appropriate methods of action.** This can be gained only through theory and living experience. The most flaming enthusiasm soon cools off and evaporates if it does not find this timely support in a clear understanding of the laws of historical development."

Therefore it is vital for the youth to take up the study of Marxism in a systematic way. But this should not be approached abstractly. Trotsky speaks of "theory and living experience" which need to be combined.

The essential experience of the working class, which moulds its whole outlook, is the experience of production and of day-to-day ex-



half years later, repeating Lenin's words almost literally, he wrote: "The Russian liberal bourgeoisie is anti-revolutionary; it cannot be the propeller, much less the leader, of the revolution; it is the sworn enemy of the revolution; and against it a persistent struggle must be waged." It was on that fundamental issue that Stalin passed through a complete metamorphosis during the ensuing ten years, so that he greeted the February Revolution of 1917 as a supporter of the bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie, and, in consonance with that, as the herald of fusion with the Mensheviks into one party. Only Lenin, upon arrival from abroad, sharply terminated Stalin's independent policy, which he called a mockery of Marxism.

Populists regarded all workers and peasants as simply "toilers" and "exploited ones," who were equally interested in socialism, while to Marxists a peasant was a petty-bourgeois, capable of becoming a socialist only to the extent that he either materially or spiritually ceased being a peasant. With a sentimentality characteristic of them, Populists saw in that sociological characterization a dire insult to the peasantry. Along that line was fought for two generations the principal battle between the revolutionary tendencies of Russia. In order to understand the subsequent conflict between Stalinism and Trotskyism, it is necessary to emphasize that, in consonance with all Marxist tradition, Lenin never regarded the peasant as a socialist ally of the proletariat; on the contrary, it was the overwhelming preponderance of the peasantry which had led Lenin to conclude that a socialist revolution was impossible in Russia. That idea recurs time and again in all his articles that directly or indirectly touch upon the agrarian question.

Twofold task

"We support the peasant movement," wrote Lenin in September, 1905, "in so far as it is revolutionary and democratic. We are preparing (at once, immediately preparing) to fight against it in so far as it asserts itself as a reactionary anti-proletarian movement. The whole essence of Marxism is in that twofold task..." Lenin saw the Western proletariat and to some extent the semi-proletarians of the Russian village as socialist allies, but never the whole of the peasantry. "At first, we support to the very end, with all means, including confiscation," he repeated with persistence typical of him, "the peasant in general against the landed proprietor, but later (and not even later, but at the very same time) we support the proletariat against the peasant in general."

"The peasantry will win in a bourgeois democratic revolution," he wrote in March, 1906, "and thereby will completely exhaust its revolutionism as a peasantry. The proletariat will win in a bourgeois democratic revolution, and thereby will only begin really to unfold its true socialist revolutionism." "The movement of the peasantry," he repeated in May of the same year, "is the movement of another class; it is a struggle not against the foundations of capitalism but for their purging of all the remnants of serfdom." That view may be traced in Lenin from article to article, from year to year,

from volume to volume. Expressions and illustrations vary, but the basic thought is unalterable. Nor could it have been otherwise. Had Lenin seen a **socialist** ally in the peasantry, he would not have had the slightest basis for insisting upon the **bourgeois** character of the revolution and limiting it to "the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," to purely democratic tasks. On the occasions when Lenin accused me of "underestimating" the peasantry, he did not have in mind my failure to recognize the socialist tendencies of the peasantry but rather my failure to realize sufficiently, from Lenin's point of view, the bourgeois-democratic independence of the peasantry, its capacity to create its **own** power and through it impede the establishment of the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat.

Reaction

The revaluation of that question commenced only during the years of the thermidorian reaction, the beginning of which coincided by and large with Lenin's illness and death. From then on the union of Russian workers and peasants was declared to be in itself sufficient guaranty against the dangers of restoration and a firm pledge that socialism would be achieved within the borders of the Soviet Union. Having substituted the theory of socialism in a separate country for the theory of international revolution, Stalin began to call the Marxist evaluation of the peasantry "Trotskyism," and moreover not only with reference to the present but retroactively to the entire past.

It is, of course, possible to ask whether the classical Marxist view of the peasantry had not proved erroneous. That theme would lead us far beyond the limits of this appendix. Suffice it to say for the nonce that Marxism never ascribed an absolute and immutable character to its estimation of the peasantry as a non-socialist class. Marx said long ago that the peasant is capable of judgment as well as prejudgment. The very nature of the peasantry is altered under altered conditions. The regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat discovered very great possibilities for influencing the peasantry and for re-educating it. History has not yet plumbed to the bottom the limits of these possibilities. But it is already clear that the growing role of state compulsion in the U.S.S.R., far from refuting, has basically confirmed the very view of the peasantry that distinguished Russian Marxists from Populists. Yet, whatever the situation on that score today, after twenty-odd years of the new regime, the fact remains that prior to the October Revolution, or rather prior to the year 1924, no one in the Marxist camp, and least of all Lenin, had regarded the peasantry as a factor of socialist development. Without the aid of a proletarian revolution in the West, he reiterated time and again, restoration is unavoidable in Russia. He was not mistaken: the Stalinist bureaucracy is nothing else than the first stage of bourgeois restoration.

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exploitation under the heel of the bosses. This experience of the adult workers needs to be absorbed also into the bloodstream of the youth—students and unemployed alike.

It is by participating in the life and struggles of the workers' organisations that the youth can develop their revolutionary capacities to the full. At the same time they will see more concretely how the apartheid system is bound up with capitalism itself, and that unemployment, poverty, migrant labour and influx control can only be overcome on the basis of a planned economy under the control and management of the working class itself.

This will lead the youth movement all the more quickly to openly proclaim the national and democratic demands of our struggle as **elements**—central elements—of a vitally necessary **socialist programme** for the revolution ahead.

How can the linking of the youth and workers' movement be achieved practically? An important indicator of the way forward has been SAAWU's call for the formation of a youth section.

The only way for the youth movement to develop now as the youth arm of the workers' movement is to link up **organisationally** with the independent trade unions. The unions are the way in which the mass of workers are becoming consciously and deliberately organised as workers. They will remain the basic machinery of working-class organisation, and central elements in the struggle for workers' power.

If the workers' movement already possessed its own mass political party, enabling tens and hundreds of thousands of workers and their families to participate regularly and openly in organised political life—then it would be possible to pose the tasks for the youth somewhat differently. Then we could envisage the development of a socialist youth movement directly as an arm of the mass workers' party.

In different conditions, that is the way the movement is developing, for example, in some of the advanced capitalist countries.



Strike at Dominion Dairies, Turffontein

In South Africa, however, that is still the music of the future. Today, the growing independent trade union movement of black workers is laying the foundations on which the mass of the workers will carry forward their struggle, both for industrial and political demands. **On this foundation, initially through underground work, the working class will develop its political organisation.**

Strongest sides

We think this process will take place round the banner of the ANC, which the workers are taking up as their own. It will also lead, in due course, to the mass of workers flooding into the ranks of the ANC, preparing the way for **democratising and transforming the ANC for the tasks of the socialist revolution.**

Such a perspective needs to be clearly raised to provide the bridge between the militant black youth and the workers' movement.

It will prove to be no easy task to link the youth movement to the trade unions. Boldness, tact, patience and far-sightedness will need to prevail on both sides. Some young comrades will need to resist

the idea that they have a great deal to 'teach' the older workers. Trade unionists will need to guard against a tendency in their midst to conservatism and a narrowness of outlook on the struggle.

Several times over the past five years the youth movement has sprung forward to occupy the centre of the political stage. The youth have achieved an unequalled reputation for militancy and self-sacrifice, and a sense of national unity in a single movement.

In comparison, especially earlier on, the independent trade union movement has appeared to the youth as rather lumbering, and has so far not united its forces under one federation.

At the same time, the enormous difficulty for the youth of laying down solid organisational foundations, or of achieving a single national organisation, has become very obvious. This results from the position of students and youth in society, while the workers themselves, rooted in daily production, naturally build more steady, if more slow-moving organisations, 'from the ground up'.

Today, however, it should be possible to begin to fuse together the **strongest sides** of both main parts of

The theory of permanent revolution

Such were the divergent positions of the two main factions of the Russian Social-Democracy. But alongside them, as early as the dawn of the First Revolution, a third position was formulated, which met with practically no recognition in those days, but which we must explain—not only because it was confirmed by the events of 1917, but particularly because seven years after the Revolution, after being turned upside down, it began to play an utterly unforeseen role in the political evolution of Stalin and of the entire Soviet bureaucracy.

Early in 1905 I published in Geneva a pamphlet which analyzed the political situation as it existed around the winter of 1904. I came to the conclusion that the independent campaign of liberal petitions and banquets had exhausted its possibilities; that the radical intellectuals, who had shifted their hopes to the liberals, had found themselves in a blind alley together with the latter; that the peasant movement was creating conditions favorable for victory yet incapable of assuring it; that the showdown could be brought about only through an armed insurrection of the proletariat; that the very next stage along that way must be the general strike. This pamphlet called, "Until the Ninth of January", had been written prior to the Bloody Sunday in Petersburg. The powerful wave of strikes which began that day, together with the first armed clashes that supplemented it, was an unequivocal confirmation of the pamphlet's strategic prognosis.

The preface to my work was written by Parvus, a Russian émigré, who had already become by then a prominent German writer. Parvus's was an extraordinarily creative personality, capable of becoming infected with the ideas of others as well as enriching others with his ideas. He lacked the inward balance and application necessary to contribute anything worthy of his talents as a thinker and writer to the labor movement. There is no doubt that he exerted considerable influence on my personal development, especially with respect to the social-revolutionary understanding of our epoch. A few years before our first meeting Parvus passionately defended the idea of a general strike in Germany; but the country was passing through prolonged industrial prosperity, the Social-Democracy was adjusting itself to the Hohenzollern regime, and foreigners' revolutionary propaganda met nothing but ironical indifference. Having read my pamphlet in manuscript, the very next day after the bloody events in Petersburg, Parvus was overwhelmed with the thought of the exceptional role which the proletariat of backward Russia was called upon to play. Several days spent jointly in Munich were filled with conversations that clarified much to both of us and brought us personally close together. The preface Parvus then wrote to the pamphlet entered permanently into the history of the Russian Revolution. In a few pages he shed light on those social peculiarities of backward Russia which, true enough, were already well known, but from which no one before him had drawn all the necessary inferences.

"Political radicalism throughout Western Europe," wrote Parvus, "as everybody knows, depended primarily on the petty bourgeoisie. These were artisans and generally all of that part of the bourgeoisie which was caught up by the industrial development but which at the same time was superseded by the class of capitalists...In Russia of the pre-capitalist period cities developed on the Chinese rather than on the European model. These were administrative centers, purely official and bureaucratic in character, devoid of any political significance, while in the economic sense they were trade bazaars for the landlord and peasant milieu of its environs. Their development was still rather inconsiderable, when it was terminated by the capitalist process, which began to establish large cities in its own image, that is, factory towns and centers of world trade...That which had hindered the development of petty bourgeois democracy came to benefit the class consciousness of the proletariat in Russia—the weak development of the artisan form of production. The proletariat was immediately concentrated in the factories..."

Political awareness

"Greater and greater masses of peasants will be drawn into the movement. But all they can do is to aggravate the political anarchy already rampant in the country and thus weaken the government; they cannot become a compact revolutionary army. Hence, as the revolution develops, an ever greater portion of political work will fall to the lot of the proletariat. At the same time its political awareness will be enhanced and its political energy will grow apace..."

"The Social-Democracy will be confronted with this dilemma: to assume responsibility for the provisional government or to stand aloof from the labor movement. The workers will regard that government as their own, no matter what the attitude of the Social-Democracy...In Russia only workers can accomplish a revolutionary insurrection. In Russia the revolutionary provisional government will be a government of the **workers' democracy**. That government will be Social-Democratic, should the Social-Democracy be at the head of the revolutionary movement of the Russian proletariat..."

"The Social-Democratic provisional government cannot accomplish a socialist insurrection in Russia, but the very process of liquidating the autocracy and establishing a democratic republic will provide it with fertile ground for political activity."

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our working-class movement—the youth and the workers themselves.

This would open the way towards a firmly-based national youth movement, founded on the rock of organised labour. In turn it would add whole batallions of militant young strugglers to the ranks of the trade unions.

But the condition for such a development is the unity of the independent unions.

The youth as a whole will quite correctly be unwilling to be divided into numerous 'youth sections' of the various unions. This would seem a step backwards as far as they are concerned.

Therefore the building of the **trade union united front** also provides the only route to the creation of a mass socialist youth organisation linked to the trade unions.

To bring this into reality, it is vital for the leaders of all the independent unions and of the youth organisations to hold discussions

together towards the building of a national youth movement as a conscious part of building the trade union united front.

The local solidarity committees called for by the Cape Town conference of independent unions can become concrete bridges between the youth and the workers, discussing how to link the struggles in factory, township and school.

Activists in the trade unions and the youth organisations should explain these tasks to their fellows in order to commit their organisations to such a course of action.

Here, too, the emphasis needs to be placed on a **programme of action**, round specific demands on which there is general agreement, to mobilise the youth and workers **together:**

- * Free and compulsory education for all;
- * Training facilities for all workers;
- * Special leave for all workers as of right to improve their qualifications

and develop skills;

- * A minimum starting wage of R90 a week for all workers;
- * Unemployment benefits equal to the minimum wage for all who cannot find suitable work;
- * The provision of adequate housing for all and the removal of all restriction on residence.

These are the kind of demands around which united campaigns can be prepared.

With campaigns on this basis, hundreds of thousands of young workers and unemployed youth and students who are as yet unorganised could be attracted. The youth movement could serve as a vehicle by which whole new layers of working-class youth are drawn into the organised labour movement, swelling its ranks and transforming the unions themselves.

United in action, the movement of the workers and youth together can prepare the way to blow the apartheid system to shreds.



No to capitalist courts

By Gerald Desai

The present period of struggle by the working class in South Africa is characterised not only by increased militancy and frequency of strikes but also by a deepening of the consciousness of the class.

An example of this was the municipal workers' strike led by the Black Municipal Workers Union in July last year, which is credited with being the biggest strike against a single employer in the history of South Africa. More than 10 000 workers, migrant and non-migrant, were involved in the strike.

During the strike another myth of the petty-bourgeoisie, that is, that the migrant workers are mere sheep who cannot be organised, was exploded. The organisers of the BMWU organised the migrant

In the heyday of revolutionary events, in the autumn of 1905, I met Parvus again, this time in Petersburg. Remaining organizationally independent of both factions, we jointly edited *Russkoye Slovo*, (The Russian Word), a newspaper for the working class masses, and, in coalition with the Mensheviks, the important political newspaper, *Nachalo* (The Beginning). The theory of permanent revolution was usually associated with the names of "Parvus and Trotsky." That was only partially correct. Parvus attained revolutionary maturity at the end of the preceding century, when he marched at the head of the forces that fought so-called "Revisionism," i.e., the opportunistic distortions of Marx's theory. But his optimism was undermined by the failure of all his efforts to push the German Social-Democracy in the direction of a more resolute policy. Parvus grew increasingly more reserved about the perspectives of a socialist revolution in the West. At the same time he felt that "the Social-Democratic provisional government cannot accomplish a socialist insurrection in Russia." Hence, his prognosis indicated, instead of the transformation of the democratic into the socialist revolution, merely the establishment in Russia of a regime of workers' democracy, more or less as in Australia, where the first labor government, resting on a farmerist foundation, did not venture beyond the limits of the bourgeois regime.

Australian democracy

I did not share that conclusion. Australian democracy, maturing organically on the virgin soil of a new continent, immediately assumed a conservative character and dominated the youthful yet rather privileged proletariat. Russian democracy, on the contrary, could come about only in consequence of a large-scale revolutionary insurrection, the dynamics of which would never permit the labor government to maintain itself within the framework of bourgeois democracy. Our differences of opinion, which began soon after the Revolution of 1905, led to a complete break at the beginning of the war, when Parvus, in whom the skeptic had completely killed the revolutionist, proved to be on the side of German imperialism and subsequently became the counselor and inspirer of the First President of the German Republic, Ebert.

Proletariat

After writing my pamphlet, "Until the Ninth of January," I repeatedly returned to the development and the grounding of the theory of permanent revolution. In view of the significance it subsequently acquired in the intellectual evolution of the hero of this biography, it is necessary to present it here in the form of exact quotations from my works of the years 1905 and 1906.

"The nucleus of population in a contemporary city—at least, in a city of economic and political significance—is the sharply differentiated class of hired labor. It is this class, essentially unknown to the Great French Revolution, which is fated to play the decisive role in our revolution...In an economically more backward country the proletariat may come to power sooner than in a country more advanced capitalistically. The conception of a kind of automatic dependence of the proletarian dictatorship on a country's technical forces and means is a prejudice of extremely simplified 'economic' materialism. Such a view has nothing in common with Marxism...Notwithstanding the fact that the productive forces of United States industry are ten times greater than ours, the political role of the Russian proletariat, its influence on the politics of its own country and the possibility that it may soon influence world politics are incomparably greater than the role and significance of the American proletariat..."

"It seems to me that the Russian Revolution will create such conditions that the power may (in the event of victory, **must**) pass into the hands of the proletariat before the politicians of bourgeois liberalism will find it possible fully to unfold their genius for statecraft... The Russian bourgeoisie will surrender all the revolutionary positions to the proletariat. It will also have to surrender revolutionary hegemony over the peasantry. The proletariat in power will come to the peasantry as the class liberator...The proletariat, leaning on the peasantry, will bring into motion all the forces for raising the cultural level of the village and for developing political consciousness in the peasantry..."

"But will not perhaps the peasantry itself drive the proletariat away and supersede it? That is impossible. All historic experience repudiates that supposition. It shows that the peasantry is utterly incapable of an **independent** political role...From the aforesaid it is clear how I look upon the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.' The point is not whether I deem it admissible in principle, whether I 'want' or 'do not want' such a form of political co-operation. I deem it unrealizable—at least, in the direct and immediate sense..."

"Talking Russian"

The foregoing already shows how incorrect is the assertion that the conception here expounded "jumped over the bourgeois revolution," as has been subsequently reiterated without end. "The struggle for the democratic renovation of Russia..." I wrote at the same time, "is in its entirety derived from capitalism, is being conducted by forces formed on the basis of capitalism, and **immediately, in the first place**, is directed against the feudal and vassal obstacles that stand in the way of developing a capitalist society." But the substance of the question was with what forces and by which methods could these obstacles be overcome. "The framework of all the questions of the revolution may be limited by the assertion that our revolution is **bourgeois** in its objective goals and consequently, in all its in-

WORKERS ORGANISE!

workers, though physically separated into 19 different compounds of the Johannesburg City Council (J.C.C.), into the trade union.

One of the characteristics which ran through the method of organisation of the union was the element of democracy. Not only were the steering committee members elected by the workers but there was always discussion and consultation between the union leaders and the rank and file. Even at the height of the strike in July 1980, democracy was not suspended. The leadership maintained contact with the rank and file through the shop stewards.

Unfortunately recent developments in the union appear to be bucking the trend of democracy. Recently the union had difficulties resulting in disputes which were settled in bourgeois courts of law. The question this raises is: is court and police action the only way these disputes can be settled?

These courts are instruments of bourgeois rule. Workers' organisations must remain independent of the blood-soaked hands of the state. Lenin, in an article on 'the political danger of splits in the trade union movement' warned that 'a minute difference may become dangerous and even fatal if it festers and blood-poisoning sets in.'

The workers' movement itself must develop the means for settling such disputes. If the union executive is unable to solve disputes between the leadership, the question should be taken to the rank and file. If any judge is needed, this should come from the leadership forged in the struggle: from among trusted and experienced leaders in the trade union movement. In discussion with the workers, a workers' court could be set up to decide the issues in detail.

It is important that in settling these disputes the rank and file of the workers finally should decide on each question. This practice will provide the basis in preparing the working class for their task of securing the progress and well being of the whole of mankind.

Zimbabwe workers deported

As far as the South African bosses are concerned, Mugabe's rise to premiership was cause for dismay. After all, this occurred within their "sphere of influence" and they reason that a black man of any state within this sphere should arrive at premiership only as an "exempted native". Hence the Muzorewa phase of Zimbabwe/Rhodesia.

The South African bosses see Mugabe covered with dust kicked up by the masses on their way to the polls. His "pragmatism" has not done enough to wear off this dust. They are now hell-bent on "cutting him down to size" and attacking the gains of the Zimbabwean revolution by measures to destabilise the economy, including the creation of 20 000 unemployed Zimbabwean workers, who have been "repatriated" from South Africa.

In return for the superprofits that have been extracted from their labour in South Africa, the Zimbab-

wean workers are now presented with a "No Vacancy" sign, and told to "go home".

In this epoch of capitalist decline and increasing unemployment, the bosses in South Africa will axe all the more savagely the jobs of the Southern African toiling masses. Nor, along the road of "pragmatic" accommodation to capitalism is there any chance of jobs for all in Zimbabwe.

The only way the Zimbabwean migrant workers can defend their jobs against the axe wielded by the capitalists is through a struggle hand-in-hand not only with the South African workers, but also with workers from all over Southern Africa.

Only the unity of the working class of Southern Africa can win the struggle for jobs and the riddance of not only passes, but passports too. The Zimbabwean migrant workers have contributed to building the wealth of South Africa—the liberation of South Africa will allow this wealth to be put to the benefit not only of South Africa, but of Southern Africa as a whole.

By Themba Msinga

Organise the unemployed

In a secret document produced by the Security Police in East London on how to break the growing power of the organised black workers, the bosses are urged to take "uniform action" against SAAWU.

The Security Police's most 'brilliant' proposal is that each employer should keep a list of unemployed workers to be able to fire the workers and re-staff whole factories where demands are put forward!

The document shows the vicious plans of the police and the bosses to attack the gains being made in the factories.

It also shows that the independent unions should move without delay to defend the workers in a way that

has become indispensable—by organising the unemployed on a nation-wide basis.

With the mass organisation of the unemployed, the workers in the factories will be able to build up their defences against mass firings. The unions, rallying their forces in mass meetings, will be in a stronger position to take up the struggle for jobs for all.

Under capitalism the more than 2 000 000 unemployed workers have no future. The trade union leadership should serve their interests by developing a programme of demands to unite the employed and unemployed in a common struggle against the bosses and their regime.

evitable results, and it is possible at the same time to close one's eyes to the fact that the principal active force of that bourgeois revolution is the proletariat, which is pushing itself toward power with all the impact of the revolution...One may comfort himself with the thought that Russia's social conditions have not yet ripened for a socialist economy—and at the same time overlook the thought that, upon coming to power the proletariat would inevitably, with all the logic of its situation, push itself toward the management of the economy at the expense of the state...Coming into the government not as helpless hostages but as the leading force, the representatives of the proletariat will by virtue of that alone smash the demarcation between the minimal and maximal programme i.e., **place collectivism on the order of the day**. At what point in that tendency the proletariat would be stopped will depend on the inter-relation of forces, but certainly not on the initial intentions of the proletariat's party...

"But we may already ask ourselves: must the dictatorship of the proletariat inevitably smash itself against the framework of the bourgeois revolution or can it, on the basis of the existing historical situation of the world look forward to the perspective of victory, after smashing this limiting framework?...One thing may be said with certainty: without the direct governmental support of the European proletariat, the work-

ing class of Russia will not be able to maintain itself in power and transform its temporary reign into an enduring socialist dictatorship..." But this does not necessarily lead to a pessimistic prognosis: "the political liberation, led by the working class of Russia, will raise the leader to a height unprecedented in history, transmit to him colossal forces and means, and make him the initiator of the world-wide liquidation of capitalism, for which history has created all the objective prerequisites..."

As to the extent to which international Social-Democracy will prove capable of fulfilling its revolutionary task, I wrote in 1906: "The European Socialist parties—and in the first place, the mightiest of them, the German party—have developed their conservatism, which grows stronger in proportion to the size of the masses embraced by socialism and the effectiveness of the organisation and the discipline of these masses. Because of that, the Social-Democracy, as the organization that embodies the political experience of the proletariat, may at a given moment become the immediate obstacle on the path of an open clash between the workers and the bourgeois reaction..." Yet I concluded my analysis by expressing the assurance that "the Eastern revolution will infect the Western proletariat with revolutionary idealism and arouse in it the desire to start talking 'Russian' with its enemy..."

The test of history

To sum up. Populism, like Slavophilism, proceeded from illusions that Russia's course of development would be utterly unique, escaping capitalism and the bourgeois republic. Plekhanov's Marxism concentrated on proving the identity in principle of Russia's historical course with that of the West. The program that grew out of that ignored the very real and far from mystical peculiarities of Russia's social structure and revolutionary development. The Menshevik view of the revolution, purged of its episodic stratifications and individual deviations, was tantamount to the following: the victory of the Russian bourgeois revolution was possible only under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie and must put the latter in power. Later the democratic regime would let the Russian proletariat, with incomparably greater success than heretofore, catch up with its elder Western brothers on the road of the struggle for Socialism.

Lenin's perspective may be briefly expressed in the following words: the backward Russian bourgeoisie is incapable of completing its own revolution! The complete victory of the revolution, through the intermediacy of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," would purge the land of medievalism, invest the development of Russian capitalism with American tempo, strengthen the proletariat in city and

village and make really possible the struggle for socialism. On the other hand, the victory of the Russian revolution would give tremendous impetus to the socialist revolution in the West, while the latter would not only protect Russia from the dangers of restoration but would also enable the Russian proletariat to come to the conquest of power in a comparatively brief historical period.

Socialist tasks

The perspective of permanent revolution may be summarized in the following way: the complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which would inevitably place on the order of the day not only democratic but socialistic tasks as well, would at the same time give a powerful impetus to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West could protect Russia from bourgeois restoration and assure it the possibility of rounding out the establishment of socialism.

MOZAMBIQUE

and the Southern African Revolution

By
Zakes Ramushu
and
Richard Monroe



The explosive march to victory of Frelimo in 1974-75 was like a million-volt flash of lightning. It broke the rusted iron grip of Portuguese colonial dictatorship around the necks and ankles of the people, and lifted their enslavement to monopoly capitalism.

The victory of the Mozambican masses, together with that in Angola, was a giant leap forward for Southern Africa. For the first time colonialism and capitalism were swept aside under the noses of the South African ruling class.

These victories have reverberated through the region, an inspiring source of strength to the continuing struggles of the workers and peasants.

Yet Frelimo has inherited an economic skeleton of absolute backwardness. What basis exists within Mozambique itself—even with the totally changed system of nationalised property, industry and trade and economic planning—for advancing the conditions of life of the masses? What is the way forward for the workers and peasants of Mozambique?

To answer these questions we need first to understand the history of colonial and monopoly-capitalist plunder in Mozambique.

Since the Second World War, the huge struggles of the colonial peoples have forced imperialism on the retreat and snapped the chains of direct colonial rule. Why did the Portuguese ruling class cling to its

colonies to the bitter end against the revolt of the masses?

Because, having been the first of the colonial adventurers, it became the weakest of the colonial powers.

From the fifteenth century to 1974 the history of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique was that of unrelieved domination by the sword over an increasingly pauperised people. The settler system created by the 17th and 18th centuries was a thousand times bloodier than feudalism.

The Portuguese landlord was the complete expression of vicious colonial dictatorship and greed, with both feet on the back of an unlimited supply of chained labour. **Land ownership and the seizure of slaves were one and the same.**

The official Portuguese administration of Mozambique, from 1884, rested on this heritage. The weak Portuguese capitalist class, overshadowed by British and South African monopoly capitalism, played the role of policeman for foreign investors and concessionaries.

Resting on the settler landowners, there developed a police state machinery which hastened the dispossession of the Mozambican tribes. **The combined force of the**

whip and monstrous tax systems constituted the functioning basis of Portuguese colonial policy.

From the beginning of Portuguese colonialism forced labour was the norm in all spheres of production. In addition to producing their own subsistence, the law decreed that all men had to produce surplus for their oppressors for six months every year. The enforcement of this law achieved the devastation of communal tribal agriculture, created the basis for limitless labour exploitation, and provided a fount of taxation.

The basis of the economy was the parasitic extraction of wealth from the coerced labour force. Concessions to foreign capital were given over two thirds of the country. The large-scale farms developed here produced for export only.

The Portuguese capitalists and the colonial settlers relied on the most primitive means of compelling labour and extracting a surplus—labour virtually without pay. This prevented them from developing a local market and a national economy in Mozambique, despite some feeble attempts after the 1930s.

Parasitism

Instead, during the capitalist boom following the Second World War, the Portuguese monopolies themselves came to share in this parasitic extraction.

That compact formula discloses with equal distinctness the similarity of the latter two concepts in their irreconcilable differentiation from the liberal Menshevik perspective as well as their extremely essential distinction from each other on the question of the social character and the tasks of the "dictatorship" which must grow out of the revolution. The not infrequent complaint in the writings of the present Moscow theoreticians that the program of the dictatorship of the proletariat was "premature" in 1905, is beside the point. In an empirical sense the program of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry proved equally "premature." The unfavorable combination of forces at the time of the First Revolution did not so much preclude the dictatorship of the proletariat as the victory of the revolution in general. Yet all the revolutionary groups were based on the hope of complete victory; the supreme revolutionary struggle would have been impossible without such a hope. The differences of opinion dealt with the general perspective of the revolution and the strategy arising from that. The perspective of Menshevism was false to the core: it pointed out the wrong road to the proletariat. The perspective of Bolshevism was not complete: it correctly pointed out the general direction of the struggle, but characterized its stages incorrectly. The insufficiency in the perspective of Bolshevism did not

become apparent in 1905 only because the revolution itself did not undergo further development. But then at the beginning of 1917 Lenin was obliged to alter his perspective, in direct conflict with the old cadres of his party.

Prognosis

No political prognosis can pretend to be mathematically exact; suffice it, if it correctly indicates the general line of development and helps to orient the actual course of events, which inevitably bends the main line right and left. In that sense it is impossible not to see that the concept of permanent revolution has completely passed the test of history. During the initial years of the Soviet regime no one denied that; on the contrary, that fact found acknowledgment in a number of official publications. But when the bureaucratic reaction against October opened up in the calmed and cooled upper crust of Soviet society, it was at once directed against the theory which reflected the first proletarian revolution more completely than anything else while at the same time openly exposing its unfinished, limited, and partial character. Thus, by way of repulsion, originated the theory of socialism in a separate country, the basic dogma of Stalinism.

Further Reading

The most complete account of the Russian revolution, as the working out in practice of the permanent revolution, is Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* in three volumes (published 1932-3). Almost every page of this work, lengthy though it is, contains rich lessons for the workers' movement. A very brief account of the Russian revolution, drawing out all the main lessons, is given in Trotsky's *In Defence of October*, a speech delivered by him in Copenhagen in November 1932.

Trotsky's first full development of the idea of the permanent revolution was published as *Results and Prospects* (1906). Other accounts of the theory may be found in annexes 1 and 2 to Trotsky, *1905* (published in 1922); appendix III to *History of the Russian Revolution*, Volume 3; and *The Permanent Revolution* (1931), which includes an application of the theory to struggles in the colonial world.

The most readily accessible version of Lenin's perspective on the

Russian revolution, developed in the course of the 1905 revolution, is Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (1905). His recognition in early 1917 of the need for the working class to prepare to take power is expressed first in his *Letters on Tactics* and the *April Theses*.

A reliable contemporary account of perspectives on, and the course of, the Russian revolution is contained in A. Woods and E. Grant, *Lenin and Trotsky: What they really stood for* (Militant, London, 1976).

Most of all, Mozambique became a transit station and labour reservoir for the development of capitalism in South Africa. 90% of the traffic through its port and railway system (financed by British capital) was goods for South Africa and Rhodesia, not for Mozambique.

The 1909 Mozambique Convention, regularly renewed afterwards, guaranteed a supply of chained labour for the South African mining monopolies and landowners. The whole of southern Mozambique became a labour reservoir. The majority of adult men spent most of their working lives in South Africa. In 1974, there were 118 000 Mozambicans on the mines alone.

In return, the Convention provided that 47,5% of the Witwatersrand's imports would pass through the port of Lourenco Marques. Thus the colonial dictatorship financed its police apparatus with the revenues from transit tariffs and the sale of forced labour.

South Africa has become the biggest exporter to Mozambique, since the 1960s providing a bigger share of her imports than Portugal. The giant Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme links the two economies even more inextricably together. Mozambique relies on South Africa's ESCOM to rechannel electricity generated at Cabora Bassa, while ESCOM pays \$1,3 million a week (only a fraction of the world market price) for its supplies from the scheme.

The parasitism of monopoly capitalism, based on violent labour exploitation and dispossession, held back to the extreme the development of a local market. Small settler farmers limited production to the needs of the tiny urban middle class. The indigenous peasantry were offered such low prices for their produce as to effectively remove them from the commodity market, leaving them to stagnate in tribal backwardness.

Thus 'modern civilisation' was summed up in the intolerably wretched prostration of the overwhelming majority of the oppressed Mozambicans.

The rapacious greed of landlordism and capitalism, their death-bearing process of absolute force and division, created the surging flame of mass struggle to challenge

colonial dictatorship.

The new challenge burst forth after the Second World War in the form of strikes among the small Mozambican working class. In 1947, 1948 and again in 1956, the workers in the docks and plantations launched fearless strikes, which were mercilessly crushed by massacre, imprisonment and deportations.

Thus the Mozambican working class began to open up a chasm in the foundations of the Portuguese dictatorship. It was a struggle against the bankruptcy of monopoly capitalism shared with the masses throughout Africa as well as Latin America and Asia. In the absence of a triumphant socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and the US, the masses of the colonial world were forced to take on their own shoulders alone the offensive against the cracking fortress of imperialism.

Unlike the big imperialist powers, the weak Portuguese ruling class could not afford timely reform or retreat. For them a neo-colonial domination of Mozambique was ruled out. Any step backward would have become a rout.

Combative

For these reasons the small Mozambican intellectual elite, in their opposition to the colonial regime, found the door barred to achieving independence by constitutional means. Frelimo, founded by militants among them on 25 June 1962, was drawn magnetically to the combativeness of the working class.

The workers' movement, despite the absence of trade unions, had prepared single-handedly the foundation of relentless struggle against Portuguese colonial overlordship and the grip of monopoly-finance capital. Also, since its grievances were not merely regional or tribal, the struggles of the working class against exploitation and oppression laid a basis of national identity.

At the same time Frelimo established contact with the peasant movement in the north, which was inspired by the workers' struggle. Peasant demonstrations against forced labour were brutally crushed at Mueda in 1960, when 600 were

massacred by the Portuguese colonial police.

In 1963 Frelimo led the most highly coordinated and organised series of strikes yet achieved by the working class, in Lourenco Marques, Beira and Nacala. But, with the defeat of these strikes, the Frelimo leadership turned wholly to the peasant movement.

Given the weakness of the forces of genuine Marxism on a world scale in this period, the Mozambican working class lacked an independent political organisation and leadership.

Themselves lacking a Marxist perspective, the Frelimo leaders came to the conclusion that the workers' movement could not lead the struggle for national liberation against the vicious Portuguese dictatorship. Thus the strategic task of organising the workers on the docks, mines and plantations—and of linking them systematically both with the rural masses and, through the channels of migrant labour, with the workers of South Africa—was not undertaken.

Instead, in 1964, Frelimo turned exclusively to guerilla warfare which, from the point of view of Marxism, even in a country with an overwhelmingly rural population, should never be more than an important auxiliary to the workers' movement.

Most of the surviving and ablest fighters of the working class—including Samora Machel, a hospital porter—left the workers' movement and soon underwent guerilla training. Thus the towns, the plantations and the ports were abandoned for a decade to the control of the foreign overlords and monopoly-finance companies.

Turning for assistance to Stalinist China, the Frelimo leadership came to model their struggle on the peasant war which had taken place in China in the 1930s and 1940s, led by Mao Tse-Tung's Red Army. (In China, as in Mozambique, this peasant struggle under the leadership of the middle class developed in the wake of a defeat of the working class in the revolutionary uprisings of 1925-27.)

Without any possibility of waiting upon the European or American working class to overthrow their own imperialist ruling classes,

Explanatory Notes

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1905 ('First') Revolution—The forerunner and 'dress rehearsal' for the Revolution of 1917, the 1905 Revolution clearly established the working class as the leading force in the struggle and gave rise to the first Soviets (councils of workers' delegates) before it was eventually crushed.

Bolsheviks—Revolutionary wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party which, under the leadership of Lenin, led the working class to the taking of power in October 1917. Trotsky and his supporters joined the Bolshevik Party at its conference of July 1917, past political differences between them having been resolved through the experience of the revolution. He was elected to the Bolshevik central committee and, with Lenin, led the struggle for power.

"Trotskyism"—The term is here used, not to describe the contributions made by Trotsky to Marxist theory and practice, but as a label invented by Stalin and his chief associates of that period, Zinoviev and Kamenev, in their factional struggle against the programme and ideas of Bolshevism and Marxism that opened up in the Russian CP during 1923-4. Emerging as the leader of the bureaucracy that was gradually usurping state power, Stalin put forward after Lenin's death the 'theory' that socialism could be built within the borders of Russia alone—i.e., without the spread of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. This reflected the desire of the bureaucracy to consolidate its own position nationally and reach an accommodation with the capitalist powers. The revolutionary standpoint and ideas of Marxism, defended by Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the CP, were henceforth attacked as "Trotskyism". An entire propaganda industry was created by the Stalinist bureaucracy to falsify the heritage of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

Mensheviks ('minority')—the reformist wing of the RSDLP got their name from

the split with the Bolsheviks ('majority') over organisational questions at the 1903 Party Congress. The fundamental political differences between Menshevism and Bolshevism became clear during 1904 and were confirmed in the 1905 Revolution, but they remained opposing tendencies in the RSDLP until 1912, when separate parties were formed. In 1917, with their mistaken 'two-stage' theory of the Revolution, Menshevik ministers helped prop up the capitalist Provisional Government, supported its imperialist policy and fought against the proletarian revolution. After October, they became an openly counter-revolutionary party.

Social-Democracy—The term originally used in the late 19th Century to distinguish the workers' parties based on Marxism from the parties of capitalist 'democracy'. With the growth of a conservative bureaucratic leadership over the long period of relative stability and economic growth in Western Europe and North America during the last part of the century, however, these parties underwent a profound degeneration. On the outbreak of World War I the vast majority of their leaders took up a nationalist position in support of their 'own' capitalist classes, thus demonstrating their abandonment of Marxism. Subsequently the term has been used to refer to the tendency of conservative national-reformism which, during the 30 years of boom following World War II, has dominated the workers' movement in the major capitalist countries.

Populists (Narodniks)—A liberal-democratic movement that arose among radical Russian intellectuals in the mid-19th Century. They regarded the peasantry as the revolutionary class in Russian society and believed that Russia could advance to a form of socialism, based on peasant collectives, without undergoing a capitalist development. This perspective proved to be completely false. In the resulting disintegration of the movement different tendencies emerged, some turning to individual terrorism in the hope of provoking a popular uprising while

the group around Plekhanov, breaking with the ideas of populism, established the first foundations of Russian Marxism from the 1880s onwards. After 1900, various populist groups combined to form the Socialist-Revolutionary Party which based itself on the peasantry. After the February Revolution of 1917 they became, with the Mensheviks, the mainstay of the capitalist Provisional Government. By the time of the October Revolution, the right wing of the SRs sided openly with counter-revolution. The left wing, having split, formed a short-lived coalition with the Bolshevik government.

Bourgeois revolution—Originally the term referred to the revolutionary overthrow of the feudal ruling class during the period of the rise of capitalism. The classical bourgeois revolutions, of which the French Revolution of 1789 is the foremost example, served to carry the bourgeoisie (capitalist class) to power on the tide of a mass movement under the banner of democracy. Trotsky explains why, especially in the later 'bourgeois revolutions', the bourgeoisie tended to pass over to the camp of reaction, proving incapable of carrying out the 'bourgeois-democratic' tasks. In the introduction to this supplement, the anti-democratic and counter-revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie is further explained in relation to the revolutions in the colonial world, and to Southern Africa today. This understanding lies at the root of the theory of permanent revolution.

Plekhanov (1856-1918)—First propagandist of Marxism in Russia; founder of the first Russian Marxist group, the Emancipation of Labour Group, in Geneva. He fought the ideas of populism (including terrorism) and revisionism in the labour movement, and wrote a number of works popularising the historical-materialist outlook. With Lenin, he was an editor of the revolutionary *Iskra* newspaper. However, he tended towards the 'two-stage' concept of the Mensheviks, whom he later joined. During the First World War he abandoned Marxism for social-

Frelimo fighters stood at the head of the struggling masses with selfless sacrifice in the period of capitalism's greatest boom from 1964 to 1974.

Over these years the enormous and futile waste of resources by the feeble Portuguese ruling class on the colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guine-Bissau led to a rotting of its strength. In 1974 revolution in Portugal, sparked off by a military coup, overthrew the Caetano dictatorship.

With capitalist rule in Portugal near to collapse under the pressure of the masses, the colonial state machinery disintegrated. In Mozambique, Frelimo inherited control.

The tasks thrust upon the Frelimo leadership were Himalayan in their vastness. Four hundred years of vile Portuguese colonialist savagery, and nearly a century of plunder by monopoly capitalism, had built no national economy at all.

Ninety per cent of the people were illiterate and the overwhelming majority excluded from the market. Less than 10% of the land was under cultivation. The overwhelming part of cash-crop agriculture was based on forced labour and insignificantly mechanised. Industry was tiny.

With independence looming, the Portuguese settler-exploiters took to flight. By 1975, 250 000 had been reduced to 20 000. The 7 000 Portuguese running cash-crop agriculture were all gone. Together, these represented the sum total of landlordism-capitalism and of centuries-old Portuguese rule—the administration of the state, hospitals, education, agriculture and industry.

It was no part of Frelimo's conscious programme to carry through the overthrow of capitalism as the outcome of the defeat of Portuguese colonialism. But, as in China, Cuba and Vietnam, the disintegration of the old state and the capitalist class in Mozambique, and the surging movement of the masses, thrust Frelimo in the direction of nationalising production, and enabled it to build a **new state machine** on the basis of the guerilla army.

(Whereas in Zimbabwe, ZANU—with a similar programme and method of struggle—ended up

compromising with capitalism because of the relative strength of the capitalist class and the continued cohesion of the old state apparatus.)

Inheritance

On this new basis, Frelimo inherited the tasks which capitalism did not, and could not, carry through in Mozambique.

The bourgeois revolutions in Europe in the early nineteenth century had meant a massive expansion of the economic surplus based on the growth of industry. This in turn had rested on a revolution in agriculture, releasing labour from the land and providing food for the new urban population. In turn, the development of industry had cheapened the supply of goods to the rural people.

Mozambique, however, now faced not the early nineteenth but the late twentieth century, with capitalism in decay world-wide. Frelimo's accession to power coincided with a simultaneous recession in all the major capitalist countries, signalling the end of the post-war boom period and the onset of a period of generalised capitalist crisis. **If the massive industry in the major Western countries had already become trapped in the contradictions of capitalism, what scope could there be for the development of industry on a capitalist basis in poverty-stricken Mozambique, with a population of only ten million?**

In fact, with the flight of the capitalists, the workers took over control in the factories and did their best to restabilise production.

Sweeping nationalisations followed, representing an immense step forward, and opening the way, on the basis of economic planning, to begin to create a modern economy and lay the basis of industry. But in this epoch, especially given the extreme under-development of Mozambique, even these measures cannot overcome the problems of society.

With the victory of the liberation struggle and the flight of the settler-exploiters, the plantations were abandoned. Freed from forced labour, rural workers and peasants concentrated on subsistence agriculture or moved to the towns. Maputo's population mushroomed from 500 000 to 1 200 000 by the beginning of 1978.

Frelimo developed an economic plan of 'communalisation' of peasant agriculture in the effort to create a surplus of food for the towns. Following Tanzania's attempt at 'self-reliance', Frelimo stated that production based on creating communal villages would develop agriculture as the "spine of production and progress", with industry as the "secondary dynamo".

But the expenditure required to construct whole communal villages and produce an agricultural surplus—while also developing free medical care and education, and investing in industry—was far beyond the immediate capacities of the Mozambican economy.



chauvinism (supporting the national ruling class on a reformist basis), and in 1917 was opposed to the October Revolution.

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Petersburg (Petrograd)—Capital of Tsarist Russia, today called Leningrad.

Unification (Stockholm) Congress—Conference of the RSDLP held in Stockholm, Sweden, in April 1906, bringing together the Bolshevik and Menshevik tendencies as well as the social-democratic organisations of the Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian and Jewish workers within the Russian empire. At the same time the conference made clearer the political cleavage between the left and right wings of the party, which led to the final split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1912.

“Nationalisation is a bourgeois measure”—Lenin was referring to nationalisation as a means of expropriating the feudal landlords, thus laying the basis for redistribution of the land and the development of a class of independent farmers. In fact, it required the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the working class in October 1917 to carry out this measure. The Bolshevik government's decree on the land (one of its first acts) expropriated the big landowners and turned over the land to the peasants' councils, thereby providing the workers' state with a powerful basis among the peasantry.

Prussian model—Capitalism had developed later in Germany than in the Western part of the continent. Thus, as Marx explained, the German bourgeoisie “saw itself threateningly confronted by the proletariat, and all those sections of the urban population related to the proletariat in interests and ideas, at the very moment of its own threatening confrontation with feudalism and absolutism.” The bourgeoisie sought compromise with the landlords and the monarchy, to avert a revolution from below. The landowning *Junkers*, their interests intertwined with capitalism, from their own side sought a deal with the bourgeoisie. The result was the Prussian constitutional model enshrining this compromise. Its essence was the denial of democratic rights to the masses.

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Kulak—‘Fist’; popular expression in Russia for a wealthy peasant.

Burghers—The early bourgeoisie, or urban middle class, that developed during the epoch of feudalism.

Page 9

Kadets—The Constitutional-Democratic Party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia. Failing to save the monarchy in February 1917, they took advantage of their key position in the Provisional Government to pursue their counter-revolutionary and imperialist

policies. After the October Revolution, they actively supported the invasion of Russia by the armies of the imperialist powers.

December insurrection—The armed uprising of the Moscow workers from 22 to 30 December 1905, the last major offensive of the working class in the Revolution of that year. It was suppressed by the army and was followed by a period of increasing reaction lasting several years.

Winter Palace—The Tsar's official residence in Petersburg.

Bloody Sunday—9 January 1905, when a peaceful demonstration of workers led by a priest, Gapon, tried to present a petition to Tsar Nicholas II and was met with volleys of gunfire. This massacre sparked off the Revolution of 1905.

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Hohenzollern—Name of the German royal family which presided over the capitalist development of Germany until it was overthrown by the workers' Revolution of 1918-19.

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Slavophilism—A primitive form of Russian chauvinism, glorifying the Russian people and its church against all foreign influences, including Tsarism which was regarded as a German imposition.

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The mass of the peasantry can only be persuaded to produce a surplus if in turn it can be provided with the goods it needs—implements, fertilisers and other manufactured commodities. Thus the development of peasant agriculture depends on the development of industry. But the development of industry depends on the import of machinery and other capital goods. These in turn must be paid for out of exports, which must earn the necessary foreign exchange. But exports are only possible if a surplus is produced in agriculture.

This is the vicious circle of under-development in which Frelimo finds itself.

The obstacles to the strategy of 'communalisation' turned the Frelimo leadership onto a different course. A new emphasis was laid on the development of state agriculture (mainly on the old plantations) to provide food and cash crops, and also on the development of industry. The overwhelming majority of the peasantry would have to remain reliant on subsistence agriculture.

The huge dislocations of the independence period, followed by the devastation wreaked by Smith's Rhodesian forces and immense natural disasters (droughts and floods) meant a colossal fall at first in agricultural and industrial production below pre-independence levels.

But, slowly, the inherent advantage of the planned economy over capitalism today has asserted itself. Agricultural and industrial production, from the depths of 1976-78, has begun to pick up—though the targets of the 1977 plan for restoration of pre-independence levels by 1980 have on the whole not been met.

The shortage of foreign exchange remains chronic. After the revolution, tourism fell to nothing, and with the drastic reduction in the number of migrant workers to South Africa, remittances from that source have fallen steeply. South African cargo through Maputo remains a main source of foreign exchange revenue—providing a stick in the hand of the South African ruling class. At the same time much of Mozambique's foreign exchange has to be spent on defending the

country—precisely against the South African threat!

Where 90% of the population is illiterate, the social importance of being literate immediately makes itself felt. After independence, those privileged to have received an education under the Portuguese, the majority of whom did not participate in the sacrifices of the revolution, stepped into the bureaus and organisations of the state.

The peasants' and workers' committees, which had sprung up in the period of transition (1974-75) as an expression of the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses, could not exercise control over the flood of careerists and opportunists into the new state bureaucracy.

In consequence, dozens of state organisations became labyrinths of inertia, making even simple tasks impossible.

...the inherent advantage of the planned economy is beginning to assert itself

The statements of the Frelimo leadership itself point to the extent of the problems. GODCA (the organising centre for communal agriculture) has been criticised as "completely lacking in dynamism and ... excessively bureaucratic in its methods".

At a major Maputo flour mill the Industry and Energy Minister found "a total lack of respect for safety norms, warehouses in a chaotic state and a generally run-down appearance".

The Minister of Finance found that the important Chimoio railway line had become a bottleneck in the country's distribution system, with perishable foods left to rot.

At one state farm, Marcelino dos Santos discovered that only 50% of tractors were in working condition.

At a rally in March 1980 Samora Machel stated: "We found organised red tape, bureaucracy transformed into a system to paralyse the economy—our state apparatus is corrupted".

This state of affairs threatens not only the progress of the economy but also, if continued unchecked, Frelimo's own monopoly of state power.

As early as 1977, to combat this

development, Frelimo proclaimed itself the "vanguard party of the Mozambican workers and peasants". But this has nothing in common with the idea of a revolutionary party developed by Lenin, as an instrument in the struggle for workers' democracy.

In fact the workers and peasants have never directly held power in Mozambique, and, within the framework of Mozambique alone there is no material basis for a regime of workers' democracy—in which the producers themselves control and manage all aspects of the economy and society.

Economic under-development submerges the toilers in illiteracy and preoccupies them with a desperate struggle for survival day to day. It deprives them of the possibility of taking in their own hands the general management of

the economy and the state. Thus the educated layer of society develops for itself a monopoly of these functions. At the same time generalised poverty and a low level of production makes it impossible to satisfy the pressing needs of everybody, and impels the ruling elite towards establishing authoritarian control over the masses.

Mozambique is nevertheless, in the last analysis, a workers' state, despite power being in the grasp of an elite petty-bourgeois stratum. It is a workers' state because this stratum rules on the basis of an economic system characterised by state ownership and planning—which is the foundation of a workers' state.

However, without workers' democracy, the workers state is inevitably deformed in the direction of bureaucracy, inequality, elitism, privilege, corruption and eventually outright police dictatorship over the masses. That process is historically unavoidable in Mozambique while the revolution is isolated in conditions of mass poverty, illiteracy and under-development.

Behind the proclamation of itself as a "vanguard party", Frelimo has in reality declared itself the keystone

in the formation of the new state bureaucracy. All the organs of the state have become centralised around the "party". The workers' and peasants' committees have become effectively subordinated to the leading bodies of party and state.

Thus the inefficiency of rampant bureaucracy in the first period, which Frelimo has been obliged to combat with the support of the masses, is being overcome by consolidating ... **a more efficient bureaucracy.** That is the inevitability within the confines of Mozambique alone, and it is not altered by the undoubted fact that especially the lower ranks of Frelimo are still infused with idealism, self-sacrifice, hard work in the interests of developing the country, and sincere commitment to uplift the conditions of the workers and peasants.

For a whole period ahead (depending on international developments, particularly in South Africa), the Frelimo apparatus will play a relatively progressive role in the development of the Mozambican economy, and will be able to retain the support of the majority of the people.

But even within the next few years, the bureaucratic character of Frelimo will become much more apparent. **Precisely to the extent that the state succeeds in reorganising production, consolidating its control and procuring a steady economic surplus—opportunities for growing inequality, official privilege, disparities of income, status, etc, will become irresistible to the bureaucracy.**

At the same time, locked into the problems of backwardness, defending its basis of nationalised production and planning, trying to combat wastage and the pressures of the market, trying to increase production and meet the needs of the masses, the Frelimo bureaucracy will be forced into one zig-zag of policy after another. Already these zig-zags are evident, and frequent.

In 1979-80 emphasis in the factories was placed on the sole powers of managers to "decide ... organise, lead and control production". The need for special rewards and privileges for those with responsible posts was stressed. Now, in 1981, there has been a call for managers

not to close themselves off in their offices, and instead to develop a "collective socialist method of organising"!

Disbanded workers' committees have been reactivated to 'participate' in management. An earlier decree that no worker was to be allowed into the office of a manager without an appointment has been withdrawn.

Zig-zags

Similar zig-zags have characterised the area of distribution. Chronic shortages have meant, as the official Mozambican Information Agency has reported, that queuing has become a way of life. While rationing of goods under police control at least ensured for the poor their access to basic supplies, corruption of officials inevitably set in and a flourishing 'black market' sprang up.

Thus Frelimo was obliged to retreat partially and allow private trade to develop legally again, although state consumer cooperatives continue to be encouraged. If the traders later become a threat to Frelimo's power, we will again see a sharp swing, including severe police measures, against them.

Despite the overwhelming and chronic problems of the economy, Frelimo at its 1980 conference launched an economic plan promising, within ten years, abundant food, adequate housing and clothing, an end to unemployment and illiteracy, "developed agriculture", and a gigantic development of heavy and light industry.

But within the framework of Mozambique alone, this economic projection is utopian—it cannot be achieved.

Moving the adoption of the plan, Samora Machel promised that within ten years "Mozambique will be well on its way to advanced socialism". But a transition of society to socialism, once capitalism has been overthrown, is only possible under a regime of workers' democracy. If the perspective is confined within Mozambique alone, economic backwardness guarantees bureaucratism, and the development of bureaucracy bars the way to workers' democracy.

Carrying its huge weight of inherited poverty, with a market of only ten million, with the regional economy under the domination of South African monopoly capitalism, the Mozambican economy on its own can develop only at a snail's pace.

Low productivity levels, which will be all that is possible for an extended period, will create a constant temptation to import cheaper goods. Certainly, to obtain capital goods, there is no escape from the world market. Even China and the Soviet Union, with their huge internal markets and long period of development on the basis of nationalised production and planning, have not been able to escape from the world market.

Participation in the world market unavoidably means subordinating production of immediate consumer needs to the requirements of production for export, in order to secure foreign exchange. It means securing loans—and then paying back interest at crippling rates. It



Food queue in Maputo

means, as the plan recognised, an open investment call to monopoly capitalism, although this is to be controlled so as not to threaten the grip of the state on the economy as a whole.

At the same time the crisis in the world capitalist economy means a stagnating world market, uncertain sales and prices for raw material exports, and continued inflation of prices of imported goods.

Nor is there a way out through COMECON and aid from the Stalinist states of Russia, Eastern Europe and China. Though much new investment in Mozambican industry is from these areas, there are limits set on it by the growing stagnation of the Eastern European economies and the Soviet Union.

Frelimo places great hopes on regional integration under the banner of SADCC (Southern African Development and Coordination Conference) to combat the domination of SA capitalism and create a larger trade zone centred around the ports of Mozambique.

The formation of SADCC, since Zimbabwean independence, signifies a partial weakening of the grip of the South African ruling class. It potentially disrupts the SA strategy of a constellation of Southern African states tied to the SA commodity market, banks and industry.

But of the nine African states involved most are in the grip of landlordism-capitalism and face inevitable social upheavals in the coming decade. None have the prospect of the necessary huge investments in the plans for electrifying and industrialising Southern Africa.

This is because the entire SADCC endeavour cannot escape the grip of international monopoly capital, which merely hopes through SADCC to increase its own markets. The main vultures are the ailing Scandinavian capitalists.

Realistically, SADCC is a serious but unfortunately doomed effort to free Southern Africa from the grip of monopoly capitalism.

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

every opportunity of exploiting the weaknesses of the Mozambican economy.



Machel: "organised red tape" paralysing the economy

The development of two counter-revolutionary guerilla organisations—the *Movimento Nacional de Resistancia* (MRM) and the Freedom of Africa Organisation (FAO)—armed and financed by the SA ruling class—has been possible only because of the extreme underdevelopment of Mozambique. The fact that these organisations have been able to establish a foothold in areas of Mozambique which previously sustained Frelimo throughout the war of liberation, shows that the peasantry has not yet received the material advantages from the revolution that would have roused them to mass resistance against the invaders.

No reversal

Therefore the poverty of the peasantry turns it into a potential tool in the hands of SA imperialism, and emphasises the vital importance of the South African revolution for the future of Mozambique.

The present counter-revolutionary intrusion can remain an irritant. But neither this, nor the concessions to small businessmen and shopkeepers, nor relations with the world market, can reverse the gains of the Mozambican revolution. It would now probably take a full-scale SA invasion to restore capitalism in Mozambique, and even that would be most unlikely to

succeed.

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

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

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

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

Nevertheless, despite obstacles from the leadership, this is the true course of workers' internationalism which Marxists in Frelimo need to set before them.

With the destruction of the reactionary powerhouse of SA capitalism through a struggle linked up throughout Southern Africa under the leadership of a united working class, and with the establishment of workers' democracy in South Africa and throughout the region, the way will lie open to rapid industrialisation and to mechanisation of agriculture within Mozambique. Here lies the road to the fulfilment of the goals of the Frelimo ten-year plan.

The fulfilment of this programme rests firmly on the shoulders of the Mozambican and South African working class. They are the foundation of a future Socialist Southern Africa, joining in the wider struggle for a socialist world.

Which way forward Namibia?

By Jake Wilson



South Africa's bloody sweep through southern Angola shows in its bare-faced aggression that the interests of the capitalists can only be secured through violence and terror against the people of Southern Africa.

It also raises the question sharply of whether South Africa is heading towards an uncontrolled plunge into war against those countries struggling to escape the iron grip of the South African ruling class. Angola and Mozambique, which have overthrown landlordism and capitalism, are being marked out as special targets.

With an estimated 1 400 killed, with the roads, bridges, hospitals and homes of southern Angola smashed and some 14 000 refugees made homeless—more blood-soaked chapters are being written into the records of capitalism in Southern Africa.

But as Marxism has explained, war is not the result of the blind operations of the military. It is pursued for definite political and class goals.

In a clear confirmation of this, the invasion of Angola has been followed within days by an announcement that South Africa is seeking, with American imperialism, a 'settlement' in Namibia **within the framework of UN Security Council Resolution 435.**

This new 'initiative' follows only months after the breakdown of the Geneva talks, and Pretoria's arrogant assertion of its readiness to maintain the military occupation of Namibia indefinitely.

Clearly there is no prospect of the outright military defeat of the SA forces in Namibia, except after years of escalation of the fighting to the point where all Southern Africa becomes embroiled in war.

That perspective, with the likely involvement eventually of other military powers, is one which the

imperialists are most anxious to avoid, and which the Botha regime also recognises to be against its own interests.

Botha's cabinet has undoubtedly come to the conclusion that an indefinite war will involve mounting dangers for the ruling class in South Africa itself. Not only is the cost in rands and lives mounting up—the war is **having a radicalising effect in the townships, factories and mines which will become all the more serious as the mass struggle in South Africa grows.**

Both the unparalleled aggression and the publicity given to South Africa's sudden acceptance of Resolution 435 have been the result of numerous public and secret meetings between the Botha regime and the representatives of American imperialism.

These talks have prepared the basis for a 'settlement' on terms acceptable to both, **but which cannot meet the democratic or social demands of the Namibian working people.**

Internationally, the South African regime has the best conditions for a favourable 'settlement' which it could hope for: out-and-out reactionary regimes in both Washington and London on the one hand, and a Russian bureaucracy

eager to resume 'detente' with the West on the other.

Within the region, poverty, economic chaos, and the effects of the world-wide capitalist recession are weakening the willingness of the governments of the 'Front Line' states to support a continuation and stepping up the guerilla war, with all its devastating consequences. The ruling strata in these countries are looking more and more narrowly to their own 'national self-interest', and are less concerned with the common interest of the workers and peasants to be liberated from the domination of imperialism.

Capitalist governments in Africa to the north scarcely disguise their eagerness for a neo-colonial 'settlement' of the Namibian struggle, on terms acceptable to South Africa. The Nigerian government initially even hesitated to condemn the SA invasion of Angola!

Despite this, the SA ruling class knows full well that SWAPO would win the elections. What they are desperately hoping is that a 'settlement' can take place on the lines of Zimbabwe. There the maintenance of white privilege and property were entrenched by agreement **before** any elections, and the guerillas were ultimately disarmed and some integrated into the old

Rhodesian army.

The 'war programme' of nationalisation and land to the people was abandoned by the leadership.

In the case of Namibia the question of the army and police is likewise fundamental to the forthcoming negotiations. In the final analysis the state is armed bodies of men, prisons, etc. If the existing 'state' can be secured in advance of elections, as a means of defending the capitalists' property and social power in Namibia, then South Africa would reluctantly accept a SWAPO victory at the polls.

In any event Botha and the imperialists will try to hamstring a SWAPO government through devices like coalition with other parties, special constitutional privileges and guarantees for property-owners (in the guise of 'protecting minorities'), etc.

But even then, South Africa's rulers face huge problems. The masses will undoubtedly see the withdrawal of the SA army as a victory for the SWAPO guerillas and themselves.

The critical time will be the election period. Elections themselves will create enormous enthusiasm for SWAPO and big expectations on the part of the working people that a

radical transformation of society will be carried out.

However, recently there has been a series of statements from Nujoma going against the earlier programme of SWAPO. For example, he has promised that "no white property will be touched." This is unfortunately intended to reassure the imperialists that the SWAPO leadership would be open to a 'Zimbabwe' outcome to negotiations.

At the negotiating table there will be further huge pressure on the SWAPO leadership to 'settle' on terms favourable to the capitalist class. This pressure will come not only from the Western powers and South Africa, but also from the 'Front Line' states. In the interests of 'detente' the Russian bureaucracy will undoubtedly add its weight.

There may well be **stepped up aggression** by the SA armed forces to increase the pressures up to the last minute of 'settlement', as in the case of Zimbabwe. Such attacks and other 'breakdowns in the negotiations' may disrupt and delay the process temporarily, but the general direction of events is now clear.

An important aspect of the strategy of SA imperialism and its allies was emphasised in *Inqaba* No.

2: "Their immediate aim is to destroy SWAPO as a military force that could form the basis of an alternative state machine. At the same time they are trying to strengthen the basis of their own state power in Namibia." Thus they hope to avert the danger of a future SWAPO government taking over the property of the capitalists, and going the way of Angola and Mozambique.

This strategy is now being carried out by the SA armed forces, and a 'South West African Defence Force' made up of mainly black conscripts is being hastily constructed.

Fatal weakness

But the weakness of the puppets in Windhoek (who are already rejected by the masses), the inexperience and lack of cohesion of the new army, and the wild racism of the local whites, are creating a nightmare for the ruling class strategists. The whole structure of government painstakingly put together by Botha and the imperialists, threatens to collapse if South African troops were to be withdrawn.

It is this potentially fatal weakness which has led to the



Drawn for *Inqaba* by Alan Hardman, cartoonist of the *Militant* (weekly paper of the Marxist tendency in the British Labour Party).

The Struggle for the Land

By Florence Bosch
and
Themba Sikhakhane



For the toiling people in South Africa, the question of who owns and controls the land is completely bound up with who owns the factories, mines, farms and other workplaces, and with who controls the state which protects the ownership of these things.

Black people in South Africa are effectively denied the right to own land in their own country. Certainly, the ruling class has 'generously' allowed 13% of the most barren parts for occupation by Africans and a tiny amount in the urban areas for Coloured and Indian "Group Areas". But removals and evictions show that even in these "reserved areas" the will of the state holds sway.

No black person has a right to live anywhere in South Africa—let alone own outright a patch of soil. There is no other country in the world where a minority in society

denies the right to land to a majority on the basis of colour. The reason for this must be found in the way South African capitalism developed.

Servitude

When the Dutch (and later British) colonialists invaded the shores of South Africa, they were confronted with well-organised indigenous tribes holding land com-

munally and producing largely for subsistence. To 'open up' South Africa for capitalist domination, the colonial rulers were confronted with two needs—to conquer the tribes and seize their land, and to transform the tribesmen into wage labourers.

This proved no easy task, as the bloody wars of resistance testify.

Lacking the power to remove the indigenous tribes from their land altogether, the capitalists drove them into the reserves, 'freeing' their land for exploitation by white farmers. Those that could not be pushed out were reduced to servitude on their ancestral land, now controlled by the brutal white landowning class.

Through the imposition of cash taxes, combined with the relentless pressures of overcrowding and poverty, the capitalists then drove

the tribesmen from the reserves in search of employment and used the instruments of the pass laws and influx control to control them.

That arch-villain Cecil Rhodes summed up this process in 1894 when he spoke of "the gentle stimulant of the labour tax to remove them (ie Africans) from a life of sloth and laziness; you will teach them the dignity of labour."

In this way the capitalist class could secure for itself the supply of cheap labour necessary for development.

Late development

At the time capitalism dug its roots in South Africa, it already existed as a world system and was entering its highest, convulsive stage of wars and revolutions—the epoch of imperialism.

Monopoly capitalism had already carved up the world market on the basis of large scale production. This enabled the monopolies to undercut smaller producers by lowering prices.

So, to accumulate wealth, the South African capitalists, interlocked as junior partners with world capitalism, were compelled to produce, sell and buy commodities at prices laid down on the world markets. The possibilities for development have been shaped within these limits.

The capitalists have been able to compete profitably in agriculture, industry and mining only by maintaining in existence a constant supply of cheap labour through the migrant labour system.

The transformation of indigenous tribesmen into cheap wage-labourers migrating between the reserves and the workplaces, always under the strong arm of the law, made possible South Africa's economic development. The whole edifice of apartheid which arose—racial division, passes, and the police state—ensures that this cheap labour system continues.

By placing barriers on the right of black people to own land, the SA ruling class not only got the land and cheap labour, but they also

made sure that no black farming class could arise to compete with them for profits. The 1913 Land Act, for example, was passed for this purpose.

Capitalism in South Africa did not develop in the gradual manner it did in Britain and other advanced countries. Its development was rapid and convulsive. The conquered tribesman found himself thrown **directly** into wage labour; the **very same class** that stole his land confronted him as slavedriver on the factory floor and down the mine.

Thus it became imprinted on the consciousness of the migrant worker that the questions of land deprivation, national oppression, the pass laws and cheap labour are all inseparably bound up together.

All this explains why the relation between the workers and their bosses appears at the same time as a relation between the conquered and their conqueror. The black working class has been shaped in production not just as a class, but as part of a nation struggling for liberation.

The struggles that developed against land seizure, cash taxes, "rehabilitation" schemes and all the measures intended to force out the Africans into selling their labour power to the capitalists, bore the imprint of a struggle between a working-class-in-the-making and imperialism. The Bambata rebellion, for example, often cited as the last stand of tribal society, was in reality the struggle of land-

workers and a disappearing peasantry against the poll tax impositions of the vicious colonial state.

The struggles against cattle-culling in the late 1940's, for example in Witzieshoek, and those that followed against Bantu Authorities and the Rehabilitation Schemes, were battles of migrant workers and their families against a continued onslaught intended to reduce them to pauperism.

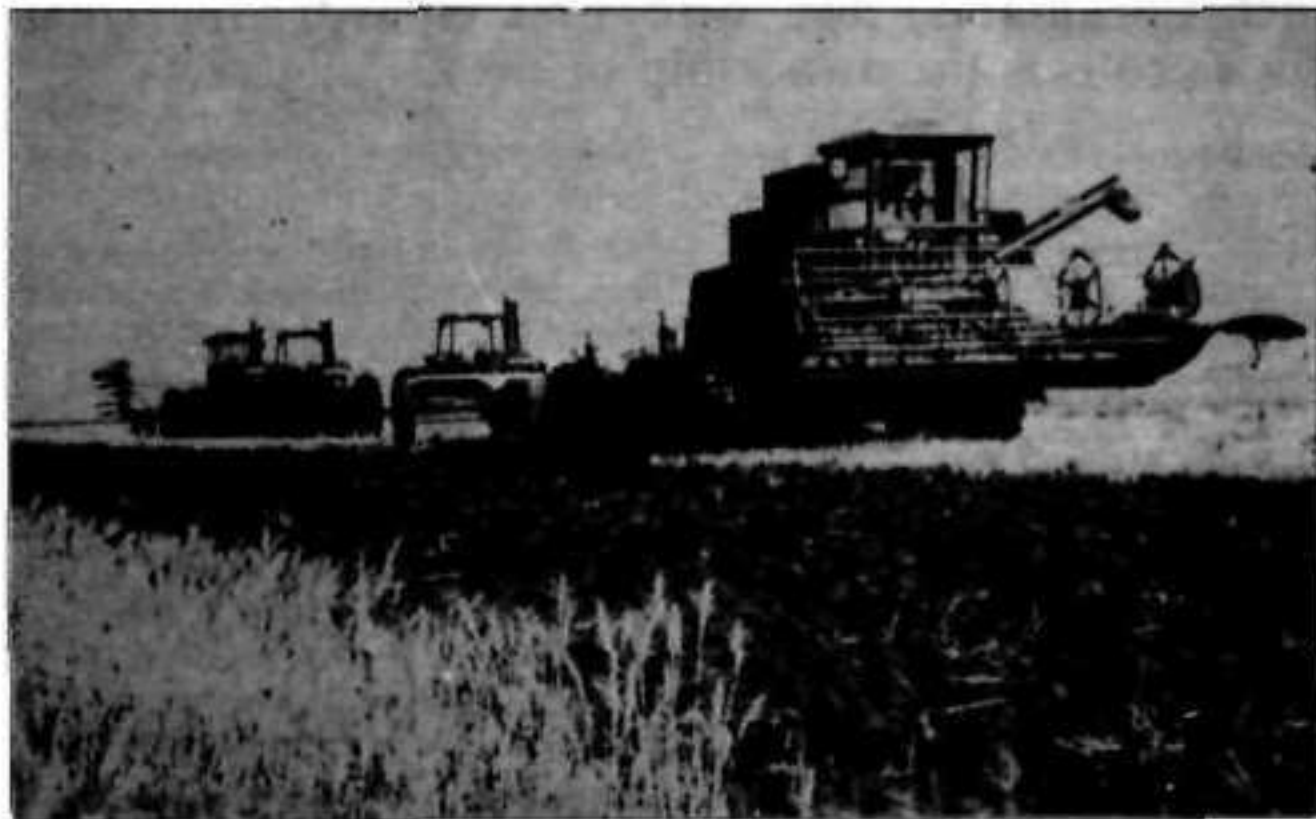
In the reserves, the masses have increasingly lost their real link with the land. People struggle in vain for mealies from their tiny plots and milk from barren grazing lands. Millions are completely landless. Even when confined to the countryside, all these are forever dependent on wages for survival.

To the oppressed workers, the reconquest of the land is an essential part of their struggle against oppression and exploitation. The land was seized from them to reduce them to wage labourers; it is used as an instrument against them to perpetuate their servitude.

The land and the pass are knotted together. The pass brands the migrant as a landless proletarian, destined to move between the reserves and the urban areas at the whim of the bosses.

The barriers on free movement are bound up with the barriers to the land. The same class that denies blacks the right to the land, at the same time forces Africans to live on it in the reserves.

That is why the questions of the



Large-scale capitalist production predominates on the land

land, the pass laws, poverty and democracy are all seen as one and the same. They all go back to one thing—capitalism. Who owns the land has a central part in determining who rules society.

Reconquering the land

The solution to the problem of who should own the land poses itself differently for the workers than for the middle-class elements. Sections of the black middle class see the solution to the land question as the redivision of the land so that they might own land and get rich. They want barriers to land ownership lifted, the white farmers pushed off, and the land granted to themselves.

But the working class always solves its problems in its own way. For the working class, the owners of land are not simply whites, but **capitalists** who use their ownership of the land as a lever to take all that the workers produce. To destroy the power of the capitalists requires seizing from them what they have stolen and using it for the good of the people.

Redivision of the large capitalist farms would not solve the problems facing the working class and its families; it would mean a reduction in food production and the replacement of one group of capitalists by another.

Reconquest of the land can only mean the complete taking over of the country—the land, the factories mines and banks—by a workers' government based on the majority of the people, with the expropriation not only of the white capitalist farmers, but the industrialists and financiers too.

Only when the land has been reconquered in this manner will the power of the whites over the black people—and with it the power of the bosses over the workers—be broken.

Why should it be the workers, who own nothing but their ability to labour, who hold the solution to the land question?

Because it was the capitalist class who completed the process of stealing the land from the people and



Mass removals and starvation are part and parcel of capitalism

who hold it today. The South African bourgeoisie has carried through its revolution on the land, ensuring that large-scale capitalist production predominates everywhere.

The *bywoners* have long been

eliminated. Every year sees more small white farmers gobbled up by big business on the land. Today about 80% of the maize is produced on 10% of the farms.

The peculiar, distorted and very rapid development of capitalism in South Africa meant that tribesmen

were transformed directly into proletarians. A stable peasantry has never existed in South Africa for this reason. The rural poor of the reserves are none other than the families of the migrant workers.

This explains the special significance of the land question for the working class, whose historic role it will be to liberate the land for the people, and the people from the land.

How will the question of who owns and controls the land then be resolved? Only in the course of determined struggle, of industrial and agricultural workers united. **The land question will not be solved by the passing of laws, but by the forcible seizure of the land.**

This will require the organisation of the workers on every farm in the country, and their linking up with the workers' organisations in the industrial areas.

The same organs of democratic workers' power used to take the land in the course of the revolution can then be used to re-organise production.

At a national level, the revolutionary overthrow of the present regime and its substitution by a democratic workers' state will lay the basis for the planning of all social production to meet the needs of the people. **The priority as far as the land is concerned will be to ensure sufficient for every man, woman and child to eat, both in the towns and on the land.**

This will require nationalisation of the large farms and estates and

the organisation of production on them under workers' control.

At the same time areas of unused farmland would have to be taken over and turned to productive use, with collective farming encouraged and assisted. Only in this way will efficient, large-scale production with tractors, harvestors, etc., be possible.

The revolution on the land will not only have to provide food for the towns, but also lift from misery and brutal degradation the agricultural workers who have long produced the food of South Africa and got so little in return. The overthrow of capitalism would make possible for the first time a decent standard of living for workers on the land.

Furthermore, the reserves as reservoirs of cheap labour must go, together with the pass laws. People will then be able to move freely from village and farm to town.

Hundreds of thousands of people now in the reserves will flee from the barren life on a barren strip of soil to which influx control has condemned them for so long, to seek new opportunities in the towns. In this way, the revolution will liberate the people from the land.

What will happen to the land in the reserves and on the smaller white farms? This will have to be decided by committees of workers together with their families in the local areas. It would not undermine the power of a workers' state if some redistribution into private hands takes place, as long as the main food

producing regions are in the hands of the state and controlled by the workers in the interests of all the people.

Whatever the case, huge resources will have to be pumped into the poorer areas to enrich the soil, and provide implements and irrigation. In this way voluntary collectivisation can be encouraged, with greater productivity in the production of food.

The Freedom Charter, programme of Congress, calls for the restoring of the land to the people. Every oppressed person agrees with that. But how is this restoration to be achieved, and what will it mean in practice?

To carry through this programme of reconquest of land by the people, there can be no compromise with the interests of the white landowning class. Unfortunately, the leaders of the ANC are not clear on this issue. Thus *Sechaba*, October 1980, states that "the capitalist farmers ... will have to be re-educated in the spirit of the Freedom Charter ... (as) is happening in Zimbabwe."

But the point to be made about Zimbabwe is that the land has not been restored to the people!

All the more is it the case in South Africa that the land can only be taken back by collective force, in the course of a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist class as a whole. And the land thus liberated must be put to the service of the entire people through the means of a workers' state nationally and organs of workers' power locally.

Because the peasantry has been eliminated in South Africa, the demand simply for the redistribution of the land as a whole into private hands would only undermine the unity of the revolution; who would become the new land-owners and who not? That is apart from the immediate crisis and chaos it would cause in the vital production of food for the towns.

The task in the next period is to build the links between the industrial and agricultural workers, to develop a united and invincible force that can sweep away capitalism from the face of SA.

That is the only way to solve the land question, along with all the questions of national and social liberation.



The workers on every farm need to be organised and linked to the urban workers' organisations



MONONO'A BONA — MASAPO A RONA

Dr Marino Chiavelli shows the kind of 'internationalism' practised by the capitalist class. Born in Italy, he has sucked his wealth from the labour of workers in Ghana, Zaire, the Middle East and who knows where else.

Now this drifting parasite has landed up in South Africa to set up his modest little retirement home in Hyde Park, Johannesburg. 'Doing up the place'—including a five-suite guest house, swimming pool, massage bath, tennis court and sunken rose garden—will cost him R15 million. A few knick-knacks for decoration will add another R30 million—while a few miles away in Kliptown homeless people are eating out of dustbins.

But clearly Dr Chiavelli will not be employing black servants. Each of his 20 servants' rooms will have a five-star bathroom.

"Sooner or later we will have to finish them off. The only difference now is that I am being paid to do it." This is the mentality of Johann Verster, formerly a Second Lieutenant in the Citizen Force Third Parachute Battalion with a medal for his role in the South African invasion of Angola.

Verster has been turning his military skills to exploiting the most devastating of the miseries of the black oppressed—land hunger. Crowded into the Bantustans by the regime, made desperate by mass starvation, some people are misled by the chiefs into fratricidal faction fighting.

Over the last four years in Kwazulu at least 827 men were killed in faction fights. Verster, enlisted by one of the factions, was receiving R800 a head per murder—if he produced the head. He had lost count of the people he had massacred.

So long as land hunger exists, so long as the SA military machine churns out trained racist killers, the Versters of this world will emerge like a creeping fungus.

Among recent investors in Namibia is Jean-Baptiste Doumeng, the notorious French 'red millionaire' who, by exploiting his position in the French CP, has made a fortune out of agricultural dealings between France and the Soviet Union.

In 1980 he signed a contract for the construction of a modern abattoir at Gobabis, with the blessing of the SA government, as a basis for exporting meat from Namibia to France and other countries. We wonder what the Namibian, and French, workers will think of this new venture.

The march to Parliament by 1 000 Capetonians on 20 August (in protest at the mass removal of Nyanga residents) produced an interesting glimpse of the real nature of the so-called liberal opponents of the government—the PFP.

Their leading 'civil liberties' spokesman, Helen Suzman, was taken to task by the Nats. "Did you take part in the demonstration?" asked Horwood. "No, no, no, no!" she replied angrily. Not only did she not participate, she replied, but she tried to persuade the marchers not to go as they would be breaking at least two laws! In fact, she says, she helped to stop what could have been a "nasty incident".

The PFP and their big-business backers continue to demonstrate the extent of their 'opposition' to the vicious regime. While thousands of Nyanga residents were being made homeless, they want no more than to keep their petticoats clean and help the government avoid "nasty incidents".

Compare the yellowness of Suzman with the courageous defiance of the ANC fighters who, after being sentenced to death earlier in the week, raised their clenched fists and declared: "long live the toiling masses of South Africa, long live the spirit of international mankind!"

A FAT MAN'S VIEW ON THE BREAD PRICE

By Rocco Malgas



Following below is how we think Minister Lapa "R20" Munnik might have reacted to the increase in the price of bread:

“The price of bread goes up a mere 33% to 40% and what do we get? Praise? No! Instead we have an outcry by faint-hearted liberals (whose side are they on?), consumer organisations, communists and other subversive elements who incite all those hardworking bread-eaters to discontent.

The thing, however, is to understand that man cannot live by bread alone so people need to diversify. Why can't they eat rice, potatoes, eggs or meat? Why be so particular about bread?

What do you mean we are being heartless? In this country people don't appreciate the special problems of government. In any case there was a very good reason to increase the price of bread. Like my colleague Minister Pen Kotze said: 'For years South Africans had cheap bread and wasted it, they still do so today and we cannot afford that.' Waste not, want not, I say.

If people waste bread when it is cheap, do you think they will do so when it is expensive—of course not! And this is what I like about the low increase in the bread subsidy announced in the latest budget. (To tell the truth I sometimes think it is much too big, the subsidy I mean.) I mean government has subsidised bread to the tune of R162 million per annum. That is a lot of money.

The call by subversives to increase the bread subsidy to avoid a price

increase is therefore sheer madness. Because it will mean bread remains cheap and people continue to waste it.

Many people don't understand that money used for subsidising bread etc. could be better used to defend our Republic against the total onslaught on our borders and within. Really this is what I don't like about only a 40% increase in defence expenditure proposed in the budget. Sometimes I ask myself if our Owen Horwood isn't still mixed up with his old liberal cocktail friends.

What do you mean all the arms in the world can't stop a revolution? The Shah of Iran? Nee kêrel! If we had our own Brigadier Swanepoel over there together with some of our young men from Info to explain the total onslaught to those people there could never have been a revolution, *much less talk about it.*

What do you mean thousands of people starving and revolution crawling on its belly? You should know that the truth is that the National Party has done its duty to uplift the poor people of this country, especially the Bantu. There is no starvation in this land. People starving in Msinga—what rubbish! You musn't believe everything you read in the English press.

Anyway I don't see why people especially blacks, should complain about higher prices because black wages have actually increased on

average by 6% in the past year. Even though inflation is running at 15% per annum, for blacks it is running at less than 9%. Why shouldn't they get the other 9%? Because it is inflationary, that is why.

This is what is so stupid about strikes for higher wages. If there is a strike for higher wages each time we raise prices, the battle against inflation will never be won. Is that so difficult to understand? If workers stop fighting for higher wages we'll have no inflation. Will that bring prices down — of course not! How do you expect businessmen to remain in business without making profits?

People calling for the opening of the books of account of firms have lost all sense of right and wrong. These are the private concern of our hard-working businessmen. Industry should not give in to workers. The door is always open. They can just go if they are not satisfied because there are so many others who are prepared to take their place.

If workers think they can run the factories they should start their own bakeries and other businesses in the homelands. Don't come again with the price of bread—the matter is now closed.”



Rich man's budget

"Guns before butter". That is now a big business newspaper headlined the latest budget. On the financial pages inside the same newspaper it said: "Economists enthuse over no-shock budget".

How clear they make it that guns, for the rulers of South Africa, are necessary to defend profits! Defence spending allowed for in the budget increased by a massive R747 million; the bread subsidy by R45 million.

The budget is presented once a year, usually in March. This year, because of the April election, it was presented in mid-August. What it represents is the government's plans for how much money is going to be spent from the taxes we pay and other sources on things like education, housing, medical care, railways and the military.

By looking at how this money is distributed, the priorities of the ruling class are made clear.

Huge revenues flowed into the country and into the government's hands, as a result of the high price of gold last year (all made possible, of course, by the super-exploitation of the black miners).

But the government has refused to put this money to the benefit of the mass of society in the form of better education, housing etc. Last year the government had a surplus of funds of about R1 500 million, which it chose to 'freeze' rather than spend.

And at the same time that all this money piled up in the banks, the crisis of homelessness, unemployment, bad education and starvation got worse. In the year that South Africa notched its highest growth rate since the Second World War, there were more people needing bread, homes and jobs than ever before.

So, boom or no boom, the government has made it clear that it has set its face against allowing money for the improvement of conditions of life for the masses. In this, it reflects the interests of the property-owning class it represents.

It shows not just that they are greedy (although greed they have in abundance!). It is because conces-

sions to the working class weaken the profitability of capitalism and undermine the economic basis of the bosses' rule.

So they hold back and arm themselves to the teeth to prevent the masses from seizing what should be theirs.

While defence spending is to increase 40% from R1 890 million to R2 637 million, spending on housing will increase only 11% from R232 million to R257 million. Spending on education to increase 26% from R407 million to R512 million; on health, welfare and pensions 23% from R770 million to R947 million.

Set against the burning needs of the working people, these "increases" are like trying to empty the

sea with a teaspoon.

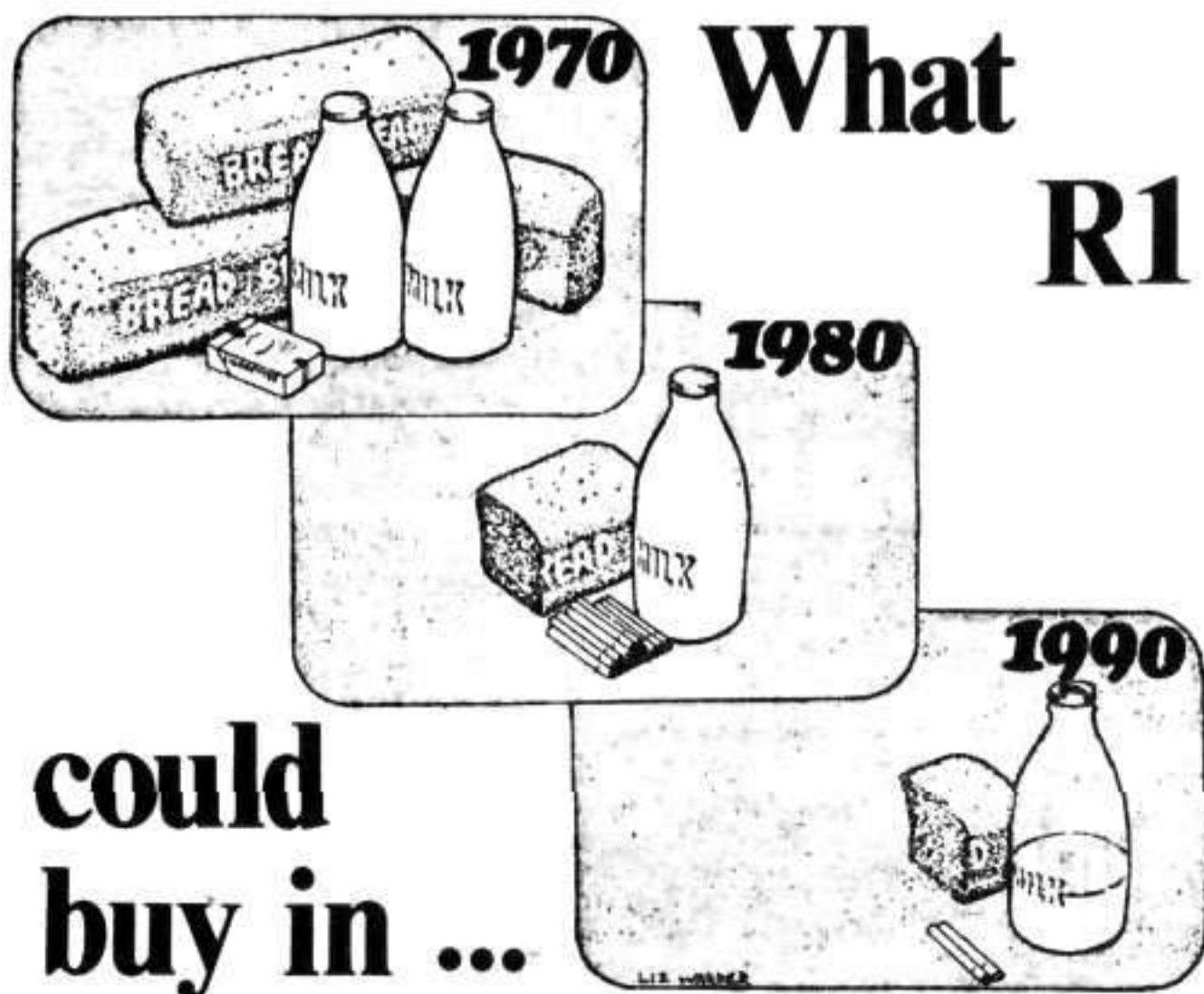
At present there are only some 20 doctors (G.P.s) in Soweto—for a population of 1 500 000—while in the rural areas there is one doctor for every 20 000 patients.

Estimates of the current housing backlog are at least 500 000 homes—and only 30 000 are being built by the state a year. In Soweto, with a backlog of at least 35 000 homes, only just over 700 have been built in the last 18 months.

To overcome this backlog and take account of new needs, at least 2 million homes must be built in the next 18 years. At present prices, this alone would require at least R30 000 million—i.e. nearly R2 000 million a year.

When one takes into account an

By Florence Bosch



inflation rate of around 15%, it is clear that apart from defence there has been no big increase in spending.

Horwood said, when giving his budget speech, that around R233 million would have been needed to prevent the bread price from going up recently, but that this "could not be accommodated".

If Horwood and his henchmen are unable to "accommodate" cheap bread after a year of unprecedented boom, how much less so when the economy slows down, as it is already beginning to do?

After the 8% growth rate last year, it is likely that economic growth this year will be at most 4%, and next year 3%. For the workers, this will mean **greater resistance by the bosses to demands for higher wages and trade union rights.**

Wage limits

The government has already given the line by limiting public sector salary increases to around 12%. Whether they get away with it, of course, will depend on the resistance put up by black and white workers inside the public service and outside.

"A remarkable budget" is how Professor Botha of Wits University described it. Really? He says it is "remarkable" only because it did not demand more taxes of the companies and rich businessmen, and because the government is holding down spending.

But for the masses who starve in our society it is completely unremarkable and completely predictable. The rich are protecting their own, and making sure they have the weapons to do so. The irony is that the more they inflict poverty on the mass of society, the more they need weapons to defend themselves!

This budget is just another of the countless examples of how the rulers of South Africa demonstrate that they lack the capacity to achieve the all-round development of society. Only when the working class, who **produce** the wealth in society, also **control** it and are in charge of **distributing** it, will there be homes, food and jobs for all.

Letters from

Rowntree

Dear Comrades,

"A large snowball has begun rolling down the hill. It is gathering speed and there is still a long way to the bottom." These were the concluding remarks of the trade union Convenor (senior shop steward) to the factory manager at Rowntree-Mackintosh's giant York plant only hours after Labour Party Young Socialists leafleted the day and office shifts with copies of an emergency resolution supporting the East London Rowntree strike which has been submitted to the national conference of the British Labour Party. (See below—*Editor*)

The company's half-year results of their operations in 11 countries showed that pre-tax profits had doubled to £8.7 million [R15½ million], **but that most of the increase came from the South**

African subsidiary.

Workers at the York factory have had similar experiences to those in East London, for example, when it comes to unskilled workers doing the job of fitters. Hundreds of redundancies and falling real wages over the past year in the York plant have highlighted the threat the continued existence of apartheid wage slavery constitutes to organised labour everywhere.

These facts are reflected in growing support for the strike. The white-collar section of the Engineering Union has sent a resolution to its National Executive urging "all members of unions in the UK to carry out no work on South African projects until a satisfactory settlement has been achieved". Increasingly sympathetic consideration is being given to the dispute by the main shopfloor union, the General and Municipal Workers' Union, after the case put to them in favour of SAAWU by the S.A.

"This conference declares its wholehearted support for the strike by members of SAAWU at Wilson-Rowntrees in East London, South Africa.

Recognising them to be in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid wage slavery, Conference demands the full reinstatement of all workers and the release from detention of all union activists, particularly the recently arrested union officials Thozamile Gqwetha and Sisa Njikelana.

Conference believes the strike is the latest example of the enormous advances made in building independent non-racial trades unions and pledges solidarity in their struggle.

Conference calls on the National Executive Committee to support the ANC and SACTU in the fight to organise and educate the mass of working people for the overthrow of the apartheid regime and the building of socialist democracy. Conference also supports the contribution being made by SALEP in this struggle.

Conference believes the strike highlights the link that exists between the struggles of workers in Britain and South Africa. British employers profit from the cheap labour of the racially enslaved black majority.

Conference calls on the NEC and all activists in the movement to urgently set about the task of building an effective campaign of economic sanctions based on the Labour and Trade Union Movement to isolate the apartheid regime. This should include the building of links between British workers and their SA brothers and sisters at all levels in order to work to end the rule of our common oppressors."

—Resolution passed by York Labour Party and submitted to this year's Labour Party Conference

abroad



SAAWU members at City Hall, East London

Labour Education Project, Labour Party Young Socialists and Anti-Apartheid Movement (York Branch).

At national level, the Rowntree Combine Committee, made up of unions which organise the bulk of the 20 000-plus workforce, have demanded an early meeting with the Company Chairman and Director of Overseas Operations. Messages of support have been sent to SAAWU by the Transport, Shop and Bakery workers' unions. The local Trades Union Congress plans a rally in support of the strikers on 6 November to which the Labour Member of Parliament for the Constituency has been invited.

We were very interested to read in **INQABA** of SAAWU taking up the question of organising the unemployed. Long and bitter though the strike has been, we feel the prospects for international solidarity are growing as the labour movement appreciates the slogan common to our two movements, "an injury to one is an injury to all".

United in the fight to rid society of all oppression we look forward to defeating capitalism in South Africa and Britain and building a democratic and socialist World.

Fraternally in the struggle,
Steve Jeffreys
 Secretary,
 York LPYS
Alan Beynon
 Youth Officer,
 York Labour Party

Sri Lanka

Dear Comrades

It is now one year since the General Strike in Sri Lanka was defeated by the arrest of several trade union leaders, the sacking of tens of thousands of trade unionists, and an armed State of Emergency. Since then the policy of the UNP regime has simply been more and more repression.

This has hit the trade union movement hard. The trial of union leaders has dragged on for a year, draining the time and financial resources of the unions, and many workers are still deprived of any livelihood. As no system of 'dole' exists in Sri Lanka, these workers and their families have been thrown into abject poverty.

Initially they were maintained through collections in the towns and donations of food from sympathetic peasants in their native villages, but now the unions have undertaken to

organise self-help schemes. These involve the distribution of goods for sale by teams of union members going from door to door. It also provides a means of contact with the people, enabling the members to explain the union's cause.

Meanwhile the effects of last year's confrontation are also being felt by the government. Government offices, railways, etc, are still limping along in chaos without trained staff, relying on untrained youths and pensioners temporarily called out of retirement. This situation cannot last long, and our members will have to be given their jobs back. We are concerned that they return to work united and organised.

In the last six months the political situation in Sri Lanka has become completely unstable. The government may have won the strike but it has lost its support as a consequence.

New arrests and attacks on trade unionists; bloody pogroms against the Tamil minority including MP's, police and troops burning the Jaffna library, temple, market and houses; open fighting between different sections of the state forces; constitutional rigging with the scrapping of local government; two States of Emergency declared and press censorship introduced. The UNP's measures are becoming desperate. Race riots are their only means to prevent the unity of the people.

International support for the Sri Lankan workers has continued.

On behalf of our members I ask your readers, particularly those in the trade unions, for support for our cause.

United Federation of Labour,
Gen. Secretary: O. Fernando
17 Barrack Lane,
Colombo 2, Sri Lanka

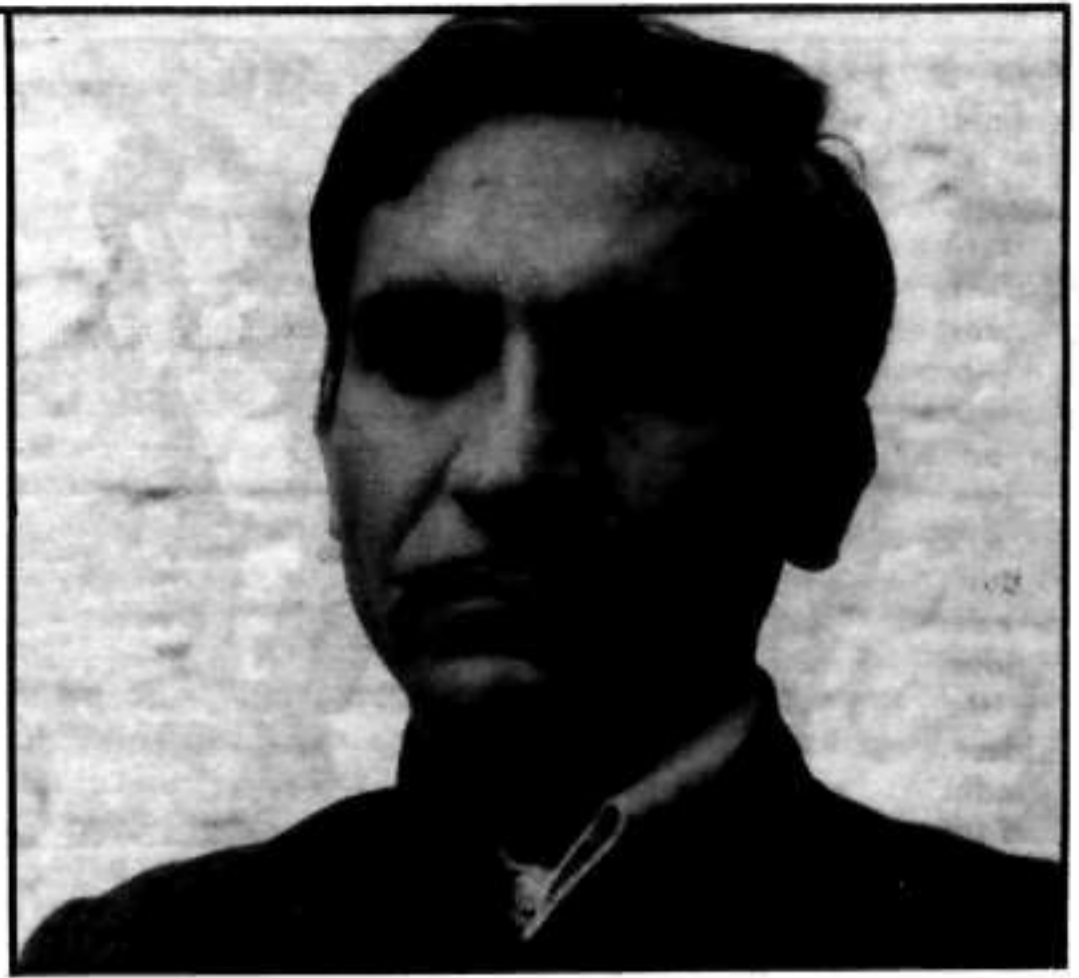
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Inqaba interviews

SUBHASH SETHI,
President of All Escorts
Employees' Union,
Faridabad.



INDIA- 'Workers must or

India under capitalism is a giant in torment. With a population of 700 million (almost double that of Africa) and vast natural resources, India is potentially one of the most productive and wealthy countries in the world. Instead, after centuries of plunder by British imperialism, followed by the parasitic rule of the rotten Indian capitalist class, the country has been reduced to indescribable poverty and seething social tensions.

Under the impact of the mass struggle, India became politically independent in 1947. British imperialism handed power to the representatives of Indian capitalism. Though the trappings of a parliamentary system were established, for the mass of the people democracy does not exist.

Enormous power has been concentrated in the hands of Indira Gandhi and her corrupt family clique at the head of the Congress government. This power is used in the most ruthless manner to enforce the interests of the big capitalists and landowners.

Under their rule, over half the Indian people live below the official poverty line. 200 million working people survive on less than 20c a day. 100 000 children die of malnutrition every month. 80% of children in the countryside will never go to school.

The Indian workers and peasants have increasingly been driven into

struggle against these intolerable conditions. In every industrial city, heroic strikes have been fought in the face of murderous repression; in vast areas of the countryside, civil war reigns between landlords and landless peasants. In 1979, according to government calculations, there were 216 riots per day—nine riots every hour!

Pre-revolutionary turmoil

The capitalist class is completely incapable of solving the problems of the country. India has entered a period of pre-revolutionary turmoil. In the coming years the question of power will have to be decided—whether the present rulers will succeed in crushing the mass movement and stabilising their grip on the country, or whether their nightmare regime will be broken by

the only force capable of displacing them: the 21-million strong urban proletariat at the head of the countless rural masses.

The most critical element in the workers' struggle will be that of unity, leadership and programme. Thus far, the magnificent movement of the workers, in the towns and on the land, and the no less heroic struggles of the peasants, have been held back not by the power of the state, but by the failures of an utterly bankrupt and opportunist leadership.

The leaders of the main organisations of the Indian working class—the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist)—cling to the bankrupt position that India is not ripe for the overthrow of capitalism. Therefore the task, according to them, is to consolidate 'democracy' on a capitalist basis.

In practice, this means a series of compromises with reactionary capitalist leaders, watering down

their half-hearted reformist programmes even more, and losing further support among the working people.

It is due to the failure of the workers' leaders to provide a socialist alternative that Indira Gandhi—brought down by a wave of mass struggle in 1977—was replaced by an equally bankrupt capitalist regime, and was then able to return to office last year.

But the election result itself revealed the isolation of the 'victorious' Gandhi regime. According to the official figures (despite widespread vote-rigging in Mrs Gandhi's favour), little more than half the electorate voted; in all, less than a quarter of Indian voters supported Mrs Gandhi!

In office, the Gandhi clique have continued to enrich themselves

ist leadership within the mass organisations of the Indian working class can provide a rallying point for the workers and peasants in struggle and show a way out of the present crisis. Organised on a socialist programme, the Indian working class can draw behind it the mass of the people, demolish the capitalist system and, on the basis of nationalised production under democratic working-class control, develop the resources of the country to meet the need of the mass of the people.

The fate of the Indian revolution is of vital concern to the workers of South Africa and the entire world. If successful, it would enormously strengthen the workers in every country; if crushed, it would be a demoralising blow to workers everywhere.

of the people are living in the villages. Some are peasants, some are landless labourers. But when they go to the cities they see the capitalists living like princes, with cars, big homes and servants.

Due to all these social evils the masses want revolution, they want to change society. They realise they are working hard and getting nothing. But the main problem is the lack of revolutionary organisation, the lack of national leadership.

The left in India is split into many parties like the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the Revolutionary Socialist Party. But none of them provide a real alternative, a revolutionary leadership for the struggling workers and peasants.

ganise for power'

while building up the machinery of a police state to protect themselves against the anger of the masses.

Their latest reactionary measure has been to declare a total ban on strikes in the main sectors of the economy. A punishment of a year in prison is laid down for organising strikes, and 6 months for taking part in a strike!

These attacks will spur the workers on to even more determined struggles. Country-wide protests are already taking place. Everything points at an explosive sharpening of the class struggle in the period ahead.

The capitalist class has no answer to the struggles of the workers and peasants except increasingly barbarous repression. Already sections of the ruling class are calling up the dark forces of communalism (ultra-nationalist fascism) as a bludgeon against resistance among minority national groups.

Nationalist movements in different states of India, reflecting a mood of despair, are struggling to break free from the hated regime in New Delhi. Under capitalism, India faces a nightmare future of ruin and disintegration.

Only the development of a Marx-

INQABA has discussed some of the crucial questions facing the Indian working class with Comrade Subhash Sethi, a union leader from the Delhi area and a supporter of the ideas of Marxism. Shortly after giving this interview, Comrade Subhash Sethi was a leader of a 30 000 strong demonstration of workers in Delhi against the anti-strike legislation.

Many of the tasks of the Indian workers—in particular, the building of a united national trade union movement—are similar to the tasks which face us in South Africa today. Many lessons can be learned from the experience of the workers in India which will assist us in carrying forward our work.



Workers in South Africa are eager for information about the pre-revolutionary movement of the Indian workers and peasants which has brilliantly begun over the last period. Could you describe this movement?

Sixty per cent of the people in our country are living below the poverty line. That means earning less than two rupees a day (20c). 74% to 80%

None of the political parties is working democratically. This is a big problem and that is why they are divided. Anyone who criticises the leadership is sent out of the party. Also if he wants any change in the policy or programme, he is sent out of the party.

Most of the trade unions are controlled by political parties and work in the same undemocratic way.

What we need is to build one country-wide trade union organisation that will work democratically and carry forward the struggle for change. In the meantime we will also be building a revolutionary political leadership.

The name of Gandhi is well-known in South Africa since Mahatma Gandhi was active in South Africa as well. Can you tell us about the regime which Indira Gandhi has set up in India today?

No doubt Indira Gandhi's family were involved in the fight for independence, but she was not elected for this reason. 60% of the people have voted against her, always. Indira Gandhi game back to power in 1980 because the previous Janata



The 1974 railway strike involved nearly two million workers

Party government did not give what they had promised, and because of the failure of the main workers' parties to provide any clear alternative.

Indira Gandhi's Congress Party is a nationwide party, but the other parties are regional parties. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is the biggest left party. It is the ruling party in three states—West

Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. In other parts the Communist Party of India has a hold. If the left put up a united front nationally Indira Gandhi could not win. She has to use bribery and vote-rigging in order to stay in power.

But the left parties don't unite. They are Stalinist parties, by which I mean that the upper leadership are the bosses of the parties. They dictate, they don't want democracy in the party, they don't want to lead the revolutionary struggles of the masses. That is why Mrs Gandhi is able to stay in power.

This government of Indira Gandhi is pro-capitalist, anti-trade union and anti-working class. A new law has just been passed to ban strikes. But I tell you, half a million workers will march on 17 August to say to Indira Gandhi, you shall not pass this law. We in Faridabad are

organise a united struggle.

What has been your experience of the struggle to create a united trade union movement?

Until 1974 I was working at Escort in Faridabad, when I was sacked for trade union activities. There were six trade unions in Escort, in a workforce of 10 000. The strongest of those unions were led by the CPI (M), the CPI and the Congress Party (Indira). I said to the leaders of the unions, why are we divided into six parts? We are crying that the employers are exploiting us, but we are doing nothing for the workers. We can't get anything until we unite. The leaders agreed and said we should form a front. I said no, we should form one organisation, one union, and the workers should elect the

leadership. The leaders said no. Then I went to the workers directly. I told them of my discussion with the leaders and explained to them that if we are divided our demands will not be met. The workers agreed. Then I asked them, why don't we form one union and leave those other leaders? So they all left their unions and we formed one union.

For the last four years we have had elections every year, and I have been elected President every time.

After we formed this union we had a strike. It involved 10 000 workers, and we won it in three days.

At first the employer said he would kill me. He said he would fire his factory before he would talk to me. But after three days he agreed to talk. Then we had a meeting with the management and got an increase of 125 Rupees (R12,50) per month per worker. And within three years we got another increase of 350 Rupees (R35,00). In the history of India there have never been such increases in such a short period.

On that basis I went to the workers of the whole region of Faridabad. I asked them, why are we divided, why should we not form one organisation as we have formed in Escort?

The workers agreed. We organised 15 000 workers more. Now we are the strongest organisation in Faridabad.

Within the next two years our aim is to organise 100 000 workers into our organisation, out of 200 000 workers in the region. They will come into our organisation because all the workers can see we are following the right path, we are following the democratic path and we are fighting for the workers' interests.

How does democracy operate inside your union?

Democracy means, the leadership must be elected by the workers, if the workers believe they are right. I may be the leader of our organisation, but the leadership can be changed if it is not working in the interest of the working class. So I am not saying that I should be the leader, but that the leader should be elected every year. Any leader who is not working for the interests of

the workers should be dismissed by election, according to the will of the workers.

What are the prospects for building trade union unity in India as a whole?

On the basis of our work in Faridabad we will try to form one trade union organisation all over India. I am working around Delhi but other people are organising the workers in every other part of the country. They are many and they are militant, but they cannot fight if they are divided. They will come together because they have similar ideas. When that happens we will form one national trade union organisation. That will provide the basis for a united political leadership of the working class.

What is the role of the present political leadership of the workers?

All the workers and the left should be united on the basis of a program and policy that is decided democratically. Every leader should be elected, from the bottom, to the city committee, district committee, state committee or central committee of the organisation.

But at present the left parties are run by a dictatorial system. That is



Bombay—capitalist wealth and working-class poverty

why there are splits. If there had been democracy in the party, there would be no need for splits. With democracy, the reformist leaders will be sent out because the working class want a militant leadership, they do not want reformists who cooperate with the authorities.

The CP leaders have had many opportunities to build a mass revolutionary movement in India. But because of their policies they have always thrown these opportunities away.

Instead they have taken their line from Moscow and betrayed the struggles of the Indian workers and peasants.

The most notorious betrayal was in 1942-1945. At that time there was the 'Quit India' movement to drive British imperialism out of India.

The CPI opposed that movement, it opposed it because of Russia—because the Stalinist regime was in alliance with the British imperialists against Germany at that time. Because of its attitude to the independence movement the CPI was held in low esteem by the masses of India. If the CPI had been willing to support the struggle for national independence, then the workers' movement would have become very strong, it would have led the national struggle. Instead, the people saw that the CP went against the movement, it was helping British imperialism. People were being hanged, people were sacrificing, and the CP went against it.

Today the workers are very militant but the leadership is leading a princely life. The poor people are not able to eat; 70 million people don't have houses but the leaders live like princes. How can it be possible for the people to believe in such a leadership?

I can give you an example. In 1979 there was a one-day strike in Faridabad. This call was supported by all the left trade unions, so there was a complete strike. Everything was closed.

The police prohibited any assembly of workers. We had a meeting already arranged but the police said, the order has been made so you have to leave this place. The workers said no. Then one of the police inspectors fired and a worker was killed. The workers then dispersed, and two workers carried



Victims of the brutal Indian police, their eyes destroyed by needles and acid

the body away. The police inspector said, don't touch the body, but they ignored him. Then he fired again and both the workers were killed.

The other workers were watching this. After the police inspector fired, they ran at him and killed him. Minutes later, huge contingents of police arrived. They fired at the workers and more than 50 were killed.

The workers had the support of all the people in the area. There was a mood of militancy. But this situation was turned into defeat by the leadership of the CPI and the CPI (M). The workers wanted to stay out on strike the second day but the leaders in Delhi said no, no strike. So the workers went to work.

We were forced to go underground for three months. The workers said to me, what kind of leader are you—you tell us to go to work after 50 of us have been killed? I said, can there be a complete strike if only our union calls it? If the CP leaders ask you to work, can I alone ask you to strike?

The workers were betrayed, very much betrayed. From that day the workers have been thinking very carefully before taking any action—whether under this leadership we should fight, or not.

How do you think the task of building the workers' organisation can be carried forward in the period ahead?

I am going to collect 200 000 Rupees (R20 000) from the Escort workers for the purpose of organising the exploited, unorganised workers. We will ask 30 Rupees (R3) from each worker. We will explain to them that the unorganised are getting only 200 Rupees (R20) a month, whereas we get 600 Rupees (R60). We will explain that unless we can organise the working class in millions, there can be no social change.

If this money is collected we can take on at least 15 to 20 full-time organisers. At present we only have 8 to 10 cadres working full-time for the union. In India the financial problem is a very big problem of trade union organisation. This problem has been caused by our leaders. Many of them are very dishonest. They have used the workers' money for themselves.

You have mentioned the problem of money and financial control, which is crucial to prevent corruption in the leadership. How do you tackle this problem in the union?

Our union is one of the most organised and financially stable in North India because we account to the workers, and the workers have control over the union's finances. We show the workers every month, this is the income, this is the expenditure, and this is in the bank and in cash. We cannot draw more than 1 000 Rupees (R100) from the bank at once, and we cannot draw more than 3 000 (R300) in a month. If we need to draw more than 10 000 Rupees, the whole of the Executive Committee has to meet; and we have to get permission from a general meeting of the workers to draw so much money for such and such work. Then, if they give permission, the whole Committee has to sign.

All these instructions have been given to the bank. This is the system we have. In the coming years we will have a very strong financial position. With these resources we will be able to meet our target of organising 100 000 workers.

We would like to turn now to the relations between India and the surrounding countries. A lot is said about the conflict between India



Millions in India are forced to beg for a living. Many, especially children, are 'owned' by gangsters and deliberately mutilated to increase their 'profitability'.

and Pakistan. Can you give us your views on that?

Indira Gandhi says that we have a danger from Pakistan, and Pakistan's Zia says that he has a danger from India. But Indira Gandhi has no danger from Pakistan, not at all, she is only making excuses to divert the attention of the people. The people are not afraid of Pakistan. The only thing the people want is to change society, they want to throw out the capitalists.

There are so many struggles in different corners of India. The peasants have been fighting in Maharashtra, in Karnataka, in Tamil Nadu, in Haryana. They want lower prices, cheaper fertilisers, lower electricity costs. At least 100 have been killed.

In Bangalore, 130 000 public sector workers were on strike for 70 days. They were only defeated due to a weakness of leadership.

All these struggles are against Indira Gandhi, not against Pakistan. We need a national organisation to expand these struggles all over the country. There is no danger at all from Pakistan or China. The people are not thinking about it at all, they are only thinking about changing society.

What has been the attitude of the Indian workers' leaders towards the struggles of the workers in Sri Lanka and other countries?

The more militant workers' leaders know the history of the revolutionary Sri Lankan working class, and know how the general strike was defeated. But the mass of the workers are not yet very conscious of the working-class struggle internationally. That is due to the nationalist policies of the workers' political leaders. The CPI (M) and the CPI (ML) gave no help to the Sri Lankan revolutionaries at all. As for the CPI, it takes its line mainly from Russia.

We often hear about the caste system in India, which splits up the people and harshly discriminates against those who are born into the lower castes. How do you fight against this system in the workers' movement?

Under capitalism it is very, very difficult to overcome caste divisions. Society is in such a form that caste differences are linked to economic and social privilege and power. The harijans (the lowest caste; the so-called 'un-

touchables'—Ed.), for example, have almost no land, while the highest caste, the Brahmins, have among them many landlords and capitalists.

But the workers' leaders have failed to campaign on these issues, and so there is no clarity among the masses about the way in which casteism and religion are being used to divide and oppress them.

In our agitation we concentrate on speaking against capitalism, why the workers are being exploited and how we can overthrow the capitalist system. When the working class takes power, casteism will be eliminated. But among the cadres we should always discuss these questions. We need to be clear about it at all times or we will have problems in the future.

Some of our leaders in the South African liberation movement still regard Indira Gandhi as an ally. She even gives out medals for the struggle of the South African masses. What is your comment on this?

“With the revolutionary cadre and the trade unions united, the revolution will be successful.”

Indira Gandhi did not fight for the masses, either in India or in South Africa, not at all. The working people of India are against Indira Gandhi. The people of your country should know this.

What do you see as the prospects for the Indian workers' struggle in the period ahead?

In the next elections Indira Gandhi will probably win again because no alternative is being provided by the leaders of the left. If she does not win, then other rightist parties will come to power. But in the election after that, definitely we can come to power. By “we” I mean our organisations, like the CPI (M) and the CPI, when we have reformed them. The people will demand a leadership and a government that will make an end to the oppressive



Police attacking demonstrators

conditions of the capitalist system. We must use the time now to build that leadership. The conditions are very favourable. Thousands and

The consequences of the Indian revolution will be very great. India is a country with the second-largest population in the world. If the revolution comes to India and capitalism is thrown out, the whole of Asia and indeed the whole world will be affected.

The things you have explained will contribute an enormous enthusiasm to the South African workers. Like the workers in India, we have the task of building a mass united trade union movement on the basis of a Marxist programme. We must do everything possible to link our struggles together, and with those of workers throughout Africa and internationally.

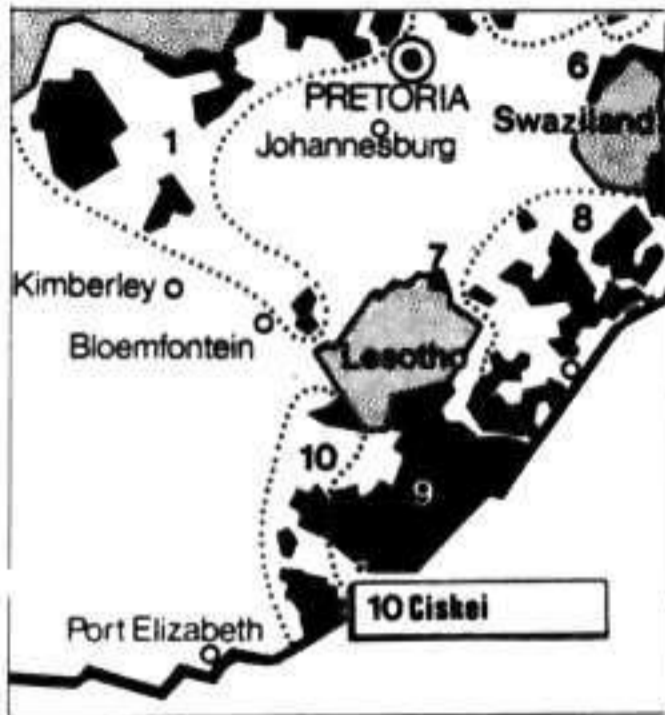
Trade unionists in South Africa who would like to get in touch with Comrade Subhash's union directly can write to:

**Subhash Sethi,
President, All Escorts
Employees' Union,
Neelam Chowk,
Faridabad, Haryana,
India.**

thousands of cadres in the CPI, the CPI (ML) and the CPI (M) want to bring in their own revolutionary policies instead of the reformist policies of the leaders. If we can unite these cadres on the basis of a revolutionary programme, we can establish democracy in the parties and replace any leaders who don't want to struggle for the demands of the workers and peasants. If this kind of party is formed in India, the left will be united, and a socialist government will be elected.

It is possible that the capitalists will not give up their power peacefully, they will end democracy if they see that the workers and peasants will put their own parties in power. In that case there will be a fight. But with the revolutionary cadre united, and with the trade unions united, the revolution will be successful.

Ciskei "independence"



On December 4th this year, Ciskei, the poorest and most overcrowded of the ten tribal Bantustans, will be the fourth to get "independence", after Transkei, Bophutatswana and Venda. "We are starving—*siyalamba*"—its people are crying.

Ciskei covers 3200 square miles and has a resident population estimated at 660,000. It is a wretchedly under-developed part of the SA economy. There is no Ciskeian economy to speak about and job opportunities are virtually non-existent.

In the 30 factories which employ a total of about 3,000 wage workers, conditions are atrocious. There is no minimum wage regulation and wages are as low as R9,00 per week. Two-thirds of "Ciskei citizens" earnings come from migrant workers.

Economically, the Ciskei is nothing more than a labour camp for SA capitalists and a dumping ground for those they cannot provide with jobs.

Two out of every five "Ciskeians" of working age are unemployed. Kwashiorkor and other nutritional

deficiency diseases are rife among the people. Ciskei faces a future of famine.

On top of this human misery, Pretoria's mass "resettlement programme" has doubled Ciskei's population and led to very serious overcrowding. The most striking feature of the landscape is lines of tiny lavatories across the dusty hillsides marking the sites of resettlement camps, where tens of thousands of people have been dumped after being classified as surplus.

Only a quarter of the people living in the Transkei and Ciskei have a right to any land at all.

The "independence" of the Ciskei reserve is yet another shot by the SA ruling class to undermine the workers' organisation and unity through "divide and rule" tactics and maintain the cheap labour

By
Teboho Phiri

Bantustans are a dead end. In the face of this Bantustan menace, all class fighters should constantly point out that our real enemy is the South African capitalist class, on whose behalf the Sebe's attack us.

No amount of puppet "independence" for Bantustans, no new passbooks or fancy 'citizen stamps', can change our determination to get rid of the South African oppressive system. To do that we will have to destroy not only the Bantustan system, but the capitalism which oppresses and exploits us.

Our task is to organise our forces and take up the programme of Marxism, in order to overthrow the apartheid regime and the power of the bosses—which lies at the root of our suffering—and establish a democratic workers' state.

— *Siyalamba!*

system.

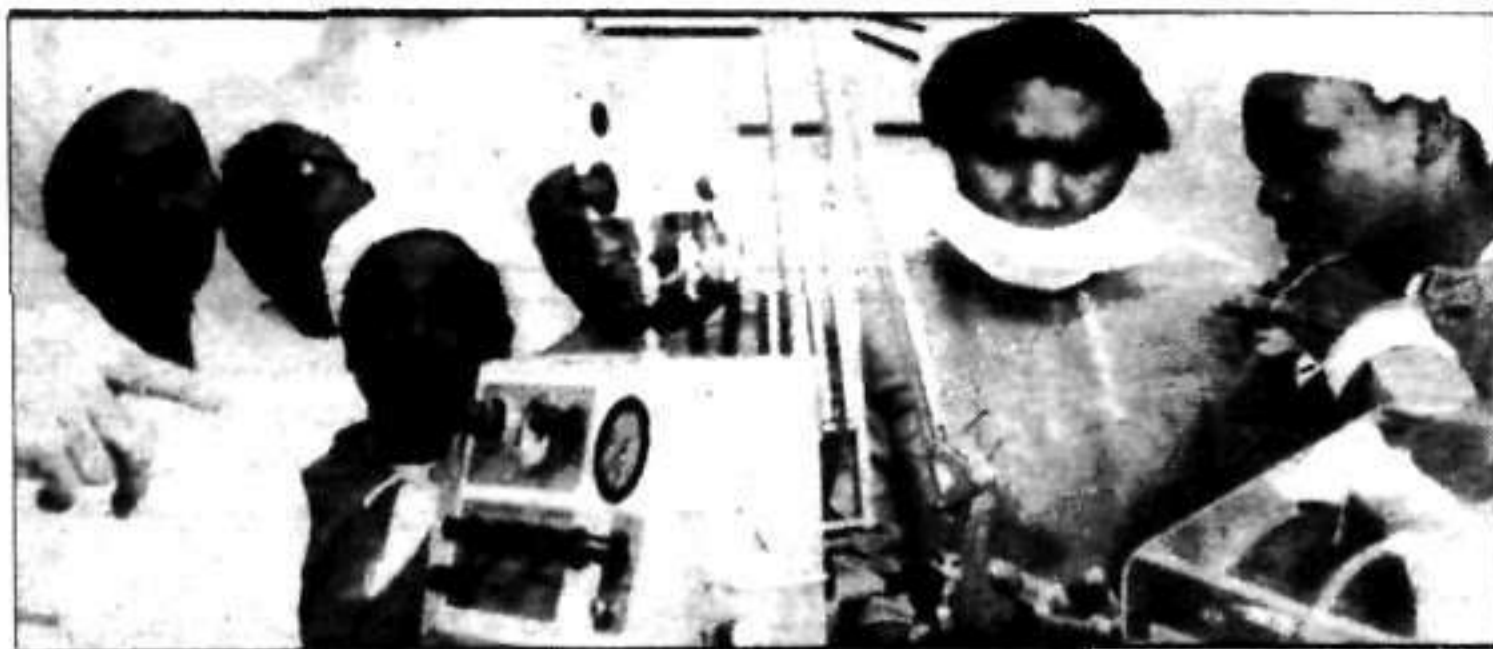
Many African workers and their families will lose their SA citizenship and will be handed over to "Chief Minister" Sebe and co-criminals. The dirty work of SA capitalists will now be executed by the Ciskei Bantustan government—to 'tame' and 'control' the workforce.

Anti-trade union

The Ciskei puppets are rabidly anti-trade union. MAWU, an affiliate of FOSATU, has been banned in the Ciskei. Recently 205 trade unionists of SAAWU were arrested in Ciskei—for, among other crimes, singing "freedom songs." This is not the first time that Ciskeian police have acted against the East London black trade unions.

All workers are aware that the





The health service

Poor patients victimised

Today in South Africa capitalism is completely unable to provide adequate medical facilities, thus putting the lives of people at risk. The capitalists are pushing forward a policy of cuts in the health service, regardless of the fate of the sick.

By D. Sikhakhane.

In a society based on profit, the satisfaction of the financial greed of the rich always comes before any measures that protect the life and health of the masses are attended to.

In times of boom the capitalists make some concessions to the demands of the workers and provide amounts of money for the social services, of which health forms a part. This happened in the West after the Second World War.

Why cuts?

But with the world-wide crisis of capitalism, profits decline, and drastic measures are taken. Cuts in wages, cuts in public services become the order of the day.

This is precisely what is happening in South Africa today under the present crisis. In his budget speech, the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr. Cruywagen, said that "the Transvaal Province is deeply in the red and hospital services will be one of the Province's functions to be cut back." (*Star* 6/8/81) He expected that the 1981/82 allowances would fall R50m short of what he considered should be spent.

At the same time, the MEC in charge of hospitals in the Transvaal, Dr. Latsky, arguing against an increase in nurse's salaries, said "because of a lack of money and the fact that the gold price has fallen sharply, the province could not offer salaries so high that the private sector could not compete." (*Star* 6/8/81)

The present crisis in the health service is a direct result of the low level of state expenditure and the cuts in the salaries of the workers.

The poor pay and the unpreparedness of the capitalists and their arrogant spokesmen, like Cruywagen and Latsky, to solve the problem has already led to defections by nurses to the private sector.

The only reason why the private sector is paying higher wages is because of the shortage of skilled labour which causes the capitalists to compete against each other for such labour on the basis of wages. This whole mess is made still worse by the racial restrictions against black nurses, excluding them from many jobs.

The defection by radiographers at Baragwanath is but one example of the general disillusionment in the hospitals. This has resulted in staff shortages which according to the

Star is already 36% in paramedical services, 26% in nursing posts and 19% in medical staff.

And with the economy showing no sign of improvement, there is no short term solution of the crisis.

Results

The end result, of course, is greater and greater suffering of the sick. The poor patients will have to be sent home to die rather than for the capitalists to pay higher salaries.

Already the Superintendent of the H.F. Verwoerd Hospital is saying, "the hospital will have to close more wards if the staff situation does not improve before October." (*Star* 5/8/81) At the time he made this statement, 238 beds were already not in use due to staff shortages.

In Pretoria by July, 179 beds in Provincial hospitals were not available; in Vereeniging 58 beds have been closed. Johannesburg Hospital alone has closed nearly half of its 2 000 beds. Hospital staff there, because of labour shortage, had worked 13 476 hours of overtime between mid-May and mid-June!

All this clearly exposes the raw

and hideous nature of capitalism.

The South African masses live under horrible conditions, and can enjoy neither good health nor a normal expectation of life. Where labour is cheap, life is cheap.

Way forward

The only way in which these problems can be solved is by the working class waging a struggle against the capitalist system with the ultimate objective of taking power and establishing a democratic workers' state.

On this basis, the provision of proper housing, decent wages, and jobs for all will enormously improve general health.

At the same time, by bringing all health facilities and services together on a planned basis, under democratic workers' control, a massive expansion of health care will take place to meet the needs of all the people.

The chaos and poor wages make it evident that trade union organizations are lacking in the public service.

It is essential therefore for the nurses, paramedics, and all health workers to organise themselves into one trade union with the ultimate aim of linking up with the struggles of all the workers in South Africa.

Some demands that the health workers would rally round in struggle are:

- **A minimum wage of R90 a week!**
- **All wages indexed to inflation!**
- **Adequate training facilities, without racial discrimination!**
- **No reduction of services!**
- **No closure of wards!**
- **Jobs for all who are qualified, and no job reservation!**

Kliptown The battle

The bitter persecution of families made homeless by the state is taking place throughout the country. In Kliptown these families explained their desperate plight: "We are being harassed by officials because they claim we are illegal tenants and do not qualify to be here. They have threatened us with arrest but we know no other home.

"Even if they arrest us and find us guilty we will come right back again.

"Some of us have been told to return to our homelands but we find it difficult to live there because our children and babies are dying from malnutrition and starvation.

"We have come here to earn a living because there are no job opportunities where we come from."

A mother of a two-year-old child said: "What else are we expected to do? The authorities demolished our shacks and we have been sleeping in the open since last week.

"It is terribly cold at night and we have to do our best to keep our children and babies warm. If we continue to sleep without a roof over our heads we are all going to end up in hospital."



Another evicted person, a mother of eight, had to sleep in an old car for 13 months. She described her plight when she was discharged from hospital:

"On return I found that I had no home because the shack had once more been demolished. I had nowhere to go and the only place I had was my husband's disused car.

"I and my baby slept in the disused car until November last year when my family moved into a disused stable. We lived in there until two weeks ago and were forced to move out because it was unbearably cold.

"The owner of the property gave us permission to put up a shack which is more comfortable than the stable."

against rural poverty **Nyanga**



Nyanga: workers gather as police destroy their dwellings

By Monde Mlamoli

As a result of the capitalist system in South Africa, conditions of life for the families of migrant workers in the reserves have become increasingly intolerable. These families thus move to the cities in search of jobs, and hope in this way to avoid the certain starvation they face if they were to remain in the reserves.

In the cities, however, over two million workers have been thrown into unemployment and the crisis of housing for workers and their families has deepened. The cities are also hit by higher rents and food prices, with the result that workers are constantly engaged in battle with the bosses for higher wages to meet these conditions.

This can be noted in the tremendous growth of the trade union movement. As the conditions in the townships become worse, the trade union movement is finding it more and more urgent to link up their struggles in the factories with the struggles in the townships.

A partial victory was achieved by workers at Crossroads when the state was attempting to deport "squatters" to the reserves. These gains were achieved because of the organised determination and will to resist of the people of Crossroads.

At Langa and Nyanga the state has refused to give way. They moved in during mid-winter and falling rain to smash the shelters of the "squatters" and then deported them to the Transkei.

The state could act ruthlessly because a large number of the workers in the camps are unemployed. There is also an absence of organisation similar to that in Crossroads.

The reason for the state's brutality has nothing to do with its claim that prostitution, crime and illegal sale of alcohol was rife and that agitators were inciting the "squatters" to defy the state. It goes deeper than this.

By this action the National Party leadership wanted to prove to the right wing in the party who have accused *verligtes* of selling out, that *kragdadigheid* and *baasskap* are still the order of things. It hopes in this way to silence the voices of discontent in the party as well as resolve the splits racking the National Party.

The smashing and burning of the so-called squatter camps by the state will not stop the flow of workers (unemployed) to the cities in search of jobs. For the reserves have no jobs to offer and the barren land is incapable of supporting even their basic subsistence.

The ability of the state to act with

impunity against unemployed workers and their families in search of a livelihood must be broken by the working class, by linking up the struggles of the unemployed with those of the employed. The Union of Unemployed Workers started by SAAWU should intervene directly in these struggles.

It is the bosses' system which is responsible for unemployment, poverty and starvation in the reserves, and not the working class. *Inqaba* stands for jobs for all; adequate housing in the cities for the families of the working class; and unconditional defence of the so-called squatter camps by the workers' movement.

In the final analysis the capitalist system is incapable of providing the basic needs of society. It has proven time and again its inability to provide sufficient housing, health care, living wages and jobs for all.

The only solution is to destroy the bosses' power and get rid of the capitalist system, nationalising the commanding heights of the economy under workers' management and control.

For under socialism the needs of society will be taken care of on the basis of need and not profit. It is the only guarantee of adequate housing and jobs for all.

British Labour Party:

Two steps forward—one step back

The capitalist press is full of celebration at the 'victories' of the right wing at the recent British Labour Party conference: the re-election of Denis Healey as Deputy Leader against the radical challenge of Tony Benn, and the defeat of some left wingers in the elections to the National Executive Committee.

By
Alan Green

But in fact the whole course of the six-month election campaign for the Deputy Leadership, conducted on a more democratic basis than ever before, showed the increasing support for socialist policies among the rank and file.

Not since the epic conference of 1918 when, fired by the Russian Revolution, the Labour Party adopted the socialist clause in its constitution, has there been such debate in the affiliated trade unions and the party as a whole.

Even before the results were declared, this debate gave a resounding victory to Labour's rank and file and those committed to socialism. Pre-election rallies of the left candidate, Tony Benn, attracted enthusiastic audiences of 2 to 3 thousand.

This confirms the active workers' commitment to Party democracy and the firm support for radical policies. It reflects the serious attitude of most activists who, through the experience of 17 years of post-war Labour governments, have become convinced that only a mass socialist Labour Party committed to break with capitalism can make an end to poverty, mass unemployment and insecurity.

In the event, the election of the right wing's Denis Healey, vociferously backed by the bosses' press and former Labour Prime Ministers, by a narrow margin of 0.8%, was a disappointment to activists not only in Britain but the world over.

This result, however, only serves to underline the rift between those in the Party who want to compromise with capitalism and those who don't. **The losses on the left were due solely to the manoeuvres of right-wing trade union leaders who swung their block votes behind their candidates in direct defiance of the majority of the active rank and file.** Politically, it emphasises the bankruptcy of the right.

These setbacks will only be temporary. The pro-capitalist policies of the right wing against the background of a deep-rooted economic crisis can only mean further attacks on workers' living standards. Inevitably, new tides of mass struggle will increase the radicalisation of the labour and trade union movement and further reduce the grip of the right.

The continuing shift among Labour's ranks towards socialist policies was reflected by the militant mood of the Conference itself. Delegates reflected the workers' hatred for the nuclear arms race and their determination to commit a future Labour government to socialist policies. Conference voted to support Labour town and city councils who break the law in the struggle against the Conservative government's public spending cuts.

The overwhelming support for Benn from the constituency delegates (representing the ordinary rank and file) is the result which deserves the most attention. Not for long will the movement continue to

accept a Parliamentary leadership which refuses to carry out the policies passed by Conference. Also the position of many so-called 'left' MP's, who shied away from opposing the right by abstaining in the



National Organisation of Women activist: in step with organised labour.

Deputy Leadership election, will no doubt be reconsidered.

Similarly, any attempt by pro-capitalist right-wingers to start a witch-hunt against Marxism in the Party will spark off a determined fight-back by the rank and file, which will embed Marxism even more deeply in the workers' organisations.

The struggle between the ranks of the movement and right-wing Party and trade union leaders will undoubtedly continue in the period ahead. Also in the trade unions, activists will fight to break the grip of conservative leaders and commit the unions to struggle for the workers' interests.

The Conference has opened up a new period for the Party. The more

the capitalist crisis deepens, the more determined will become the workers' search for a way out.

The radicalisation of the most oppressed sections of society, together with the struggles of the workers on the political plane, will refresh the Party with new members especially from the youth. This pressure will continue pushing Labour leftward, transforming it into a combat organisation capable of defeating the Tory government and their system.

Under these conditions the ideas of Marxism combined with the experience of the workers will lay the basis for solving the problems of capitalism. Marxism will become a mass force.

POLAND

An "Address to all workers of Eastern Europe" was passed by the Congress of the Polish trade union movement Solidarity at Gdansk, 5-10 September. It concluded:

"...We are an authentic representative body of workers, with ten million members, born out of workers' strikes. Our aim is the struggle to improve all workers' conditions of life. We support those among you who have chosen the difficult struggle for a free trade union movement. We believe that, in the not-too-distant future, our representatives will be able to meet and exchange trade union experiences."

USA: Reaganomics at the crossroads

The September 19th march in Washington of over 500 000 (many more than expected) came in the midst of intense mass protest demonstrations which are sweeping across the country in dozens of cities and state capitals—California, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, New York etc.

This demonstration, the biggest in Washington for twenty years and led by organised labour (the AFL-CIO), outstripped in numbers the anti-war and civil rights marches of the 1960s.

It reflects the growing anger of a genuine cross-section of the American people against the monster of 'Reaganomics'—savage cuts in public spending on domestic and social programmes. Already \$35 000 million dollars are to be cut in the fiscal year 1981/2 which starts in October.

Participating were local government workers from cities in the mid-West; pensioners from Charlottesville, Virginia; New Jersey iron workers; members of show business unions. Warmly cheered by the

By
Teboho Phiri

other marchers and onlookers were the PATCO air traffic controllers, victims in August of a lock-out imposed by Reagan.

Eight months into Reagan's Presidency, America is sinking deep into a crisis of sluggish growth, high interest rates (20%) and unemployment. Worst hit are the youth.

In 1980, joblessness among teenagers stood at 18% and among black youth it reached 39%. This is merely an average—in certain cities (Detroit, for example), the figure for black teenagers was as high as 60%.

Reagan's honeymoon with the US electorate seems finally to be losing its lustre. Even close friends in Wall Street are worried about his ability to balance the budget. His economic policies are losing him the confidence of the stock exchange gamblers world-wide.

With economic clouds gathering,

the march on Washington could be the beginning of a showdown with the 14 million organised workers and their families. With plans of a further \$16 600 million spending cuts that will erode the pensions of the elderly, government workers, the disabled and others, and assault the education system, fierce future struggles are on the cards.

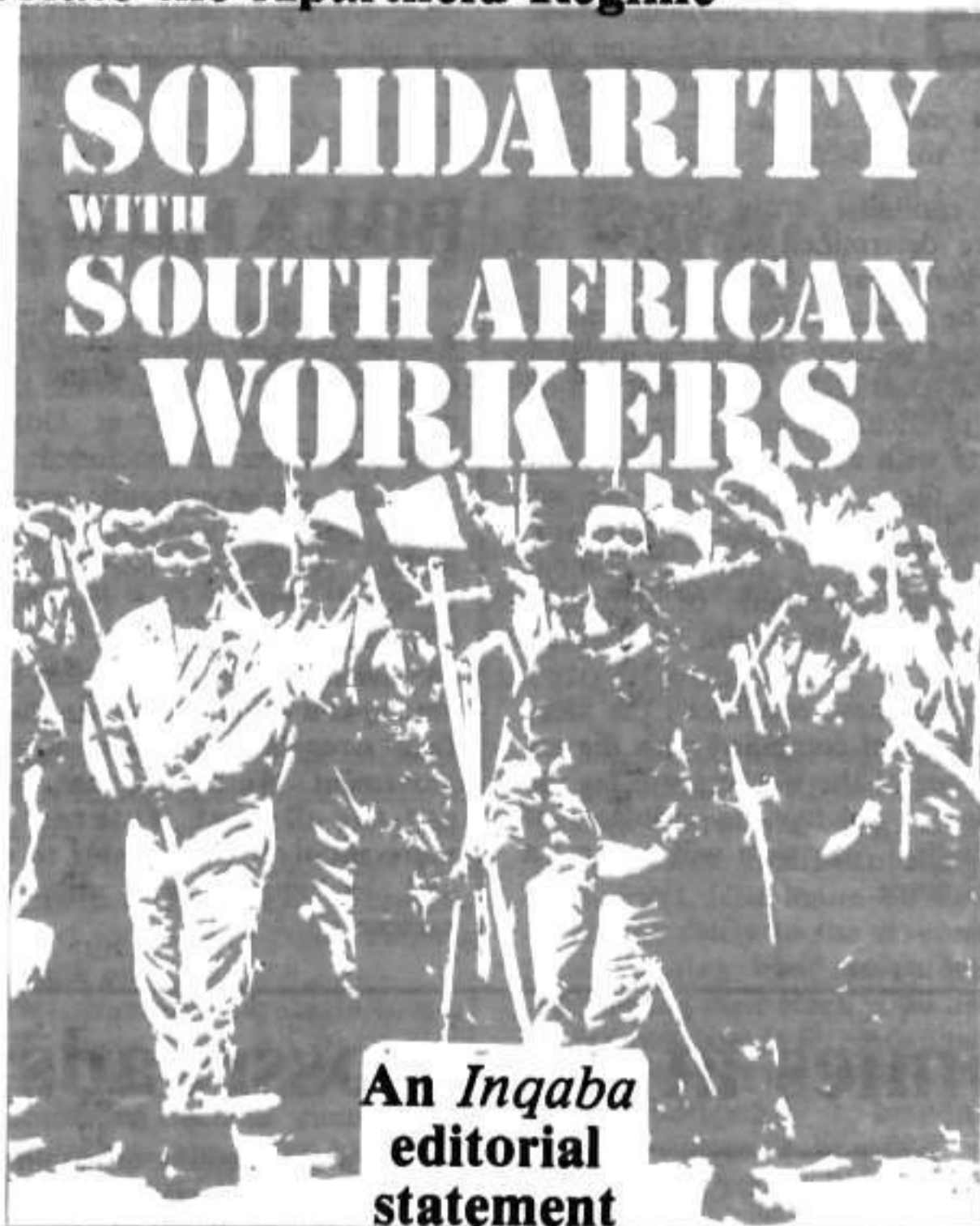
Such struggles will inevitably lead to the radicalisation of the masses and the search for an alternative. Organised labour's intervention and bold lead in founding a third party based on labour could be decisive.

The party of Labour in America would act as a pole of attraction to the mighty American working class and could rapidly take on Reagan and the class he represents.

Such a Labour Party, developing a socialist programme, could open up a struggle to make the 1980s the last decade of crisis-ridden capitalism and of imperialism, through the taking of power by the working class.

Labour must give a lead!

Isolate the Apartheid Regime —



**An Inqaba
editorial
statement**

“The unity of the workers of all countries is a necessity arising out of the fact that the capitalist class, which rules over the workers, does not limit its rule to one country... Capitalist domination is international. That is why the workers’ struggle in all countries for their emancipation is only successful if the workers fight jointly against international capital.”

— Lenin, *Draft and Explanation of a Programme for the Social Democratic Party*, 1896.

For the struggling black workers in South Africa, especially those employed by multinationals, the need to build links of effective solidarity with their fellow-workers overseas is becoming increasingly clear.

Capitalist production, and with it capitalist rule, has spread around the world. All countries depend on trade with each other. Big companies no longer produce for a national market alone, but for a world market. Their factories and their

workforce are spread over many countries in a single network of production.

The South African economy forms an integral part of the world capitalist system. It is a major supplier of minerals and other raw materials to the advanced industrial countries, and provides them with a small but invaluable market for manufactured goods.

Also through investment in South Africa, (direct investment alone totalled R23 000 million in 1979),

the capitalist class internationally has acquired a huge stake in the apartheid system. For the capitalists, these investments are a “valuable source of dividend income” (*Financial Times*, London, 26 May 1981). One example is the multinational Mitchell Cotts group, whose profits in South Africa shot up by 66% in 1980 and now amount to £4.5 million—half the total profits of the group!

These profits depend completely on the merciless exploitation of black labour. Thus, according to a recent UN report, of 19 foreign manufacturing companies in South Africa who were willing to give details of their wage scales, seven paid less than the average industrial wage.

With the growth of the world economy, the class struggle has become international. The capitalist class internationally band together against the workers, creating and manipulating governments to enforce their common interests.

Western capitalist states, despite their democratic shell, actively support the apartheid regime which is the guardian of their interests. This was reflected, for example, in Foreign Minister Botha’s “friendly” meeting with US President Reagan on 15 May 1981 and in the US veto of a United Nations Security Council resolution condemning the South African invasion of Angola.

Against the international machinery of the capitalist class, the workers of different countries need to build unity on the basis of their own class interests.

No reliance can be placed on the ‘liberal’ capitalists and their hypocritical ‘disapproval’ of the bloody methods by which their interests in South Africa and elsewhere are enforced. Only the working class itself has the capacity to abolish the vicious repression which capitalism has imposed on working people.

In the struggle against the apartheid regime, real solidarity with the South African workers’ movement can be based only on the power of organised labour internationally.

In the past, South African workers looking for solidarity to the international labour movement have been disappointed by the condescension and failure to respond of the

top trade union leaders.

But with the worsening crisis of capitalism and the growing struggles of the workers in every country, the organisations of the working class are being transformed.

The bureaucratic leadership which established itself in the advanced capitalist countries during the years of boom and stability is increasingly being challenged by a militant rank and file. Great opportunities now exist of changing the old conservative policies not only nationally but also internationally, and committing the workers' organisations to a position of active class solidarity.

The potential for international working-class unity in action was reflected in the Leyland strike earlier this year. As in 1977, British Leyland workers—themselves facing savage attacks by the British Leyland bosses—immediately proved willing to support their South African fellow-workers.

Shop-floor meetings were held to decide what action to take. At British Leyland's Cowley plant, Oxford, a resolution was passed calling for maximum support for the strikers and blacking (refusing to handle) goods to South Africa. This call was supported by the local branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Combine Committee of shop stewards from all the BL plants.

Leading officials of the TGWU, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the British Labour Party expressed support for the strikers and protested at Leyland South Africa's sacking of the strikers.

Communication

In the meantime, in South Africa, the strikers were standing firm. Support was increasing from other trade unions, from the black population and from sections of whites. It was this pressure, combined with the pressure from the labour movement abroad, that forced the Leyland management to retreat and re-open negotiations with the workers' union NUMARWOSA.

This rapid response to the Leyland workers' struggle was only

made possible by the channels of communication that have been built up between independent trade unions in South Africa and the labour movement internationally.

Important lessons can be learned from the Leyland strike and other actions (e.g. the Pilkington struggle of 1976 and the Unilever struggle of 1978) where international working-class support was mobilised. The closer and more regular the links between the workers' movement in South Africa and overseas, the more possible it becomes to organise common action.

South African workers preparing for future struggles should develop and strengthen existing links, and seek new points of contact with the workers in other countries. For our comrades abroad, the task is to gather support for these efforts while building bridges from their own side towards greater international unity.

Fraternal links

An excellent example has been provided by the Coventry South-East branch of the British Labour Party, which put forward a number of proposals to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement for developing greater support for the South African workers' struggle. These included proposals that the Anti-Apartheid Movement should support the development of fraternal links between South African and British workers—factory-to-factory links, exchange visits between workers' representatives, and the forming of international combine committees (i.e. committees of shop stewards representing all workers employed by the same multinationals).

These proposals are finding widespread acceptance among the active layers of the British labour movement and have been adopted, for example, by the youth wing of the Labour Party (the Labour Party Young Socialists). An increased awareness of the struggle in South Africa and an increased preparedness to join forces with the South African workers will be the result.

Regrettably, the Executive of the

Anti-Apartheid Movement has taken up a different position. In reply to the proposals by the Coventry South-East Labour Party, the AAM Executive arrives at the following conclusion:

"...we do not feel that the AAM should assist in encouraging direct links between British and South African workers, when this is understood to mean the creation of international combine committees and exchange visits". (Memo dated 27.6.81)

Direct links, the AAM Executive declares, "can provoke further harassment and in other ways jeopardise (South African) trade unionists' work". This is just like opposing a withdrawal of investment from South Africa because it could "jeopardise" South African workers' jobs. The point of trade union activity, is to build up the forces with which "harassment" can be resisted—including powerful links with our class allies abroad.

The AAM Executive further believes that visits to South Africa, also by trade unionists to meet their fellow-workers, should be discouraged because "there is no need to visit South Africa in order to know the facts about apartheid."

This is presumably a reference to the fact that leading right-wing trade union officials have made—and continue to make—so-called "fact-finding missions" to South Africa when their real aim is to defend British investments in that country or to use their influence to obstruct or damp down the militan-

LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

APPEAL TO TRADE UNIONISTS—

ISOLATE
APARTHEID



APARTHEID MEANS:

- Official minimum wages as low as 19 per week in some industries
 - Over 250,000 workers arrested each year under the Pass Laws to 'find' illegals in search of work
 - Up to half the children under 5 years old living from starvation in the rural areas
 - Ten times more spent on the education of every white school student than on every black student
 - A 20 per cent drop in black workers' living standards between July 1977 and December 1980, while company profits shot up to 100 per cent
- APARTHEID MEANS THE RACIST REPRESSION OF THE BLACK WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO MAINTAIN A PERPETUAL SOURCE OF CHEAP LABOUR FOR THE BOSSES

SO WHAT'S IT GOT TO DO WITH YOU?
...AND WHAT CAN YOU DO ABOUT IT? (See over)

cy of the independent unions.

Clearly, we must resolutely oppose and expose such activities, and join with our fellow workers in the trade union movement in Britain and elsewhere who are struggling to replace the right-wing leaders with genuine class fighters committed to socialism. But it is a dangerously misguided policy to try to counter the activities of the right-wingers by means of a blanket ban on all contact with South African workers.

That would prevent the vital union-to-union, factory-to-factory and worker-to-worker links which are the life-giving oxygen of international solidarity. You might as well have a 'health policy' of throttling people in order to 'save' them from breathing in pollution with their air supply!

The AAM Executive opposes international combine committees and factory-to-factory links because they are "difficult" and "in South African conditions can be dangerous in the extreme." But on this basis, should not all other aspects of trade union activity in South Africa be opposed as well, as being "difficult" and "dangerous"?!

It is the task of the workers' leadership in all countries to fight against wrong ideas and tactics that will hold the struggle back. Undoubtedly the ideas of the AAM Executive—if they find any support—would disrupt the building of international solidarity and weaken the South African workers' movement.

SACTU

Fraternal links with the South African working class, the AAM Executive believes, should be **limited solely** to links with the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

Many workers will expect a revolutionary lead on the question of solidarity from SACTU, whose exile leaders have had many years to develop, test and refine policies for building the most effective links of struggle with the workers' movement overseas.

Unfortunately the mistaken position of the AAM Executive is only a faithful reflection of that which is now being put forward by SACTU's

exile leadership itself.

The development towards an international outlook in the pages of *Workers' Unity* between 1977 and 1979 has been completely reversed. This change of direction was spelled out in an article in *Workers' Unity* (March 1980) dealing with solidarity between British and South African workers.

The article declares that "the solidarity of British workers with their fellow-workers is vital to our struggle..." Yet, as a practical example, it is proudly mentioned that SACTU leaders **prevented two British shop stewards from visiting their South African fellow-workers at the request of an unregistered trade union involved in a recognition dispute!**

To workers in South Africa fighting to build international support, such action may seem inexplicable. Why do the SACTU leaders, in the name of 'international solidarity', propose cutting off links between workers in South Africa and Britain?

The reason is a somewhat short-sighted—and in our view unnecessary—anxiety on the part of these leading comrades to have SACTU recognised internationally as **the sole trade union 'representative' of the South African workers.**

In reality, comrades, there is no way to gain such recognition in this day and age except by plunging into the real struggle of the mass of the workers inside South Africa and by placing SACTU in the actual forefront of the class battles that are exploding every day.

Inqaba has urged, and would support every step towards, a real effort by the SACTU leadership to build underground foundations within the workers' movement at home, on the basis of socialist policies. And that very effort, once begun, would immediately reveal to the SACTU leaders the vital necessity of every possible link and mutual support between the rank-and-file workers and their class brothers and sisters in other countries.

Therefore it is all the more strange that *Workers' Unity* mentions as a reason **against** direct worker links that "the struggle ... in South Africa cannot be waged in Europe. It must be brought to a successful conclusion by the workers

themselves where the struggle exists—in South Africa!" To the extent that this is true, we would have thought it was an argument **for** links of solidarity to be forged directly with the places where the struggle exists!

No substitute

Obviously the decisive role in ending South African capitalism will be played by the South African workers. At the same time the workers' struggle cannot be, and is not, **confined** to South Africa. This is because of the international nature of the capitalist system.

The point is precisely that the class struggle is not confined to any single country but "exists" between the world-wide forces of capitalism and the world-wide army of labour. South Africa forms one front in this struggle; it cannot be separated from the struggle as a whole.

The present SACTU position, on the other hand, seems to treat the South African struggle as if it were separate. The labour and trade union movement internationally is viewed as an 'outside' body, to be asked for support on the basis of sympathy, but with no concern in its own right in the fate of the South African revolution.

This approach leads to all sorts of errors. We wonder whether the comrade of SACTU's National Executive Committee was reflecting a properly thought-out position when he addressed a meeting of British trade unionists at the recent TUC Conference (which represents 12 million organised workers). "We need nothing from you," he said, "all we need is money."

This was in reply to a question on the need for direct links with the South African trade union movement.

Solidarity by British workers, according to this view, should be confined to financial donations and "applying the maximum pressure on the (British) parent companies." (*Workers' Unity*, March 1980). There should be no contact with the South African workers, no direct consultation to co-ordinate action and decide what "pressure" to apply.

'Solidarity' with trade unions in-

side the country, the SACTU speaker at the TUC Conference suggested, could take the form of tape-recorded messages from British trade union leaders. But, *Workers' Unity* insists, British trade unions should avoid the "easy (?) solution of sending officials to South Africa or 'inviting' this or that trade unionist (??) to come from South Africa."

Instead, contact should only take place with exile SACTU officials themselves.

That cannot be correct. Nor, we think, is it adequate to ask the trade unions overseas to pay over to SACTU all donations towards supporting strikes in South Africa, on the argument that this is the best means of getting the money through to the SA workers.

SACTU would have to undergo a truly massive development underground in South Africa before its links with the 200 000 workers in the independent trade unions would be equal to such a task.

Inqaba calls for full support for SACTU by the labour movement internationally in any work towards building a revolutionary trade union underground. But we do not believe this should be an alternative or substitute for massive direct support

for the independent trade unions working openly inside South Africa.

The government's restrictions on trade unions receiving funds must not be tamely accepted, but met if necessary with a head-on challenge, involving the maximum strength of the labour movement internationally.

Nor does 'solidarity' mean simply 'support for the South African workers'. Working-class solidarity, in Lenin's words, means that "the workers fight jointly against international capital"—i.e., struggle together on all fronts.

Joint organisation

Yet how can this struggle be organised, except through contact between representatives of the active rank and file, a constant exchange of views on aims, strategy and tactics, and the fight to develop joint organs where the necessary consultation and decision-making can take place—however long this might take and however "difficult" it might be?

A wrong position on these issues

can only disrupt the painstaking efforts by workers inside the country to broaden their struggle internationally. We urge the SACTU leadership to reconsider its position before serious damage is done.

Sanctions must be directed against the bosses and their regime. Real, concrete solidarity must be established between the workers.

Fortunately, the above-mentioned mistaken policies are meeting with growing rejection wherever they are openly debated, and have failed to prevent increasing contact between workers in South Africa and abroad.

Militant workers in South Africa, Britain and all countries will continue to strengthen their links with each other as a necessary weapon in the fight against capitalism.

South African workers should insist on determined efforts by their leaders—both in the country and in exile—to open up new areas of contact and co-operation with the working-class movement internationally. We must struggle against all attempts at obstruction by the bosses, the state, as well as by misguided attitudes within our own organisations. There is no other way to defeat the monster of international capitalist reaction.

INQABA YA BASEBENZI ("Workers' Fortress") is being published because of the need for a conscious socialist voice in the movement of the workers and youth. Immense tasks face us, both in the trade unions and in the ANC.

Today it is vital to link together those in the movement who, on the basis of experience and events, can explain to their fellow-strugglers the need for socialist policies. INQABA will help to assemble the facts and present the arguments in support of this task.

The bosses control the press, the radio and the television. Daily they use it to defend their class interests against the masses, making propaganda and suppressing the truth.

Our class needs its own papers in which all the problems of our life are honestly discussed—industrial disputes, migrant labour and the pass laws, unemployment, education, housing and transport, police terrorism, the manoeuvres of the regime. We need our own publications where we can argue for the programme, strategy and tactics needed to overthrow the enemy.

Make INQABA your own journal. Discuss it with your comrades. Use it to express your own experiences, agreements and disagreements. Use it to expose the things the bosses and the regime keep quiet about.

Write about the daily struggles of life in the townships and workplaces. Write about national and international issues. Send articles, letters, photographs, cartoons, reviews—whatever you want to bring to the attention of your comrades in the struggle all over the country.

Those who have no safer way of contacting INQABA or of passing material on to us, can use the following postal address: BM Box 1719, London WC1N 3XX.

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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.