

inqaba

YA BASEBENZI

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***Only workers' power can end
the migrant labour system!***

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Only workers' power can end the migrant labour system

The migrant work force, coming from the villages and lands across Southern Africa, forms the mighty backbone of the struggle not only in South Africa, but in Southern Africa as a whole.

The migrant workers are the most numerous, most exploited and oppressed section of the working class. They feel most acutely the whip of national oppression and capitalist exploitation. Only when they together with all workers have cast out the scourge of capitalism in South Africa can there be true liberation from the pass laws, poverty, unemployment and homelessness. Workers' unity for the overthrow of national oppression and its root—capitalism—demands the organisation of the migrant workers together with all workers.

Only this can bring unity of all the oppressed.

In their struggles against dehumanising conditions—poverty wages, living conditions, influx control and the pass laws—the migrant workers have repeatedly demonstrated advancement in political consciousness and enormous strength and militance.

Throughout this century they have taken the initiative in the struggle against the pass laws and, in the historic events of the late 1950s, demonstrated great understanding of the art of struggle under capitalism. They formed underground organisations which forged a link between the workers in the urban areas and those in the reserves.

During the tremendous movement against the passes in 1960, they showed their strength and determination by transforming the protest in front of police stations into a confrontation with the state. The pass laws were suspended for six

weeks. In Pondoland for a temporary period they succeeded in substituting their own rule for that of their oppressors.

The growing confidence and strength of the migrant workers, shown again and again since the early 1970s, provides the central factor upon which the political calculations of the ruling class are based.

The Wiehahn Commission, coming after the 1973 and 1976 movements, was a deliberate attempt to enchain and divide the working class, to force black trade unions to register on the master's terms, and to divide migrant from 'settled' worker.

Under increasing pressure from below, exerted through the unregistered trade unions and outside of them, the regime was forced to back down and allow migrant workers to join trade unions. Now they must seek other means of division to achieve their profit-seeking ends.

In round after round of strike action—Sigma, Ford, Leyland, in rent and bus boycotts—the growing unity of migrant and non-migrant to throw off the tyrants of oppression is adding strength and spirit to the movement of all sections of the oppressed. At the same time, it deepens the crisis which the rulers face at the present time.

The regime tinkers here, dabbles there, moves forward and then retreats, all in search of a stable basis for its rule. It talks of 'reforms', but for the migrant workers there can never be any meaningful reform under capitalism. The bourgeoisie cannot give up the goose that lays its golden eggs—cheap labour. Whatever else might be tampered with, migrant labour must stay. All the leaders of industry agree on this.

All those stooges and puppets who are talking of talks with the government must take heed—the

regime is trying to use them as rods to beat the workers.

There can be no negotiation or compromise on the question of migrant labour and the whole Bantustan/pass law system that goes with it. There can be no compromise between the carriers of passes and those in whose interests they operate—the captains of industry.

The struggle in South Africa boils down basically to whose will must prevail, the bourgeoisie or the workers.

Everything that black people come up against in their everyday lives goes back to one thing—capitalism, and its bedrock, migrant labour. Not until this system is utterly smashed can the oppressed masses get jobs, food, homes and democracy.

A revolutionary programme for South Africa must therefore have at its centre the smashing of the state which rests on, and enforces, migrant labour and national oppression. Anything that falls short of this cannot serve to rally the masses for genuine liberation.

The Freedom Charter, programme of Congress, stands for the abolishing of migrant labour. On that question we are all agreed. But how is this to be carried out? Can this clause, and other clauses of the Freedom Charter, be implemented while the bourgeoisie still owns its property and controls its state?

INQABA says No. It is only a revolutionary movement led by the working class to smash the present state and replace it with a democratic workers' state that can secure an end to the pass laws, national oppression, unemployment etc.

INQABA stands for the building of a mass ANC in South Africa, deeply implanted in the compounds, barracks, factories, mines, farms and townships, to carry forward the struggle for state power.

Ke ka matla a basebetsi feela bosebetsi ba merafo bo ka felisoang!

Lebotho la basebetsi ba merafo, le hlahang metseng le litikolohong tsa Afrika-e-boroo, ke lejoe la motheo la bohlabani ntoeng ea tokoloho, eseng feela Afrika boroo, empa Afrika-e-boroo ka bophara.

Basebetsi ba merafo ke bona ba bangata ka palo, ke bona ba hanyapelitsoeng ho feta esitana le ho hatelloa basebetsing ka kakaretso. Ke bona ba jereng le ho feta mahloko a khatello ea bosebetsi esita le bonoamali ba bo-kapitale. Ha bona feela, kopanong le basebetsi, bohle ba tsebile ho hlaola litseho tsa bo-kapitale Afrika boroo, ho ka bang le tokoloho ea lete melaong ea lipasa, fumanehang, ho hloka-hala ha bosebetsi esitana le ho hloka-hala ha alapa a phethahetseng. Kopano ea bosebetsi ho phethola khatello ea bosebetsi esitana le motso oa ona—bo-kapitale—ho hloka hore bosebetsi ba merafo le basebetsi ka kakaretso ba ikahe.

Ka hona feela bohle ba hateleteng ba ka kopana.

Lintoeng tsa bona tsa tokoloho khahlanong le maemo a silafatsang botho—meputso ea bofumanehi, maemo a bophelo, melaoana ea khethollo le lipasa—basebetsi ba merafo ba phehelletse ho supa khatello-pele kutloisisong ea lipolitiki le matlahali a bohlabani.

Mengoaheng ena ba bontsitse sehlahlo ntoeng ea tokoloho khahlanong le melao ea lipasa, 'me ka liketsahalo tsa bohlokoahali tsa bo 1950 ba bontsitse kutloisiso e kholo ea maneri a bohlabani tlas'a bohanyapetsi. Ba aha mekhatlo ea bona ka lekunutu e ileng ea aha khokahanyo lipakeng tsa basebetsi ba literopong le ba mahaeng.

Ka nako ea lintoa tse matla khahlanong le lipasa' ka 1960, ba bontsitse matla a bona le boikemisetso ka ho fetolela ho se khotsofale ha bona kapel'a lipolisiteishini ho khahlano le 'muso. Melao ea lipasa ea fanyehoa libeke tse tseletseng. Pondoland ha nakoana ba atleha ho theha puso ea bona sebakeng sa puso ea bahatelli.

Ho ba le tsepo ho ntseng ho hola

hammoho le matla a basebetsi ba merafo ho ntseng ho hlaka nako le nako ho tloha maqalong a 1970, ho fana ka taba ea mantlha eo menahano ea lipolitiki ea babusi e thehiloeng ho eona.

Commission ea Wiehahn, e tlleng kamor'a lintoa tsa 1973 le 1976, e ne e le teko e masene ea kholeho esita le ho arola basebetsi ho sutumeletsa mekhatlo-ea-basebetsi ea batho-batso ho ngolisa tlas'a meloana ea bo-base, esita le ho arola basebetsi ba merafo ho basebetsi ba "literopong".

Tlas'a sefutho se holang sa basebetsi, se hlahang ka mekhatlo ea bona e sa ngolisoang, kathoko ho bo-base, 'muso o ile oa tlameha ho checha ka ho lumella basebetsi ba merafo ho ba litho tsa mekhatlo ea basebetsi. Kajeno bo-base ba tsoma litsela tse ling tsa ho arohanya basebetsi, 'me ba atlehe ho ntlafatsa liporofete.

Kamor'a seteraeke se seng le se seng—Sigma, Ford, Leyland, ka lirente le ho hana ho palama libese—kopano e ntseng e hola ea basebetsi ba merafo le basebetsi bohle ho hlohlolla puso ea sheshe ea bahatelli e tiisa matla le moea oa tokoloho ho bohle ba hateletsoeng. Hape, e bontsa botebo ba mathata ao babusi ba lebaneng le oona ha-joale.

'Muso o rekette mona, o tsoare-tsoarelle, o ee pele ha nakoana, o phakise o cheche, tsena tsohle e le ho batla tsela ea puso. 'Muso o bue ka 'liphetoho', empa bophelong ba basebetsi ba merafo ho ke ke hoa eba le phetoho ea 'nete tlas'a bohanyapetsi. Boramerafo ba ke ke ba tlohela tsebetso-ea-mahala—khantsi e behelang mahe a khauta—ho ka lekoa ho fana ka 'maikemisetso' a liphetoho, haele tsebetso ea merafo eona e tla sala e le joalo. Bohle boramerafo ba ea lumellana ntlheng ena.

Bontle bo-tumela-khoela le mahlaba-phieo ba kenang lipuisanong le 'muso ba ele hloko—'muso oa bohanyapetsi o leka ho ba sebelisa e le lithebe ho it-sireletsa bohaleng ba basebetsi.

Ho ke ke hoa eba le lipuisano kapa litumellano mabapi le tsebetso ea merafo le puso ea mahae kapa ea lipasa, kaha li tsamaea hammoho. Ho ke ke hoa eba le litumellano lipakeng tsa bajari ba lipasa le bao lipasa li sebelisoang molemong oa bona—boramerafo.

Ntoa ea tokoloho Afrika boroo sethathong ke hore na matla a tla ba ho mang, ha ho boramerafo kapa basebetsi.

Eng kapa eng eo batho-batso ba khahlanang le eona bophelong ba bona ba letsatsi ka letsatsi, e khutlela nthong e le 'ngoe—bo-kapitale, le lejoe la eona la motheo, tsebetso ea merafo. Ke feela ha tsela ena ea bophelo e ka choatloa ke bahatelluo, ho ka fumanehang mesebetsi, lijo, mahae le khotso le khutso.

Mohoo oa tokoloho Afrika boroo o tlameha ho beha sethathong ho choatloa ha puso e thehiloeng, 'me e sutumetsang tsebetso ea merafo le khatello-ea-bosebetsi. Ntho efe kapa efe e sa tiiseng mohoo oona e fokolisa ntoa ea boitseko ea tokoloho.

'Freedom Charter', leano la Khonkoroso, e eme holim'a ho felisa tsebetso ea merafo. Tabeng ena bohle rea lumellana. Empa potso ke hore na pheliso e tlosoa joang? Ebe serapa kapa lirapa tsa 'Freedom Charter' li ka phethahatsoa ha borarichelete ba ntse ba ipoloketse thepa molemong oa bona ebile ba tsoere puso?

INQABA e re Che. Ke feela ntoa ea boitseko tlas'a boetapele ba basebetsi e tla choatla puso ea joale, 'me e behe sebakeng sa eona puso ea basebetsi e tla tseba ho fumanela esita le ho felisa melao ea lipasa, khatello-ea-bosebetsi, ho hloka-hala ha mesebetsi joalo-joalo.

INQABA e emetse ka bottlalo kaho ea Khonkoroso e le mokhatlo oa sechaba sohle sa Afrika boroo, ka metso ea eona e tibileng kahara likompone, lihoseteleng, lifemeng, merafong, lipolasing, esita le makoishining, ho jara esita le ho ntsetsa pele ntoa ea ho nka puso Afrika boroo.

Ngamandla abasebenzi kuphela ayakutshitshisa isimo sobujoyini babasebenzi 'magoduka'

Lo mkhosi wabasebenzi 'magoduka', ovela ezixekweni nakumazwe eMzantsi neAfrika jikelele, uyintsika yedabi elilwa umbuso wobungxowankulu, hayi nje kuphela, eMzantsi Afrika, kodwa kuMzantsi neAfrika uphela.

Abasebenzi 'magoduka', yeyona nxenye ininzi, incukuthwayo necinezweyo kakhulu kuba sebenzi bebonke. Ngabo abeva ngakumbi intlungu yomvambo wengcinezelo sizwe, nowo ncukutho ngongxowankulu. Qha ke kuphela, xa bethe kwakunye nabanye bonke abasebenzi batshabalalisa ngondlov'ayingeni uburamcwa wobungxowankulu eMzantsi Afrika apho inkululeko yenyano, yokuphelisa imithetho yamapasi, indlala, ukungabikho kwemisebenzi nokunga binamakhaya, iyakufumaneka. Umanyano lwabasebenzi lokuphelisa ingcinezelo yesizwe, kwakunye nengcambu yayo—umbuso wobungxowankulu—lupaqisa imfuneko yokuhlalana ngomanyano kwabasebenzi 'magoduka' kunye nabo bonke abanye abasebenzi.

Yile ndlela kuphela enokumanyanisa bonke abacinezweyo.

Emadabini abo okulwa nentlalo yobulwane—imirolo yendlala, intlalombi, uthintelo-mthetho namapasi—abasebenzi 'magoduka' abonakalise qho njalo-njalo ubuntshatsheli babo ekuqondeni ezombuso, amandla nokukhalipha okungumangaliso.

Ukusukela kunyaka ka-1900 de kube ngoku, abasebenzi 'magoduka' basoloko bethatha inyathelo eliphambili edabini lokuphelisa amapasi. Kwangokunjalo, kwizehlo zembali ezenzeka ekupheleni koo 1950, babonakalisa ukuqonda ubuchule bokulwa nombuso wongxowankulu. Bakha imibutho yabo efihlakeleyo eyathi yenza ukuba kuhlalaniseke amakhonco phakathi kwabasebenzi abemi ezidolophini nase maphandleni.

Kwisithuba sentshukumo enkulu ka-1960 yokulwa imithetho yamapasi, babonakalisa amandla angummangaliso nokuzimisela okukhulu ngokuguqula umbombozelo lokukhalaza balenze idabi lezikhwepha begalela kanye kurulumente wongxowankulu. Elidabi lelinye lezizathu ezyanzela urulumente axhome okwethutyana ukuphathwa kwamapasi. Amapasi aroxiswa isithuba seeveki ezintandathu. EMampondweni, baphumelela okwethutyana ukukwakha urulumente wabo owawubizwa ngokuba YINTABA ngokuchitha owongxowankulu.

Ukomelela kwesibindi sobugora, namandla okukhalipha ekulweni kwabasebenzi 'magoduka', ekubonakele kwakhona futhi ngonyaka ka-1973 no-1976

de kube ngoku, kwalatha owona mqobo apho oongxowankulu bazingise amacebo abo okulawula.

Ukutyunjwa kwe Komiti-luphando ka Wiehahn emva kwentshukumo zika 1973 no 1976, kwenziwa ngenjongo ecacileyo yokulinga ukuqinisa amatyathanga, abophe abasebenzi abatsundu, nokwahlula-hlula abasebenzi ngokunyanzela ukubhaliswa imibutho-elwa-uncukutho yabasebenzi ngentando yongxowankulu, nokulinga futhi ukwehlula abasebenzi 'magoduka' kubasebenzi abemi ezidolophini.

Ngomfutho wokunkanisa komdilili wabasebenzi abangamalungu yemibutho-elwa-uncukutho engabhaliswanga, nemifutho evela ngaphandle, urulumente uye wanyanzeleka ukuba abuye umva, avumele abasebenzi 'magoduka' athile ajoyine imibutho-elwa-ncukutho. Ngoku banje ngononkala oxinge etyeni, bakekela ngecala bezama ezinye iindlela zokwahlula-hlula abasebenzi ngenjongo zokuba ncukutha khona ukuze bakwazi ukwenza ingenelomali (polofithi).

Kumjikele ngamnye, ulandelwa ngomnye wezaqwithi zabasebenzi beroxisa amandla abo eluncukuthweni—kwa-Sigma, kwa-Ford, kwa-Leyland, ekulweni unyuso lwerafu zezindlu, nokwayo loombombela—ikwanda komanyano phakathi kwabasebenzi 'magoduka' nabasebenzi abemi ezidolophini, ngenjongo zokuphelisa ulawulo lobungqawangqawili ihlupheza intshukumo yabo bonke abacinezweyo. Kwangokunjalo, lentshukumo yenza nzulu iingxaki zokulawula kongxowankulu kungoku nje.

Ngobuxelele, urulumente wenza le, akwentsa-kwentse phaya ngamadolo anzima, adlokovela elingisa ukuya phambili, adlokovela abuye umva engenwe yintaka; wonke lomsina ndozele wokukuntlantlatha lilinge lika rulumente lokufumana iziko elizinzikeyo okulawula. Urulumente uthetha amampunge okwenza ingcinezelo ihlonipheke. La ngamampunge kubasebenzi 'magoduka', okoko umbuso wongxowankulu usemle. Oongxowankulu abanako ukukhulula intaka enyamazi—nokuba kungenziwa yiphi na into kunyenyiswa phaya naphaya, isimo sobujoyini babasebenzi 'magoduka' asiyi ndawo, sihleli. Zonke izithwala mixhaka ezilawula amaziko edyebo, ziyavumelana poqo ngale ngongoma.

Zonke izimputsu ezithi makuthethiswane norulumente: maziqaphela oku—urulumente ufuna ukuzisebenzisa nje ngesimolotyisi sokugqobhoza iintloko zabasebenzi.

Akungeke kubheko ntethiswano okanye mvumelwano ngesimo sobujoyini

babasebenzi 'magoduka', nayo yonke imo 'Yondiphethe' (Bantustana), kwanesimo semithetho yamapasi—Inkaba yobujoyini. Angeke kubekho mvumelwano phakathi kwaba-ngamakhoboka okuphatha amapasi (abasebenzi), n'abo uburamcwa babo (oongxowankulu) bukhuselwe ngemithetho yamapasi.

Idabi eMzantsi Afrika lilwelwa phezu kwalo mbuzo: Maziphathwe ngubani na iintambo zokulawula, ngongxowankulu okanye ngengabasebenzi?

Yonke into eyingxaki yabantu abantsundu kwimihla ngemihla yobom babo, ibangwa yinto enye—umbuso wongxowankulu, nesiseko sawo, isimo sobujoyini sababasebenzi 'magoduka'. Ayikho enye indlela yomndilili wabantu abacinezweyo abangafumana ngayo imisebenzi, ukudla, amakhaya nokuzilawula, de kube umbuso wongxowankulu ubhujisiwe geqe.

Ngoko ke, indlela yentshukumo yobhukuqo mbuso wongxowankulu eMzantsi Afrika, ma izinze phezu kwemfuneko yokutshabalalisa urulumente wongxowankulu osekwe phezu kwesimo sobujoyini, onyanzela esisimo, nengcinezelo yesizwe. Nayiphi na ke indlela efinyekelayo kwezinjongo ayinako ukuququzelela umndilili wabasebenzi ngenjongo yokufumana inkululeko eyiyo.

Imibhalo Yenkululeko (Freedom Charter), uludwe lwamabango ka-Nkongolo, ithi ma kupheliswe isimo sobujoyini babasebenzi 'magoduka'. Kule ngongoma siya vumelana. Nto nje ke, sinombuzo othi: Ingaba esisimo sizakupheliswa kanjani na? Ingaba na, lengongoma, kwakunye nazo zonke ezinye ezikwi Mibhalo Yenkululeko ka-Nkongolo, ingafumaneka na entlalweni yesizwe oongxowankulu besa bambe iintambo zokulawula amaziko edyebo yesizwe norulumente wabo?

INQABA ithi, unotshe! angeke kwenzeke. Ithi, xa intshukumo yobhukuqo mbuso wongxowankulu ikhokelwa, qha kuphela, ngabasebenzi ngenjongo yokudliza ngezikhwepha lombuso ukhoyo, indawo yawo lithathwe ngumbuso wenkululeko, nowokuzilawula kwabasebenzi engenza kuphele amapasi, ingcinezelo yesizwe, nokunqaba kwemisebenzi njalo, njalo ke.

INQABA imele ukwakhiwa kweNkongolo yomndilili eMzantsi Afrika; yakhiwe ezinkomponi, emahositela, ezifemini, emigodini, emapulazini, ezilokishini nase zilalini emaphandleni; iqhubele phambili idabi lokuhlutha umbuso kongxowankulu eMzantsi Afrika.

Net werkersmag kan die trekarbeidsisteem vernietig

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Die trekarbelders, wat van die dorpe en lande dwarsdeur Suid-Afrika af kom, vorm die magtige ruggraat van die stryd, nie alleen in Suid-Afrika nie maar in Suidelike Afrika as geheel.

Die trekarbelders is die mees talryke, mees uitgebuite en onderdrukte deel van die werkende klas. Hulle voel die skerpste die sweep van nasionale onderdrukking en kapitalistiese uitbuiting. Slegs wanneer hulle, saam met al die werkers, die plaag van kapitalisme uit Suid-Afrika gewerp het, kan daar ware bevryding van die paswette, hongersnood, werkloosheid en huisloosheid kom.

Eenhed van die werkers vir die omverwerping van nasionale onderdrukking en sy wortel—kapitalisme—verels die organisasie van die trekarbelders saam met alle ander werkers. Alleen dit kan al die onderdruktes verenig.

In hul stryd teen onmenslike toestande—hongerlone, toestromingsbeheer en die paswette—het die trekarbelders keer op keer vooruitgang in politieke bewussyn en geweldige krag en strydbaarheid getoon.

Dwarsdeur hierdie eeu het hulle die voortou geneem in die stryd teen die paswette en, in die historiese gebeurtenisse van die 1950s, groot verstand van die kuns van stryd onder kapitalisme aan die dag gelê. Hulle het ondergrondse organisasies opgebou wat die werkers in die stede en die reservate verbind het.

Gedurende die kolossale beweging teen die passe in 1960 het hulle hul krag en beslitheld bewys deur die proteste voor die polisieostasies te verander in 'n konfrontasie met die staat. Die paswette is vir ses weke opgehef. In Pondoland het hulle 'n tyd lank daarin geslaag om hul eie beheer in plaas van dié van hul

onderdrukkers te vestig.

Die stygende sekerheid en krag van die trekarbelders, wat keer op keer bewys is sedert die vroeë 1970s, is die sentrale faktor waarop die politieke berekeninge van die heersende klas berus.

Die Wiehahn Kommissie, wat na die beweginge van 1973 en 1976 gekom het, was 'n opsetlike poging om die werkende klas te boel en te verdeel, om swart vakbonde te dwing om op die baas se voorwaardes te registreer, en om trekarbelders van 'stedelike' werkers te verdeel.

Onder meer en meer druk van onder af, van die ongeregistreerde vakbonde en buite hulle om, is die regering gedwing om terug te trek en trekarbelders toe te laat om by vakbonde aan te sluit. Nou moet hulle ander maniere van verdeling soek om hulle doel te bereik.

In ronde na ronde van stakingsaksie—Sigma, Ford, Leyland, in rent- en busboikotte—gee die groeiende eenheid van die trekarbelders en ander werkers om die geweldenaars van onderdrukking omver te gooi, nuwe krag en moed aan die beweging van alle groepe van die onderdruktes. Terselfdertyd verdiep dit die krisis van die heersende klas.

Die regering peuter hier en daar, beweeg vorenjoe en dan weer terug, op soek na 'n stabiele basis vir sy mag. Hy praat van 'verbeteringe', maar vir die trekarbelders kan daar geen wesenlike verbeteringe onder die kapitalisme kom nie. Die heersende klas kan nooit die oorsprong van sy wins—goedkoop arbeid—vernietig nie. Wat ook al verander mag word, trekarbeid moet bly. Al die industrieleiers stem hieroor saam.

Al die marionette wat praat oor onderhandelinge met die regering moet oppas—die regering probeer om hulle te gebruik as sambokke om

die werkers mee te slaan.

Daar kan geen onderhandelinge of kompromis wees oor die vraag van trekarbeid en die hele Bantoestan-/paswetsisteem nie. Geen kompromis is moontlik tussen die draers van die pas en dié wie se belange hulle dien—die industriële base—nie.

Die stryd in Suid-Afrika kom neer op wie se belange die oorhand moet kry, die heersende klas of die werkers.

Alles wat swartmense in hul daaglikse lewe teenkom, word veroorsaak deur een ding—kapitalisme, en sy fondament, trekarbeid. Net as hierdie sisteem heeltemal vernietig word kan die onderdrukte massa werk, kos, huise en demokrasie kry.

'n Revolusionêre program vir Suid-Afrika moet daarom as sentrale punt die vernietiging eis van die staat wat op die trekarbeid en nasionale onderdrukking berus en dit versterk. Niks anders kan die massa verenig vir egte bevryding nie.

Die Freedom Charter, die program van die ANC, staan vir die afskaffing van trekarbeid. Op hierdie punt stem ons almal saam. Maar hoe moet dit uitgevoer word? Kan dié eis en ander else van die Freedom Charter uitgevoer word terwyl die heersende klas sy eiendom bly behou en sy staat beheer?

INQABA sê Nee! Net 'n revolusionêre beweging onder leiding van die werkende klas om die staat te vernietig en te vervang met 'n demokratiese staat van die werkers, kan 'n einde maak aan die paswette, nasionale onderdrukking, werkloosheid ens.

INQABA staan vir die opbou van 'n massa-ANC in Suid-Afrika, diep gewortel in die kampongs, barakke, fabriekke, myne, plase en townships om die stryd vir staatsmag vorentoe te lei.

● No to a capitalist National Convention - ● Yes to a Revolutionary Congress of the People

The idea of a National Convention to 'settle' the future of South Africa by negotiation, has become a theme tune of the 'liberal' section of the capitalist class and is repeatedly echoed by the PFP and the English-language press. The idea has also become popular with those members of the black middle class (Buthelezi, Tutu, Motlana, for example) who fraternise with the liberal bosses and preach the benefits of capitalism.

What lies behind this 'National Convention' idea, and what attitude should our movement take towards it?

Today the struggles of the oppressed are growing on every side, while the ruling class is being thrown increasingly onto the defensive.

The white elections in April demonstrated, not the strength and self-confidence of the government and its supporters, but their deep divisions and lack of perspective for the future.

The 20th anniversary of the white Republic demonstrated, not the stability or security of the racist regime, but the determination of the black majority—and a growing number of young whites—to overthrow it. Even *The Star* (3 June) had

By
Daniel Hugo
and
Paul Storey

to admit that the "celebrations" only "highlighted the huge differences in South African society."

Renewed conflict has erupted between school students and the police in Bosmont, Coronationville, Newclare, Westbury... Struggles have broken out over rent and housing at Tembisa and Reiger Park... Above all, there has been a massive increase in trade union strength and militancy of the black workers.

The Buffelsfontein miners' strike, the solidarity of Ford and GM workers with their brothers at Firestone, the confrontation at Leyland, the strike and boycott involving Wilson-Rowntree ... these are only recent examples among 250 recorded strikes since January 1980.

Just the increase in black trade union membership from 60 000 to 200 000 over the past year has already impressed on the whole country the mighty potential of organised labour to unite and lead the mass movement to victory.

This lesson has not been missed by the bourgeoisie, at home or abroad. *The Sunday Express* (10 May) quotes a 'political commentator': "The pressures Mr Botha is

going to have to face over the next few years do not even bear comparison with the tasks of his predecessors. The labour unrest that Mr Botha is going to have to cope with will make June 1976 look like a tea party."

The British *Financial Times* in its survey on South Africa (26 May) carries the headline: "Black unions the greatest threat"—and doubts whether the "artificial distinction between politics and labour relations can be sustained."

It cannot and will not be sustained. Increasingly, the class movement of the workers is proving to be the magnetic pole of unity for all the oppressed in the struggle for national and social liberation.

This, above all, terrifies the bosses and underlies the deepening splits within the ruling class and the regime.

The ultra-right who dream of turning the clock back to unvarnished baasskap, can at this point offer no convincing policies either to the big bourgeoisie or even to the majority of white voters. This accounts for the present stalemate of the right wing of the NP, and the failure of the HNP so far to take off as a mass force.

At the same time the 'liberal' capitalists (from Botha/Malan in the NP to the PFP and Oppenheimer), while indulging in empty talk of reform, in practice cannot abandon ruthless police-state methods in confronting the black

working class. Botha is notorious as a butcher. Also Oppenheimer's 'liberalism' was exposed in its true colours by the actions of his managers against the Sigma workers.

Nowhere in the world has the capitalist class ever agreed to dismantle the military-police machinery for repression of the working class. And yet the SA capitalists daily discover that brute force alone cannot hold back the mass movement.

This is the background on which we should assess the liberals' call for a National Convention. They reflect the growing understanding of capitalists that at some point in future, the old methods of military-police repression will have to be decisively supplemented ... by relying on the co-operation of leaders from among the blacks.

"Of course the tendency in this direction is not new. Both Vorster and Botha have repeatedly set up puppet bodies, like the Bantustan assemblies, the CRC, the SAIC, the President's Council and the stillborn Black Council, in the hope

of hoodwinking the masses.

But the more far-sighted strategists of capital have seen that outright collaborators and stooges among the blacks, far from holding back the mass movement, have only attracted contempt and inflamed the anger of the people.

Instead these capitalists take as their example the Lancaster House 'settlement' in Zimbabwe, where they were able to negotiate with acknowledged leaders of the struggle and, with the latter's help, to rescue capitalism (for the time being) from the jaws of revolution.

As a result, while important changes were conceded in Zimbabwe, the capitalists preserved their property in land and in industry, preserved their position as bosses, preserved the exploitation of the toilers, preserved privileges for whites, and preserved the state machine as an instrument for defending capitalism against the aspirations of the working people.

That is the example they hope to see repeated in South Africa. That is what they have in mind when they call for a National Convention.

The Rand Daily Mail (11 April) comes as near as we can expect to spelling out the purpose of the 'liberal' bosses' National Convention strategy:

"Nationalists say a convention would be a 'sell-out' of the whites. On the contrary, it is probably the only way to safeguard the security of whites in South Africa over the long term.

"Whites have white rule. Blacks want majority rule. An agreement has to be struck somewhere in between." (Emphasis added.)

To the liberals, therefore, a National Convention represents not a vehicle for the orderly concession of democratic rights and equality to the majority, but a conspiracy against democracy and against equality. Here is revealed the gulf which exists between the democratic poses of the liberals and the concrete class interests they defend.

An enormous gulf also exists between the idea of the capitalists' National Convention and its coming



into being.

Previously in INQABA we have explained why capitalism depends on cheap labour in South Africa, and why this makes it extremely difficult for the ruling class to launch any concerted moves towards democratic reforms. They simply cannot afford to release the working class from its chains.

The US Under-Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, was reflecting this problem for capitalism when he explained to the American Congress in 1980 the obstacles in the way of a National Convention:

"In some policy circles, there is a fixation with the goal of getting Pretoria to schedule a national convention.... This is a benign wish, but the practical obstacles are awesome and the prospects at this stage dim.... The basic structure of racial legislation, white political control and the homelands policy will not be dismantled in one dramatic conference—at least not until key elites have developed a far more extensive basis for mutual respect and awareness, or not until the situation has first become desperate. Neither of these conditions exist today."

What the imperialist Crocker means is that for the capitalists to open up negotiations about a democratic constitution at the present stage would be madness.

The "mutual respect and awareness" of "key elites" is already quite "extensive". Bishop Tutu, for example, is so "aware" of capitalist interests, and "respects" them so utterly, that he is quite willing to see the pass laws only "phased out" (I) in order to "avoid chaos" (II). Nevertheless a National Convention would place demands on the table which the capitalists cannot possibly accept.

It would awaken enormous expectations among the people that would spill over into revolutionary confrontations once the convention fails—as it must—to meet the demands for immediate and complete democratic rights.

For this reason a National Convention would only be convened as an absolute last resort—when the state is losing control, when the

working class is on the point of conquering power factory by factory and street by street, and when the bosses have no alternative but to depend on black leaders to salvage their system.

That time will come in South Africa. It will be the time of greatest opportunity for the working people—when victory is within our grasp, and when a firm revolutionary leadership at the head of the masses would enable the ruling class to be overthrown, the bosses' state to be destroyed, apartheid to be

Neither guerilla attacks nor a 'national convention', but mass armed insurrection in a revolutionary crisis, must be seen as the only possible means to seize power from the ruling class.

abolished, and the building of a democratic socialist society to commence.

But that will also be the time of greatest danger. If the leadership trusted by the masses then wavers from the path of revolution, leans towards compromise with the ruling class, and allows itself to be snared in the capitalists' National Convention strategy, a catastrophe will be prepared.

A revolutionary situation is not a time when the classes are 'reconciled', but precisely when their antagonism reaches the greatest height. It is not difficult to foresee the likely consequences which a South African version of 'Lancaster House' would entail.

The black leaders involved would be forced to call on the people to suspend their actions 'for the time being' and await the outcome of the talks. The momentum of struggle could thus be broken and the unity of the mass movement begin to waver.

Whole sections of workers could lapse into inactivity instead of relentlessly pursuing their drive to wrest power from the capitalist class. New provocations from the ultra-right would spark new outbursts of mass anger, but now unco-

ordinated and without a central lead.

The bosses could drag out negotiations, relying on the popular leaders in the National Convention to appeal for 'patience' and 'order', and so wear down the movement with frustration, uncertainty and resulting division.

At the same time, behind the cover of 'negotiations', the bosses would regroup the forces of reaction and prepare for counter-attack.

Under such conditions the ground would be prepared for counter-

revolution, with the state machinery, still uncrushed, playing the crucial role. The police and military would provoke confrontations in the streets, gunning down workers and youth to create an atmosphere of confusion and defeat. Sporadic resistance would be met with savage racist repression.

While the outcome of a resulting civil war would not be a foregone conclusion, on one point we can be sure. Should counter-revolution triumph in South Africa, not only the conciliators of the 'National Convention' would be trampled underfoot. Every independent organisation of the working people would be systematically destroyed before the capitalist class could be satisfied that a 'healthy economic climate' had been re-established.

Repeatedly it has been shown in history that a policy of class compromise in a time of revolutionary crisis fatally disrupts the workers' movement and opens the way to defeat. In Spain in the 1930s, the victory of fascism resulted from precisely such a policy; in Chile in 1973, counter-revolution slaughtered over 50,000 workers and peasants. In South Africa a still greater bloodbath could result.

This holocaust of counter-

revolution would not stop at the Limpopo. All the gains of the struggles in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and elsewhere would be ruthlessly attacked.

The greatest clarity is needed in our movement to guard against these dangers. The leaders of the mass organisations, in particular of the ANC, need to clearly expose the pitfalls of class collaboration with the capitalists and spell out the revolutionary alternative.

In his New Year Message for 1981, the ANC President, comrade Tambo, specifically dealt with the question of a national convention.

Correctly, he points out that the call for a national convention is a "call for action" as long as the regime opposes it, and that a national convention could only come about as a consequence of bitter struggle.

The problem arises, however, when the ruling class finds itself with no alternative but to resort to the tactic of the National Convention itself. With this problem, and all its attendant dangers, comrade Tambo unfortunately does not deal.

"The national convention we are talking about," he says, "is one which would be a democratic forum vested with sovereign powers. It would bring together the leaders and representatives of the people of South Africa, and would produce a blueprint of the kind of South Africa that would meet the aspirations of the majority."

Also the SA Communist Party has this demand in its programme.

Democracy

But a number of important issues arise from this conception, which it is very important that the leadership consider and clarify.

Firstly, the National Convention proposed by the capitalists and their hangers-on would not be a "democratic forum" at all.

A democratic forum would be a public assembly to which the people in every workplace, township and rural locality send delegates in proportion to their numbers, elected on the basis of one person one vote—and subject to immediate

recall to ensure that their electors' wishes are strictly carried out.

No class, group or party would be entitled to a greater voice in such an assembly than corresponds with its support among the people.

But the capitalists—even the most 'liberal'—have in mind no such thing. They want negotiations (if possible behind closed doors) where, far from submitting to the will of the majority, they intend to manipulate, bribe and blackmail, using all their economic power and the threat of the military-police apparatus, in order to secure their interests.

Consequently, on the count of democracy, our demand can have nothing in common with the 'National Convention' idea of the capitalists.

Secondly, the National Convention proposed by the capitalists and their hangers-on would not in reality have "sovereign powers" at all. They take it for granted that the convention would meet under the guns and supervision of the existing state. And that state is nothing but the instrument for capitalist dictatorship and minority rule against the majority.

The majority can be truly sovereign only to the extent that the existing state is demolished and democracy secured by the arming of the people.

Therefore the very conditions which comrade Tambo attaches to the 'national convention'—if consistently adhered to—would make it the opposite of the 'National Convention' which is now conceived of as the last resort by the 'liberal' bourgeoisie.

Would it not be better if we in the ANC spelled out clearly to the people that the capitalist 'National Convention' would be a deception and snare which no democrat—let alone socialist—can support?

And would it not be clearer if, instead of using the term 'national convention' for our demand—the same term which is used by the liberal tricksters—we reached into the fighting traditions of our movement and raised the slogan of a **Revolutionary Congress of the People**?

The Kliptown Congress of the People in 1955 itself adopted a 'blueprint'—the **Freedom**

Charter—which, whatever its inadequacies, contained the demand for the takeover of the mines, banks and monopoly industries from capitalism, the central element in a revolutionary programme.

But no part of that programme could be implemented because power was not in the hands of the working people. The Congress itself was surrounded and invaded by the armed racist thugs of the bosses' state.

Workers' state

Economically and politically, the interests of the working class and all exploited people are directly opposed to those of the capitalist class. The working class needs to organise its full forces and struggle independently of all bourgeois influence, so as to rally round it all the oppressed for the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of a democratic workers' state.

The capitalists, far from surrendering their power, will fight frantically to retain it. Nor does guerilla action provide the means to overthrow the present regime and the present state. This state will only be defeated by the mass of society rising, arms in hand, against it.

It is the task of the organised working class to prepare and lead the forces in this struggle. The youth in the guerilla camps need to be freed from their present isolation and integrated into the mass movement, under working-class leadership, to share their skills and fighting spirit with the workers, youth and women moving into action.

Neither guerilla attacks nor a 'national convention', but mass armed insurrection in a revolutionary crisis, must be seen as the means—the only possible means—to seize power from the ruling class. On the basis of these perspectives the ANC can and must be built in the factories, townships, mines, reserves, farms and schools as an impregnable fortress of the coming workers' revolution. ■

Workers

ORGANISE GALLO!

By an INQABA reporter

During a discussion with a Gallo worker of the struggles of workers on the factory floor, many of the ideas of INQABA were explained. In the course of this, the following problems facing workers at Gallo were raised:

"Over the past few years, Gallo has grown into a giant monopoly. It has swallowed many smaller firms like RCA, Trutone, Polydor and others. The only company not yet under its control is EMI. They started into business on the 'Music for Pleasure' label (MFP) not so many years ago. In spite of this growth, Gallo has a small work force.

"The problem, however, is not the size of the work force, but the fact that these workers have no history of struggling together, because we are all from different companies. This has made it very easy for management to divide workers and keep wages low. There is a network of informers who keep the management informed on any developments on the floor. This has created distrust among the workers. And even though there are many complaints we have difficulty discussing them because of this.

"It is easy for management to find and use informers—wages are poor and temporary workers threaten especially the unskilled workers' jobs. Management describes many workers as 'temporary' when in fact they are permanently employed. But because they are regarded as 'temporary' they do not have the protection of the law and are deprived of benefits permanent employees are entitled to.

"These temporary workers are usually young boys who have either dropped out of school or cannot

find any other jobs. They have been recruited mainly in Grasmere, near Johannesburg. Transport to and from work is provided for them and they are forced to work overtime.

"This forces all other workers to do overtime—we have to wake up at 4.30 a.m. to start at 6.50 a.m. and in the evenings most of us reach home at 11 p.m. This creates serious tension between the permanent and 'temporary' workers.

"These workers are under the impression that management favours them. The truth is that they are the worst exploited after the cleaners and nightwatchmen. They are paid below the minimum rates of the firm and for overtime they are paid less than half the normal rates of pay per hour. What it does is bring in more profits for the firm and longer working hours for other workers.

"Temporary workers are also deprived of the annual 20 days' paid leave as well as the annual bonus (double pay at Christmas). They can also be fired without notice and have nobody, like the rest of the employees, to speak for them with management.

"The big task at Gallo is to organise the workers into a trustworthy union and for the workers to get to know each other better in order to root out the spies on the floor.

"This should not be difficult to do, because since the kids went onto the streets in 1976, the atmosphere in most factories has changed. The quiet subservient employee is a different person today. In the past, a white man, not necessarily a superior or even employed in the same department, could tell you nonsense and slap and kick you. Today, if a white man lifts his hand up to you, he'll have to be ready for a fight.

"Many whites have realised this and much of the old arrogance is breaking down.

"If we can unite this confidence into something that will fight for us all at Gallo, then we will have the best weapon against management."

INQABA calls for

- ★ Unionisation of Gallo
- ★ A basic minimum wage of R90 per week, indexed to inflation, for all workers
- ★ Time during the working day to be allowed for union meetings
- ★ Overtime rates at double normal rates for all workers
- ★ No forced overtime
- ★ Paid annual leave for all workers
- ★ Rights and benefits to apply to all workers



MINERS EXPLOITED

By Teboho Phiri

Every black worker in South Africa knows from experience that apartheid is the brutal exploitation and suppression of the working class. But the truth is nowhere clearer than in the mines of South Africa.

The miners in South Africa are herded into compounds on an ethnic basis under the domination of 'indunas'. Underground all work is speeded up by 'boss-boys' under the

organise!

control of the white miner. Everything is geared for the biggest profits and hardest work. The price is still what it has been—black workers' sweat, blood and death.

Under this barbaric system the Chamber of Mines lays down notoriously low wage levels. This is despite the big rise in the gold price.

In 1977 the total profit before tax was R1 263,9 million and it rose to the huge amount of R7 335,1 million in 1980. While between 1977 and 1980 the industry's average cash wage for underground workers rose from R68,90 per month to only R200 per month. This year it has risen to R240 per month.

The underground minimum wage is now a mere R115.

These superprofits form the basis of South African capitalism. The mining capitalists can maintain them only on the basis of continued resistance to workers' wage increases, family housing and trade union organisation.

Organisation of the mineworkers is therefore a priority. As the black miner rightly pointed out in a letter to *Sunday Times* of 10/5/81, "black mineworkers will soon group together to form an organisation that will show Mr Paulus who the real gold producers are". We can also add by stating categorically who are the real thieves—the capitalists.

For a R390 a month minimum wage (R90 a week)! For a 40-hour week! For trade union freedom in mining!

AWAY WITH PASSES!

Not that the South African ruling class and their lackeys stop having a genuine concern for black people. Take Professor A.J. Middleton, a member of the Hoexter Commission of Inquiry into the Structure and Functioning of the Courts. He is not that 'racialist'. He considers it un-

fair to expect blacks to carry their reference (pass) books at all times.

To avoid the heavy burden of pass books, Prof. Middleton 'liberally' suggests that it would be much easier if blacks were issued with a disc which they could wear around their necks to prove that they were entitled to be in the urban area.

This is considered an 'excellent' idea by South African liberals like Mr. F.J. Fourie, former chief of the legal aid centre for blacks in Pretoria, because capitalism which survives on pass laws remains intact. To the black working people whose daily harassment and misery is due to pass laws, it is contemptuous.

Away with the pass laws, pass discs and all other abominable products of the racist capitalist system!

MOTOR INDUSTRY STRIKES

By Jake Wilson

In Pretoria, Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth, the struggle of the striking motor workers has given a lead to the working class.

The strikes started over poverty wages as workers faced enormous price increases. On 9 April the Sigma strikers came out for R3 an hour; the demand first taken up in Port Elizabeth last year. Wages were also the key issue in Leyland in Cape Town.

Then followed an outburst of tremendous solidarity among motor workers as Ford and General Motors' workers refused to handle Firestone tyres. They demanded all workers victimised last January by Firestone for striking against government attempts to tighten the pension system be reinstated.

One worker died as the direct result of the strong-arm strike breaking tactics of Sigma manage-

ment who, like Leyland's, engaged in mass dismissals and victimisations.

But with the Firestone management forced to agree to reinstating the victimised workers in quotas, who can doubt that the workers can more than make up for these setbacks? Who also can doubt that the black working class, organised under fighting leadership, can defeat the regime's latest plans to bring independent trade unions under control!



Workers in an angry mood at the funeral of the Sigma worker Paulus Mahlangu.

MAY DAY

May Day, the international workers day, was once again celebrated in Cape Town by a meeting on the university campus in support of the workers on strike at Rowntrees in East London. Backed by the General Workers' Union and the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, the meeting was attended by 600 workers and students.

The South African State—

Activists, expressing their anger against the brutally oppressive South African regime, have described it as repressive, racist, fascist and even as a junta.

Marxism, the ideology of the working class, is a science. And while, as Trotsky said, a revolutionary must have passion, a revolutionary's analysis of society must be completely dispassionate. The class struggle requires that the workers, in order to deploy their forces in the most effective manner, must know exactly what forces they are up against.

All the descriptions of South Africa mentioned above have definite meanings which carry with them definite implications. The questions we must ask are: (1) of all the descriptions, which are correct? and (2) more particularly, is it correct to describe the South African state as fascist?

In brief the answer to the first question is yes, the South African regime is repressive and racist, but it is not a junta (the latter being a purely military government). But whether it is fascist or not requires a fuller explanation. In order to understand fascism, we must understand the function of the state in society.*

What is the state?

The state has not always existed. It came into being at that point in history when society split into classes or groups of people having different and opposing relations to the means of production.

At first, as we learn from Engels, "men produced only for their own direct needs; exchange was confined to sporadic cases where a surplus was accidentally obtained".

Later "we find that pastoral

By
Basil Hendrikse

peoples [i.e. those who had learnt to domesticate animals] had in their cattle a form of property, which with sufficiently large herds and flocks, regularly provided a surplus over and above needs..." (*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*)

From this stage onwards, certain groups in society found it possible to live from the surplus produced by others. Society now became divided into classes—ruling or possessing classes, with control over the social means of production, and oppressed or exploited classes, forced to toil and produce a surplus for their rulers.

With the development of classes standing in antagonistic relations to each other, a new power was needed to keep the class struggle in check. This new power was the state.

What is the state in concrete terms? It essentially consists, in Lenin's words, of "special bodies of armed men". It is, as Engels says, "a public power (which) consists not merely of armed men but also of material adjuncts, prisons, and institutions of coercion of all kinds..."

It would be an error, however, to conclude from this that the state is independent of the classes in society,

and serves merely to hold in the reins of the class struggle.

On the contrary, and once again let us appeal to Engels, "because (the state) arose ... in the midst of the conflict of (the) classes, it is as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class" [Emphasis added.]

The ruling class (and the bourgeoisie has developed this to a fine art) always tries to mystify the state and give it the appearance of standing "above society". This is particularly so in the case of the judiciary, which is usually given the label "independent". But in reality, in the final analysis, the state always expresses and defends the interests of the ruling class.

There are times when, as Engels puts it, "the warring classes balance each other so nearly that the state power, as ostensible mediator, acquires, for the moment, a certain mode of independence of both".

Modern military or Bonapartist regimes are an example of the kind of state Engels is referring to. As a result of the weakness of the ruling class and the inability of the oppressed classes to overthrow the ruling class, a military or Bonapartist dictatorship can take the reins of power.

Nevertheless, in the final analysis, even such states defend their own rule by defending the form of property ownership on which the dominance of the ruling class is based.

The dominance of the ruling class does not always, everywhere and under all conditions require that it hold political power directly in its own hands. Thus the state, we repeat, represents the interests of the ruling class, if sometimes not directly, then always in the last analysis.

The South African state is bourgeois, with all the trappings of a bourgeois state machine. It consists of an army, the police, the judiciary,

* A comprehensive discussion of this question will be found in the Supplement to this issue of INQABA which contains chapters 1—5 of Lenin's *The State and Revolution*.

Is it Fascist?

courts and prisons, in addition, of course, to the huge bureaucratic machine designed to enforce the battery of oppressive laws which are used to suppress blacks in general and the black workers in particular.

The South African Defence Force is, in purely military terms, the most powerful and ruthlessly efficient army on the whole continent. Its 'peacetime' strength (the Permanent Force) is 50 000 men, which can, through a mobilisation of the Citizen Force and the Reserve, be increased to 250 000 and 500 000 respectively.

It has the most sophisticated armaments including the most modern tanks, the most up-to-date warplanes as well as submarines. South Africa is said to possess the capability to produce a nuclear bomb.

The police force, which has been described as the "mailed fist of apartheid", consists of 54 000 policemen and -women. Its function is to "maintain law and order", to harness the black workers particularly through such hated laws as the pass and influx control laws.

The SAP has the dubious distinction of having shot, killed and tortured to death many thousands of blacks. Even without counting the hundreds slaughtered in the 1976 uprising, the police admit killing more than 1 350 people between 1969 and 1979.

It has been said of the SAP that it is the first defence against "internal unrest", by which, of course, is meant a revolutionary uprising by the black population.

South Africa has, as a consequence of the constant and inevitable transgression of its repressive and racist laws, one of the highest prison populations in the world. On any one day there are over 100 000 people in prison, under the most atrocious conditions.

South Africa, in short, bristles with the laws and machinery of repression. As far as the majority are concerned, South Africa is a police state.

But is it on that account fascist?

What is fascism?

Fascism represents a mass movement, essentially that of the disillusioned middle class. A fascist state is a state resting on a movement of this nature.

This explanation is based, not on abstract analysis, but on the concrete experience of the class struggle in Italy and Portugal in the 1920s, and Germany and Spain in the 1930s, when fascist regimes rose to power.

The possibility of fascism arises out of a stalemate between the classes, when capitalism has degenerated to a point where it has not only reduced the working class to abject misery, but has made life intolerable even for that class upon whose support it relies under 'normal' circumstances, that is, the petty bourgeoisie.

The fascists are the most degenerate section of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians, who rally behind them the scum of society, the criminal layers, together with small businessmen, intellectuals tired of parliamentary hypocrisy, paupers and unemployed youth seeking an outlet for their energies.

Fascism is capitalism stripped of all the niceties of bourgeois parliamentarism; it is capitalism terrified to the point of insanity by the shadow of its impending death. It is capitalism transformed into a rabid dog foaming about the mouth with hatred for the working class and having an appetite for only one thing, the head and heart of the proletariat.

At such critical times in the class struggle, one of the two main contending classes—the capitalist class or the working class—must break the stalemate and release society from the stranglehold of its irresolvable conflict.

Capitalism at this point is announcing aloud that it is no longer fit to govern society and crying out for burial. Unless the working class



Police assisted by soldiers conduct a house-to-house raid on Westbury township. This is the first time the army has been called in against the black working-class population since the Emergency of 1960.

now rises to its historical task, the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism, the petty bourgeoisie—ruined by capitalism and disillusioned with bourgeois democracy—will have no alternative before it but the 'national socialist' ravings of the fascist demagogues.

The fascists, who will mesmerise also the most backward sections of workers, make the working class the scapegoat for the incurable ills of capitalism. And the petty bourgeoisie will believe this; for the working class has failed to save it and lead society forward to socialism.

Out of this raw material, intoxicating it with radical demagogy against the monopolies, magical formulas about national glory, racialist poison etc., fascism constructs a human battering ram to attack the organisations of the working class.

To answer the question whether the South African state is fascist, it is helpful to quote Trotsky on the meaning of fascist rule:

"When a state turns fascist ... it means, primarily and above all ... that the workers' organisations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallisation of the proletariat." (from *What Next?*, 1932. Emphasis added.)

"The historic function of fascism

is to smash the working class, destroy its organisations and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery." (from *Whither France?* 1934. Emphasis added.)

From this it will be clear that our analysis of the nature of a state is a vital question.

Bonapartist regimes, as well as fascist regimes, are both brutally oppressive from the workers' point of view. Yet there is an important difference between them.

A fascist regime, precisely on account of its mass petty-bourgeois following welded into a "battering ram"—i.e. storm troops and the like—is able to smash the badly-led workers' movement and leave it prostrate for a generation. Thus, in the case of Spain, 30 years needed to pass before the working class began to recover from the bloody rise of fascism in 1936-39.

A Bonapartist regime, on the other hand, lacks this powerful basis and is consequently much less stable. The working class is stunned rather than crushed by the blows it is able to inflict.

That is why in Greece the colonels' junta could last no more than seven years while in Chile, within a few years of Pinochet's seizure of power as a Bonapartist dictator, the working class was once again moving into action.

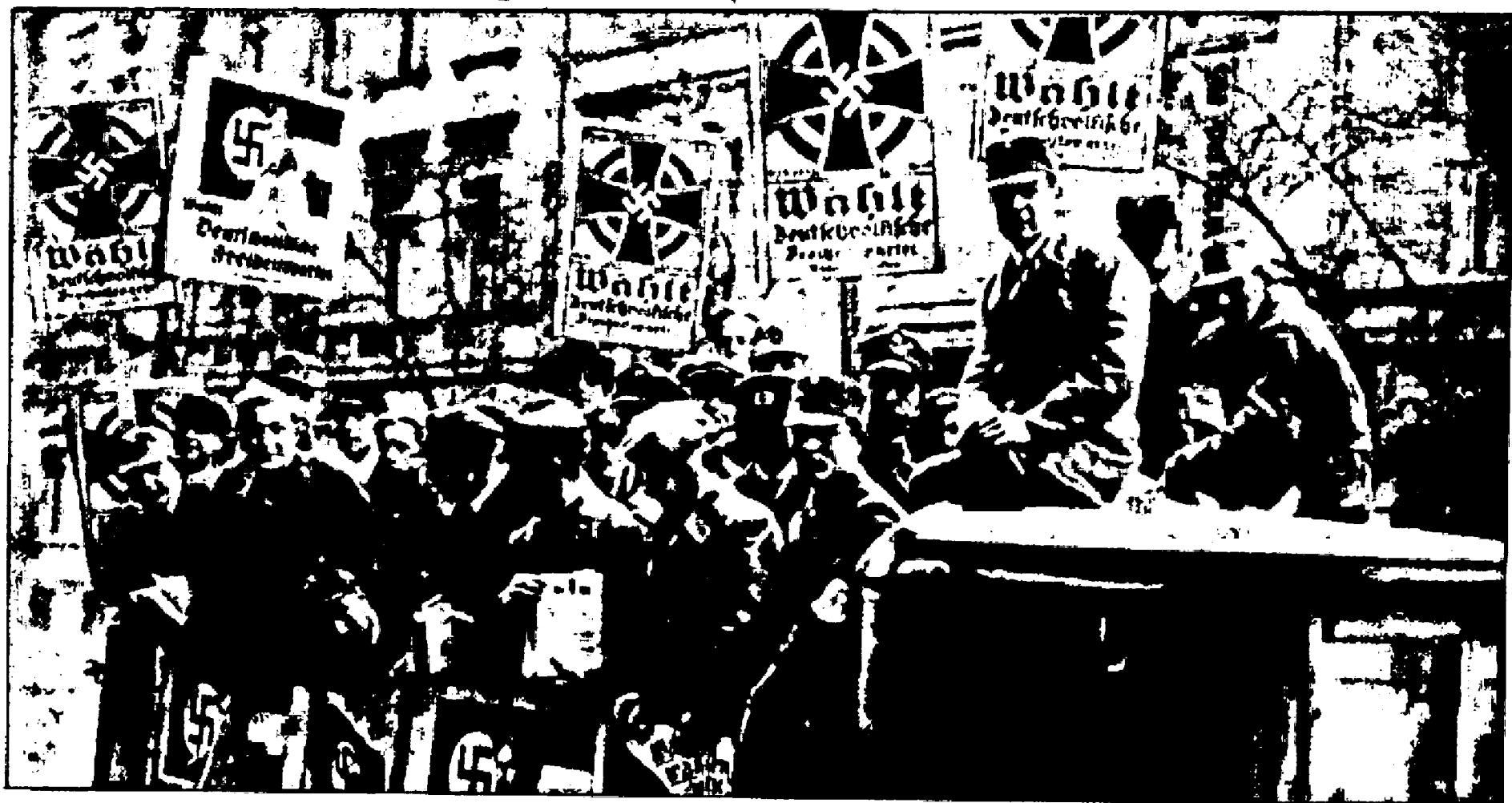
To the black majority, the South African state is undoubtedly a police dictatorship. But what, more precisely, is its nature and social basis? Do we perhaps give it too much credit by regarding it as 'fascist'? The answer to these questions will shed important light on the perspectives for our struggle.

Is the SA state fascist?

The brutal nature of the South African state has earned it the contempt of the workers, not only of Southern Africa but of the whole world, a contempt which is reflected in the anti-apartheid postures of even the most reactionary governments. It is also this very repressiveness which has gained it the description "fascist", "Nazi" etc.

The need to question the accuracy of this description stems not out of a supercilious desire to be different or more erudite but out of the need for the working class to gauge as precisely as possible the strength of the enemy in order to work out the proper method, strategy and tactics for defeating it.

The questions that must be asked are: why does the South African regime have such a repressive character; and if it is not fascist, how must it be described? Thirdly, what are the prospects for fascism in South Africa?



Nazi storm-troopers terrorising the streets of Germany in the early 1930s.

The brutality of the South African regime can only be explained by its history. Capitalism came to South Africa from outside. It arrived here "grey-haired" with the experience of its struggle against the workers of Europe, and found in Southern Africa a virtual paradise in comparison to Europe—a society which was at a lower stage of socio-economic development than itself; a population which had no tradition of working-class organisation; a population which, once crushed by conquest, was open to exploitation as the proletariat into which capitalism would have to convert it.

In Europe capitalism had been forced to make concession after concession to the workers, as they pounded the fortress of capitalism.

Eventually it had to concede to the workers bourgeois-democratic rights. Worst of all as far as the bourgeoisie was concerned, it had to admit the elected representatives of the workers—or at least those who agreed not to challenge capitalist power—into government. In South Africa they could not afford to have any such cheekiness from the natives.

The problem, however, was that capitalism could not begin to operate without a working class. Out of the dispossessed tribesmen it fashioned the proletariat.

In an attempt to arrest the development of working-class consciousness, which the conversion of

tribesmen into workers would inevitably produce, the capitalists devised institutions of deception. They revived the trappings of tribal rule; endeavouring to detain the consciousness of the new proletariat in the past, to make the tribesmen-turned-workers believe, falsely, that their society remained as it was before its defeat and overthrow by capitalism.

But in giving the dead tribal society the kiss of life, the bourgeoisie breathed into it the breath of capitalism. Conditions had changed, the economic base had been transformed and because of this, the tribal institutions became mere appendages of the bourgeois state. The Chiefs became mere civil servants. The whole edifice of the resurrected tribal society was erected on a foundation of lies.

The workers have seen through these lies. Their consciousness has followed the change in the conditions. The chiefs became the first target of their struggle against capitalism.

Most important of all, South African capitalism arrived late on the world market. The only basis on which it could compete with world capitalism, which had already reached the stage of monopolism, was on the basis of cheap labour.

To provide cheap labour, a system for the regimentation of labour was indispensable. This system required, in turn, a huge and

vicious state machine to enforce its laws.

The system of regimentation involved the forced encampment of the workers in the reserves, where deliberate impoverishment ensured their dependence on selling their labour to the capitalists in industry. Their movement to the cities was controlled through influx control and the pass laws. The presence of workers in the cities was for the purpose of wage-slavery and nothing else, not even to spend the pittance they were paid. The massive army of unemployed in the reserves at the same time served as a means of depressing wages and breaking strikes.

The bourgeois-democratic rights possessed by the workers in Europe were entirely the fruits of struggle. For black workers in South Africa, such rights were out of the question. If they were granted, suitably castrated, to the white workers, this was done because the state had to find for itself a social basis on which to rest.

That base could certainly not be found in the conquered black population. Once more the bourgeoisie had to resort to deception. In order to delude the white workers, particularly the Afrikaners, they recruited agents like Smuts from the ranks of the defeated landowners and allowed them to take state power. These agents gave the white workers their



Germany 1933: Communist Party members in the hands of the fascists—after their leaders allowed Hitler to take power without firing a shot.

social and economic privileges.

The fact that the system of cheap labour required such a viciously repressive state machine, together with the need to deceive the white workers—or, to put it differently, the need to maintain the white workers' support and prevent them from making common cause with the black workers—gave rise to a state with:

- (a) a narrow base confined to the white section of the population, and
- (b) a powerful apparatus, not entirely under the control of the ruling class but balancing between the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the white sections of the middle and working classes on the other.

Historically, the South African state must therefore be described as semi-Bonapartist and not fascist. Over the recent period its Bonapartist characteristics have become increasingly pronounced, the more the growing black workers' movement balanced and challenged the capitalist class, and the more the state machine was compelled to reinforce itself still further.

Notwithstanding the surface similarities between the racist lunacy of ultra-right Afrikaner nationalism and Hitlerism, the South African state is not fascist and never has been. The fundamental conditions for fascism—the catastrophic and decisive defeat of the mass of the working class, and the frenzied mass movement of the petty bourgeoisie under conditions of deep crisis—have never emerged in South Africa up to the present time.

Is there a likelihood that these conditions will emerge in future?

The prospects for fascism in SA

South African capitalism until recently provided full employment and increasing living standards for the whites, something that was not possible in the pre-war period. However, since the post-war upswing in the world economy has ended, the South African economy has begun to convulse in response to the spasms of world capitalism and created growing discontent also within the white population.

The spectre of white unemployment reared its head for the first

time, though briefly, in 1976. Reflecting this dissatisfaction there have been threats of strikes among teachers and an unsuccessful strike of white miners in 1979.

Fascist notions have received organisational expression in the form of SCORPIO, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and, on top of this heap of social vermin, the Wit Kommando. These gangs have their political ancestors in the Ossewabrandwag which sympathised with the Nazis in World War II but whose ambitions were thwarted then by its lack of widespread support and by the relatively strong hold of the ruling class.

Today the state is strangely incapable of wiping out these fascist thugs and their organisations. In fact, these forces are being kept in reserve as a last resort to defend capitalism. This policy is not peculiar to the South African bourgeoisie. Capitalism everywhere carries within it the germ of fascism, which under suitable conditions begins to breed.

Today the ruling class is preparing for the mounting convulsions which the crisis, as it deepens, will inevitably bring forth. The most likely result will be an openly Bonapartist regime which, while it will be directed essentially against the black working class, will also be used against confused and rebellious whites.

Already the crisis is bringing the social base of the state into opposition against the ruling party. In the past the white workers regarded the Nationalist Party (incorrectly) as their own; now they are describing it (more correctly, but unfortunately for the wrong reasons) as "a party of the Hoggensheimers"—i.e., the mining capitalists.

At present the bourgeoisie is not entertaining the idea of giving the fascist groups their head. To do so would provoke an uncontrollable confrontation with the mighty, undefeated forces of the black proletariat. This explains the clamp-down on the Wit Kommando which, although it is not really being crush-



Fascist thugs in Britain, sheltering behind the police—but in Southall in July 1981 even police protection could not save them from a thrashing by black youth.

ed, is being removed from circulation for the moment.

Also for other, more general reasons the bourgeoisie does not trust the petty bourgeoisie, even though it is forced to adopt a posture of being at one with it in order to gain its support. Trotsky explains:

"The economically powerful big bourgeoisie, in itself, represents an infinitesimal minority of the nation. To enforce its domination, it must ensure a definite mutual relationship with the petty bourgeoisie, and through its mediation, with the proletariat ... Nevertheless, the relationship between the bourgeoisie and its basic social support, the petty bourgeoisie, does not rest upon reciprocal confidence and pacific collaboration." (This is especially true of the week black petty bourgeoisie—B.H.) "In its mass the petty bourgeoisie represents an exploited and disfranchised class. It regards the bourgeoisie with envy and often with hatred. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, while utilising the support of the petty bourgeoisie, distrusts the latter, for it very correctly fears its tendency to break down the barriers set for it from above."

(From *The Only Road for Germany*, September 1932.)

Most important, however, is the fact that a fascist movement running wild in South Africa would be more of a danger than a service to the bourgeoisie. The white section of the middle class, even with white working-class support, is far too narrow a layer of the population to give rise to a mass movement in the true sense of the word, let alone a movement capable of "annihilating" the organisations of the black workers and "penetrating deeply into the (black) masses". It would be a provocation to armed mass resistance on the part of the blacks, and could result in a race war.

The black petty bourgeoisie, we may note in passing, could form no part of a fascist movement. White racism is the inevitable essence of



Policemen beating a retreat. In South Africa the forces of reaction are dwarfed by the power of the masses.

the fascist toxin in South Africa. This must repel the black middle class as much as the black workers, and force them to throw in their lot completely with the latter.

Furthermore the black middle class is too weak, despite the attempts by the bourgeoisie to build it into something resembling a class, to play any significant role in its own right. At the same time, in its socio-economic position, it stands immeasurably closer to the black workers than to the bourgeoisie—and closer also than the white middle class stands to the white workers.

Potential leaders of counter-

Fascist groups can serve, at most, as auxiliary forces of the state.

revolution among the black middle class, such as Buthelezi, will see their present following melt like snow in the sun as the polarisation between the classes deepens and fighting mass organisations arise.

Even at its most powerful, therefore, fascism in South Africa could amount to no more than the poisonous excrescence of a minority of society. It could command no wider support than the present bourgeois state, since there are no other reserves of reaction in society to draw on than those available to the present regime.

For all these reasons it is excluded that a regime like that of Hitler or

Mussolini can arise in South Africa.

Faced with the forward movement of the masses, the South African ruling class would lack the social resources to call into being more than a savage but still unstable Bonapartist dictatorship. The fascist groups can serve, at most, as auxiliary forces of the bourgeois state.

The most fundamental condition for the rise of a fascist mass movement—the failure of the working class to rise to its task—is not now present in South Africa or on a world scale.

The international balance of class forces at present favours revolution

rather than reaction. The international strength of the working class has grown enormously with its numerical increase in the course of the recently-ended boom.

The post-war economic expansion has seen the proletariat grow into a giant force in South Africa. It now constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population.

The militant response of the black workers and youth to the onset of the crisis has demonstrated the selfless bravery and determination of the working class. The hysteria of the representatives of capital about an alleged 'total onslaught against South Africa' really expresses their

fear of the black working class as it flexes its muscles.

Nevertheless it is vital for the black working class to prevent the forces of fascism from gaining any ground in South Africa. The more the fascist gangs are permitted to grow, the more the struggle for socialism will be derailed into a race war and victory would only be gained at enormous cost in lives.

Similarly, the stronger the forces of fascism, the more ferocious would be the counter-revolution should the workers' movement falter.

Organisation

The black workers must not rest on the laurels of their recent conquests. The answer is organisation, organisation and more organisation. Unity must be forged among black workers of all ethnic groups, between migrant and non-migrant, between employed and unemployed.

The violence of the fascist gangs against the people must be met and crushed by the harshest measures on the part of the workers', youth and community organisations.

In the long run, however, the most effective way of combatting fascism will be for the black workers to offer the white workers a way out of the crisis. The black workers must demonstrate their determination, their strength and ability to rule society in the interest of all the working people.

This can only be achieved on the basis of a correct socialist programme. The bourgeoisie must be stripped of its social support and left whining like an abandoned dog.

Internationalism is the lifeblood of the workers' revolution. The revolutionary movement of the black working class can be a beacon not only to the white workers but to the working class of the whole world. The international working class can make it impossible for imperialism to intervene on the side of the South African state.

The black workers have shown themselves to have enormous promise. Workers of the world unite! For a mass ANC with a socialist programme!

FRANCE

Landslide for Socialist Party

The tremendous victory of the Socialist Party (PSF) in the French Presidential and National Assembly (parliamentary) elections has broken the logjam of French and European politics.

Despite an electoral system heavily weighted against the workers' parties and a campaign of scare-mongering by the press, such was the groundswell of opposition to the former regime of big business that even the small farmers were drawn behind the PSF.

This was the biggest electoral victory for the left in French history, while the right-wing parties, which have been in power for 23 years have suffered a crushing defeat.

For the Communist Party (PCF) also, the elections were a disaster. While the PSF increased its seats in the Assembly from 107 to 270, the PCF was cut down from 86 to 44 seats.

The main reason for the PCF defeat is its failure to present any clear alternative to the reformist programme of the PSF. In respect of Afghanistan and Poland it adopted an uncritical pro-Moscow position—but promptly abandoned it in exchange for 4 seats in the

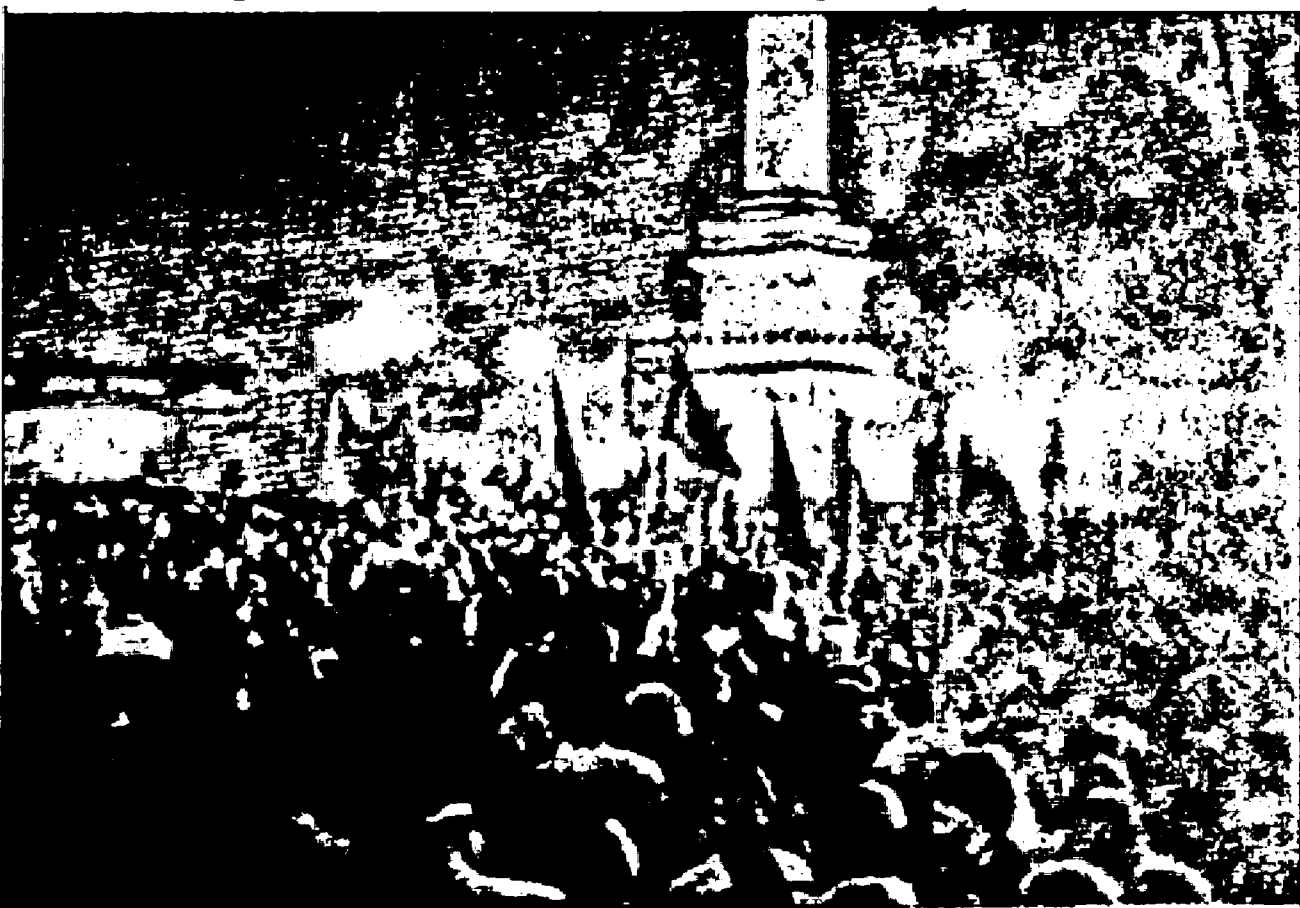
government.

The workers of France have given the new government an unqualified mandate for socialist change. Yet its programme of partial nationalisations and reforms is not enough to break the power of the capitalist class. Presiding over an economy still within the stranglehold of capitalism, the government will be compelled to retreat before the pressures of the crisis.

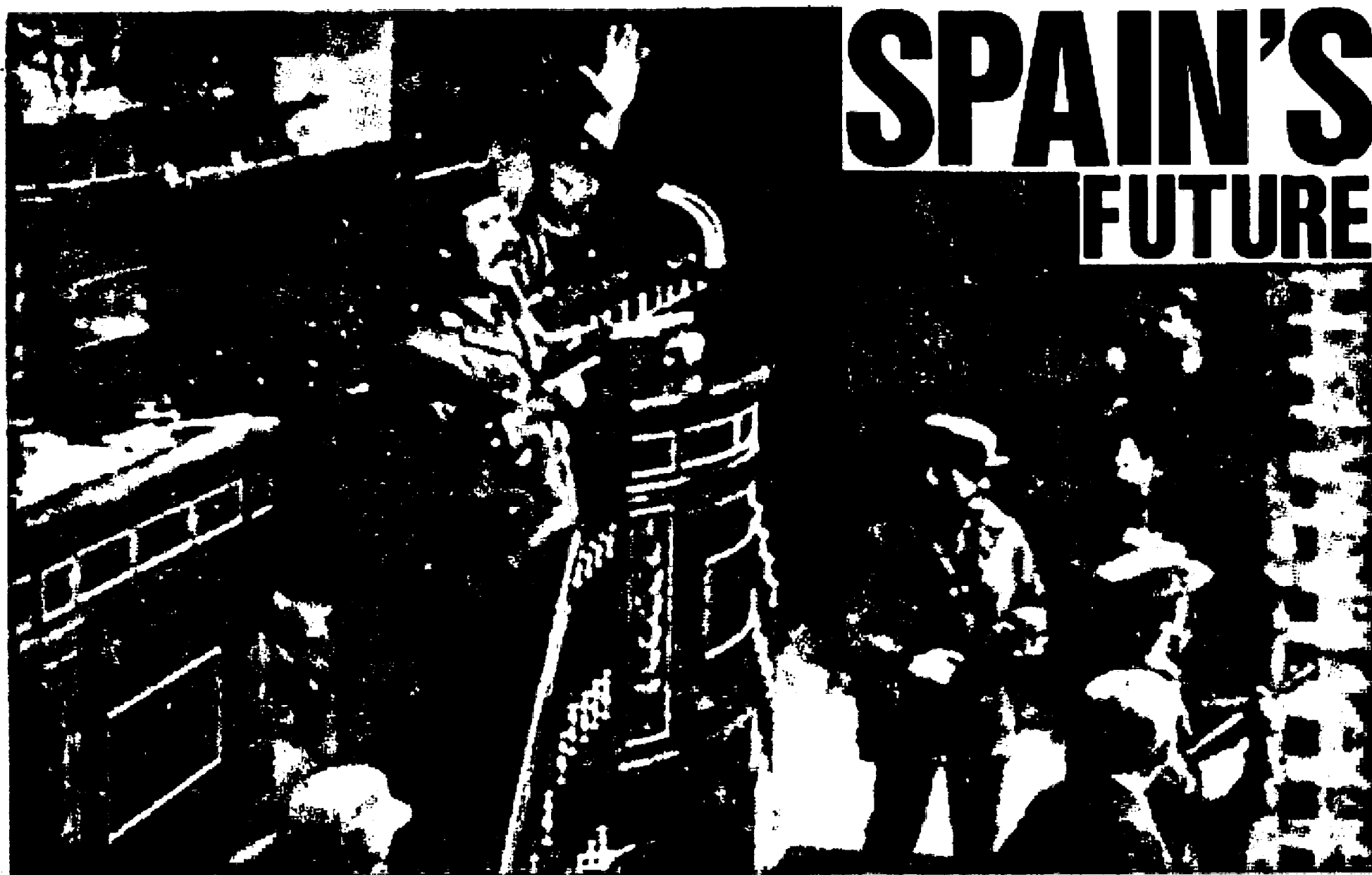
At the same time the capitalists will set about undermining the new government and cancelling out the reforms, for example by pushing up prices.

Mitterand has been willing to include the PCF ministers as hostages in an effort to prevent opposition from the PCF-led trade union federation, the CGT. Yet not only the PCF but also the PSF will be shaken by rank-and-file revolt when the government fails to meet the expectations of the workers.

Only a programme for the nationalisation of the assets of the top 200 bourgeois families who control France, and a democratic socialist plan of production, can satisfy the aroused hopes of the working class, not only in France but world-wide.



Paris, May 1981. Jubilant crowds celebrate Mitterand's victory after 23 years of right-wing government.



SPAIN'S FUTURE

DICTATORSHIP OR SOCIALISM?

In February this year, Civil Guards (a para-military force) led by one Colonel Tejero burst into Spain's parliament and held the MP's hostage. Though this adventure collapsed, it emerged that plans for a coup had widespread support among the tops of the Spanish military. Only the fear of the bourgeoisie of provoking the working class into struggle, thus unleashing civil war, led the Spanish King at the last moment to dissuade key army officers from supporting the coup.

To understand the lessons which can be drawn by the workers' move-

ment from these events, INQABA has interviewed ARTURO VAL DEL OLMO, General Secretary of the UGT, (General Workers' Union), Federation of Alava, in the Basque country. The UGT is the trade union organisation of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE), and the Alava Federation of the UGT is led by the Marxist tendency of the PSOE.

As comrade Arturo explains, this coup attempt highlights the fragile character of the parliamentary democracy that replaced Franco's dictatorship in Spain. Not Franco's death, but the huge struggles of the

working class compelled the bourgeoisie to restore a parliamentary system in Spain. At the same time, at the core of the state, the apparatus of the Franco dictatorship has remained virtually intact.

Democracy, for the workers, provides the means for material and cultural advance. The bourgeoisie of Spain, one of the weaker economies of Europe, weakened still further by the present world capitalist crisis, is struggling to curtail democracy.

As in the later years of Franco's rule, our own struggles in South Africa are beating back the dictator-

ship of the ruling class. In the future the bourgeoisie may be forced to retreat before the people's democratic demands and put on the cloak of 'democracy'. But, as in Spain, they will seek to preserve the state machine intact, as the weapon for destroying our gains.

As Franco's rule disintegrated, the Spanish working class under a determined leadership could have pressed forward to defeat the state and overthrow capitalism—a necessary condition for establishing real democracy and progress. Instead the leaders of the mass workers' parties—the PSOE and the Spanish Communist Party (PCE)—preached the need for 'stabilising democracy on a capitalist basis.

Government fell into the hands of the UCD, a bourgeois party. The abortive coup—a premature attempt to reverse the workers' gains—signals that the Spanish workers are now reaping the consequences of the class-collaboration policies of their leaders.

Tragically, the PSOE and PCE

leaders are repeating the disastrous policies of their predecessors in the 1930s. In July 1936, Franco's military revolt was met by an uprising of the working class which soon placed four fifths of the country in the workers' and peasants' hands. But, rather than complete the taking of power by the working class, the PSOE and PCE leaders remained in a "Popular Front" government with the 'liberal' bourgeoisie in the name of 'defending democracy against Fascism'.

In reality, the bourgeoisie had already deserted to Franco. The state machine hung by a thread. But the policies of the workers' leaders gave the bourgeoisie time to reorganise. The Popular Front government (with the workers' leaders in it claiming that socialism was "not yet on the agenda") launched vicious attacks on all the advances of the working people against the bourgeoisie and landlords.

By 1939 the workers and peasants were exhausted. Not only had they fought heroically for three years

against Franco, at the same time their militants were being massacred by their 'own' Republican government. Thus Franco was enabled to win the Civil War.

Their organisations destroyed, the Spanish working class was plunged for more than a generation into the nightmare of Fascist dictatorship.

In the revolution that is unfolding in South Africa, our leaders must learn the lessons of Spain—in the 1930s and today. These lessons are that national liberation and democracy cannot be secured unless the power of the capitalist class and its state is shattered.

To ensure that our victory will be complete, we must build the trade unions and the ANC on a socialist programme, linking the struggle for national liberation and democracy, for wages, jobs, houses and decent education, to the struggle to abolish capitalism and lay the foundations of socialism throughout Southern Africa.

Q: Why did the attempted coup on February 23rd take place and what did it reflect?

A: On the one hand it reflects the enormous tensions which are being accumulated within society and the inability of the bourgeoisie to find a way out of the severe economic crisis, together with the policies of the leaders of the workers' parties which have led to a weakening of the consciousness and confidence of the workers in their own strength.

On the other hand it shows the

continued existence of the old Francoist state apparatus which constitutes a permanent threat to the formal democratic rights achieved by the working class.

It was an attempt by a section of the bourgeoisie to defend their class interests and find a way out of the crisis outside the framework of a bourgeois democracy.

Q: Could you explain how the transition came about from Francoist dictatorship to the present bourgeois democracy?

A: After Franco came to power in 1939, there was a period of so-called "economic self-sufficiency". But after 1950 this was ended, and gave a strong impulse to the development of Spanish industry.

This development brought in its train an enormous growth of the working class, with a massive outflow of workers from the countryside to the towns. Thus we have seen the reduction of the peasantry, which in the past made up the overwhelming majority of the Spanish population, to no more than 20% today.

Then in the 1970s, coinciding with the economic crisis, there were a whole series of class struggles and movements all over Spain, with general strikes at provincial and regional levels. Franco's repressive apparatus was incapable of holding back the movement.

In Vitoria in 1976, despite the complete lack of free trade unions, the absence of the democratic right to organise, and the denial of freedom of expression, 8 000 workers kept up a two-month long strike. Mass meetings were held in church buildings, or wherever else they could find. The only thing the police managed to bring about by their intervention was an ever-increasing radicalisation of the situation which culminated in the murder of five workers.

This led the majority wing of the bourgeoisie to realise the need to change something, in order to change nothing—that is to say, to change the form of their domination in order to preserve their class interests which would have been put in jeopardy if they had continued on the same road.



Arturo Val del Olmo speaks at a workers' meeting in Spain.

Q:How did the workers' parties react to this strategy of the bourgeoisie?

A: The policy of the leaders of the mass workers' parties, the PSOE (Socialist Party) and the PCE (Communist Party) has unfortunately been based, from the beginning of the transition when they emerged from underground, in trying to convince us of the "weakness" of the working class and the need to be "realistic" and "responsible".

Using this kind of argument they tended to demobilise the workers, as happened with the Atocha massacre in Madrid, where members of the Communist Party were murdered by the fascists and the only response which the workers got were appeals for calm and "responsibility".

The acceptance of the "Political Reform" by the workers' leaders amounted to agreeing to the continued existence of the old repressive state apparatus and legal system of the Franco regime. It meant giving democratic credibility to former fascists and thereby granting a breathing-space to the bourgeoisie, which had been shaken by the mass movement of the working class.

From that moment, the policies of the PSOE and PCE leaders have been based entirely on class conciliation and "consensus" rather than on giving a lead to increase the revolutionary consciousness of the working class movement.

Later on came the constitution which accepted the legality of lock-outs; denied the right of self-determination of the oppressed nationalities; created a two-chamber parliament in which the Senate is designed to control and restrict the legislation passed in the lower house; and which perpetuated the restored monarchy. All this was endorsed by the leaders of the PSOE and PCE without a murmur.

Thus we can say there is no real democracy in Spain equivalent to the European democratic system, although, formally, there are certain rights and freedoms. Parliament plays a secondary role, since the government can make or unmake it whenever it likes.

Q:Have the political changes brought any improvement in the economic situation for the workers?

A: From an economic point of



In the Spanish Civil War, workers' militias were a pillar of the revolutionary struggle.

view, the situation becomes worse and worse with every day that passes.

In 1980 the gross domestic product increased by only 1%, which was mainly due to an exceptionally good agricultural year, which will not be repeated in 1981. Unemployment is officially reckoned to be 1 600 000 (12% of the population), and the rate of inflation for this year is around 17%.

Unemployment and falling living standards have meant the slashing of the home market. As a result there has been an attempt to boost exports to foreign markets, mainly to the EEC. However the economic crisis has also caused the other European capitalists to resort to all kinds of protectionist measures which affect Spanish industry, for example, restrictions against Spanish steel.

In this situation, a whole series of key sectors of the economy are in crisis. The Ministry of Industry recently stated that there was an excess of 10 000 jobs in the giant car company, SEAT. The steel industry is only working at 75% of its productive capacity. The ship-building industry has been gradually cutting back its production from 7,6 million tons in 1973 to 1,5 million last year.

We could give similar figures for machine-tools, textiles, the footwear industry, electrodomeotics, etc.

Despite some disagreements among themselves, all the sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie are agreed on a policy of austerity and sacrifices for the working people. They are attempting to carry out a further reduction of the workers' living standards, by means of wage controls (which have existed for several years), a further reduction of the workforce, productivity deals for those who still hold onto a job, as well as abolition of the legal minimum wage, privatisation of social security, and the reduction of public spending on things which are "unproductive" from the capitalists' point of view such as education, unemployment benefits, etc.

And this is despite the fact that last year a million workers were still on the legal minimum wage, which at present is 759 pesetas a day (R7,14) or 23 000 a month (R216), and that four million workers were on less than 30 000 gross (R282) (that is, before the deductions made by social security and tax).

In addition, there are in reality two million workers who are unemployed, of whom only 40% get unemployment benefits.

The situation is even more serious in the depressed areas such as Andalusia in the South and Extremadura in the South-West (where people have nothing left to eat except potatoes and olives) although



Fascists calling for a return to the 'good old days' of Franco.

there is also enormous poverty in parts of Barcelona, Madrid and the Basque country.

Farm labourers have no right to unemployment benefit. They depend upon so-called "community employment" schemes, by which the government pays a small and irregular subsidy, which is far below the legal minimum wage. This has turned Andalusia into a real powder-keg, where there has been one social explosion upon another, characterised by land-seizures, clashes with the para-military armed police (the Civil Guard), sit-ins and hunger strikes.

Q:What is the response of the workers' leaders to the economic situation?

A: In 1978 the leaders of the PSOE and PCE signed the Moncloa Pact, which accepted a wage ceiling lower than the increase in the cost of living and a restrictive monetary policy which led to an increase in unemployment through the closure of thousands of firms. Shortly afterwards came new laws which make for easier sackings and cut unemployment benefits.

The unconditional defence of the Moncloa Pact by the PCE and its union, the Workers' Commissions, signified a hard blow for the workers' struggle. Instead of basing themselves on the power of the working people, they have confined themselves to the limits of parliamentary discussions and deals with the bourgeoisie from a position of weakness.

This has steadily led to a rise of apathy and weariness within the

working class as a whole, and strengthened the boss class which is now howling for still greater "sacrifices" and "austerity"—but only for the workers, of course.

The only alternative proposal that has been made by the labour leaders has been the idea of boosting public investments in those sectors which employ most labour. However, in a situation in which the budget deficit (shortfall) has reached 500 000 million pesetas (R4 760 million), any new increase in public spending would mean a new explosion of inflation.

The idea of a reform of the tax system would not solve the problem either. A progressive tax reform would mean less profits for the capitalists, at the very time when they are complaining about lack of profitability. And a tax reform which was biased against the workers would reduce the home market and would meet with serious resistance.

Q:How do you view the struggle in the Basque country?

A: The Basques are one of the nationalities of Spain which suffered most from repression during the forty years of dictatorship. This meant that the Basque working class was in the vanguard of the struggle against the dictatorship.

In the first general elections held for forty years, in 1977, the PSOE won a majority in the Basque parliament. While in government the PSOE leaders offered no solution to the economic problems of the workers. They did not support the

right of self-determination and failed to organise a serious movement against repression.

Thus, in the latest elections, many workers abstained, or supported Basque nationalist movements, who won 42 seats between them, as opposed to 9 seats for the PSOE and only one for the PCE.

The weakness of the Spanish capitalist-finance oligarchy is reflected in the fact that its party, the UCD, only won 6 seats in the Basque parliament. This in turn forced them to consider granting concessions to the Basque bourgeoisie with the idea of handing responsibility over to it for police operations against ETA, the armed Basque nationalist organisation.

ETA has been waging war against the Spanish police over more than two decades. Because the workers' parties have failed to support the right of self-determination for the Basque people, ETA has won increased sympathy.

The brutality of the police arouses the hatred of the majority of the population and, while not actively supporting ETA, most Basques certainly tolerate and support them passively. Very few would collaborate with the police or pass on information about ETA.

The situation has been producing increasing demoralisation in the ranks of the police.

On the other hand, ETA's tactics of the senseless murder of UCD politicians, kidnappings, blackmail, killing workers under the pretext of eliminating "police informers", placing bombs in the south of Spain during the tourist season, organising assassination attempts which kill people "by mistake", is achieving just the opposite of the aims ETA claims to pursue.

They attempt to substitute themselves for the struggles of the working class, and thus place obstacles in the development of the workers' consciousness. They claim to be fighting the police and every day there are more police. They claim to fight for amnesty for political prisoners and every day there are more political prisoners, and every day fewer people who support amnesty.

Now, after the coup, both the bourgeoisie and the leaders of the workers' organisations have hasten-

ed to claim that terrorism was the real cause of the coup. But in reality the terrorists only provided the conspirators with a convenient excuse.

Behind this excuse the bourgeoisie, with the support of the workers' leaders, have approved laws like the so-called law "for the defence of the constitution". This allows the closing of a newspaper without a legal hearing and provides a further backup for the earlier anti-

include unemployment and the deterioration of the conditions of life and work.

Q: What are the immediate political perspectives in Spain?

A: In the period after the coup, the leaders of PSOE and the PCE have stepped up their demand for a coalition government with the party of the Spanish bourgeoisie, the UCD.

As a matter of fact, the UCD for the moment has rejected this

military coup in the immediate future is unlikely.

The real task of the workers' movement at the present time is to mobilise for a government of the workers' parties on a socialist programme. Only a socialist programme is capable of offering a solution to the economic problems of the workers and nipping the dangers of reaction in the bud.

Nevertheless, unfortunately, a coalition government with bourgeois parties cannot be excluded as a possibility in the future, if the workers' leaders retain their present class-collaborationist outlook. When the situation deteriorates still further, particularly when the working class returns to the mass struggle to demand solutions to their problems, then the bourgeoisie would see some point in a coalition government on the slogan of maintaining "calm and order" with the exclusive object of slowing down the workers' struggle.

Such a coalition would serve the workers' leaders as an excuse for not carrying out even their present programme of reforms. This would discredit the workers' parties and sow confusion in the minds of the workers. At the same time such a government could solve no problems. In the long run it could not fail to result in an explosion of opposition within the workers' parties to the class-collaborationist policies of the leaders. In such conditions the ideas and programme of Marxism can rapidly become a material force in the workers' movement.

Vitoria 20/5/1981.

Only a socialist lead is capable of offering a solution to the economic problems of the workers and nipping the danger of reaction in the bud.

terrorist law which permits detention without trial, without access to lawyers, etc.

At the same time, the army has now been drawn into the "fight against terrorism". The first step in this direction is the posting of soldiers along the frontiers and at key strategic points in the Basque country.

The degeneration of ETA increases in the measure that it loses popular support. Nevertheless, the only way to end the vicious circle of terror and counter-terror is for the workers' parties to fight for broad freedoms for everyone and for the end of repression. Also we have to remove the causes which make certain sections of society, especially the youth, think that the armed struggle of minorities is a short cut to solve its problems—causes which

possibility. Quite simply, the bourgeoisie has no need of the Socialist leaders in the government, because the same leaders accept and support the bourgeois government on all the basic questions even while in opposition.

This feebleness of the workers' leaders, and their failure to lead any mobilisation against the reactionaries, is making the fascists more bold.

However, the monarchist generals have achieved most of their immediate aims for curtailing democracy thanks to the concessions made by the PSOE and PCE leaders since February 23rd. A coup might provoke the working class to an uprising in defence of democracy, leading to a civil war in which capitalist rule would itself be threatened. For these reasons a



Huge demonstrations on May Day this year show the immense latent power of the Spanish workers, despite the temporary loss of confidence resulting from the vacillation of the leaders.

Europe - youth in struggle

By
Lesley Reed

Over the last eighteen months a wave of youth protest, violently repressed by the police, has swept Europe. City after city in West Germany, Britain, Holland, Austria and Switzerland have been turned into battlefields to the alarm of the bourgeoisie.

From Johannesburg the *Sunday Times* attacks what it calls "the dead-end kids of Europe". This shows a complete failure to understand the situation—just as the 'liberals' understand nothing about the struggle of the black youth in South Africa itself.

In reality the movement of the youth in Europe reflects a growing protest against the conditions of a



Squatters fight back against police in Amsterdam.

Brixton

By Sam Browne

Labour Party Young Socialists,
London Regional Committee
member for the Brixton area.



In the 1950s, when the British ruling class encouraged immigration from the colonies as a form of cheap labour, Brixton was one of the areas where immigrants first settled.

Today, Brixton typifies many of Britain's inner-city ghettos, with old dilapidated housing, much of it condemned for demolition in the 1920s but where people still have to live due to the enormous housing shortage. Recreational and social facilities are virtually non-existent. The ruling class, finding that they can no longer make profits out of this section of the working class, has cynically discarded them to rot in deprivation and squalor.

In the past two years of Tory government we have seen an intensification of racism and all other problems facing working people in Britain. Unemployment has doubled—but among blacks it has risen three-and-a-half times. Government spending on housing, social services and unemployment benefits has been slashed. All this is part of an attempt by the Tories to reduce the living standards of the working class in order to increase the profitability of big business.

Notable exceptions to the policy of cutbacks have been the police, the armed forces and the judiciary. The ruling class can see that there will be resistance by the working class to the attacks on their living standards, hence the need to bolster the state apparatus.

The ruling class is aware that the blacks, being the most oppressed section of the working class, are also the most volatile and potentially the quickest to draw revolutionary conclusions. It is therefore in the interests of the ruling class to isolate blacks from the rest of the working class.

In the recent period they have used the police to constantly harass and intimidate blacks.

On 3 April "Operation Swamp 81" was launched in Brixton. The area was saturated with police. The number of people who were stopped and searched doubled, and there was a marked increase in the raids on houses and cafes.

After a week of this blatant provocation, and following one particularly brutal arrest, the youth of the area exploded with violent anger.

Over the weekend of 11/12 April, Brixton—a run-down area of London—exploded with pent-up anger. The riots focussed attention on the appalling unemployment and atrocious social conditions facing young people in the area.

rotting capitalist system. Capitalism is unable to offer the youth any prospect of a decent future. As even the bourgeois *Newsweek* admits "Many in the restless generation have no job, no housing—and no faith in the future" (20 April 1981).

In the advanced capitalist countries, unemployment has reached 25 million. Youth are the worst hit—40% of the unemployed are under 25 years old, and many are faced with the grim prospect of never finding a real job in their lives.

In Amsterdam, illustrating the housing shortage of many European cities, 70 000 people (out of a population of 700 000) are on the municipal housing list—that is one in ten! Similarly, in wealthy Switzerland, "housing is scarce. Subsidised housing is not available for the unmarried young" (*Financial Times*, 13 April 1981).

In many cities particularly in Holland and West Germany, young people have 'squatted' (i.e. occupied) empty houses as the only means to secure a roof over their heads. In doing so they come into conflict with the property owners,

and often with the state.

Sometimes the owners illegally send in their 'goon squads' to forcefully evict the squatters. At other times the state has intervened and even tanks have been used against the squatters.

For example, recently in Amsterdam, 2 000 police and cavalry were mobilised to evict squatters. The police were backed up by water cannons, dogs, helicopters, spotter planes, boats and sharpshooters on cranes.

The squatters involved in this incident stated that "practically nothing is done for social housing ... The municipality prefers money-making projects such as the town hall, opera house, hotels, offices and luxury apartments".

Speculators and 'property developers', financed by the banks, make fortunes. This really shows the chaos of capitalism—where buildings are built for profit and not for social need.

Young people have fewer illusions left in bourgeois 'democracy' after being faced with police and military violence. Squatters and other youth,

seeing the links between landlords, big business and the banks, have vented their anger by throwing stones at bank windows and expensive shops.

But individual protest offers no solution to their problems. Only nationalisation of the banks, building societies and real-estate companies under workers' control and management can end speculation in property and provide homes for all the homeless.

The working class alone has the power to defeat capitalism and bring about the transformation of society. The workers' political parties and unions need to develop a socialist leadership that will turn them into genuine fighting organisations of the class.

The youth, with its unstoppable energy and spirit, has a tremendous role to play. The youth need to link up with the labour movement in its struggle to abolish capitalism. That is why in Europe, as elsewhere, the organisation of the young workers and with them, the unemployed and school-going youth, is a task of the greatest importance.

The riot was spontaneous. Although initially directed at the police, the smashing and burning of stores and shops demonstrates the bitter frustration of young people with no jobs, atrocious living conditions, and no hope of better things to come.

Contrary to the propaganda of the government and the media, this was not a 'race riot'. The fighting mostly involved blacks because it is mostly blacks who live in the decayed central area of Brixton, but in fact also white youth were involved. White people moving about the area were not attacked or intimidated; anger and violence was directed against the police.

The Tory government have appointed a judge, Lord Scarman, to investigate the rioting. But what use is an inquiry by an official representing the same system that the people have been fighting against?

What is needed is a genuine people's inquiry initiated by the labour and trade union movement together with black organisations. Such an inquiry must serve as the basis for a political campaign to end the police repression, social depriva-

tion and racism which were the cause of the riots.

This demand was enthusiastically endorsed by a mass meeting called by the Labour Party Young Socialists in Brixton immediately after the riots.

On the initiative of the LPYS, a Labour Committee for the Defence of Brixton, involving many Labour Party and trade union branches in the area, has been set up to carry forward this work and aid the victims of the police.

The events in Brixton have shown in an acute form the situation developing in all the main cities in Britain. There is no doubt that similar riots will occur elsewhere.

The task of the labour movement is to galvanise that anger and channel it into the organisations of the working class. Isolated riots can offer no way forward for the oppressed masses. The fight is a political fight, to transform the working class organisations into a force capable of overthrowing capitalism and abolishing unemployment, poverty, victimisation and despair.

3/6/81



THE RENT CRISIS

The year 1980 was the year of the gold bonanza. The price of gold was more than \$800 an ounce which brought millions of rands into the coffers of the government and the capitalists. Far from putting money into the pockets of the poor, however, the government was busy trying to find ways of taking more money out of their pockets.

An instrument of the government in this conspiracy against the people was the Browne Committee, which was set up by the government to look into the financial positions of the municipalities and other local authorities. The response of this committee was that the municipalities should find ways of increasing productivity in their areas and economise on expenditure. Also that the municipalities should find a source of finance within the municipal areas.

The report says that it is "unavoidable" that the residents will have to keep paying more for services. The authorities, they claim, can only raise funds by raising rents and increase productivity by dismissing more municipal workers.

In addition the government has decided to phase out rent control which will in the long run result in very high rents.

The poor will have to finance the development of black municipal areas which are there to house cheap labour for the capitalists. This is what the bonanza means to the poor.

Wherever the local authorities attempt to introduce these measures they meet enormous resistance from the residents. In Durban, Indian and Coloured residents refused to pay the increased rents.

The Durban City Council decided to cancel outstanding rents but made matters worse by gross injustice. For whites the amount written off was R541.95 per resident per year, while for Indians and Coloureds it was R38.91 and R31.51 respectively.

By Gerald Desai

A 66-year-old resident has gone on a hunger strike and about 10 000 other residents have come out in support of the rent strikers. The chairman of the Durban Housing Action Committee sees the rent increases, correctly, as "a way of getting blacks to foot the bill".

In the Transvaal the decision of the East Rand Administration Board (Erab) to increase rents brought thousands of people onto the streets demonstrating and damaging property belonging to Erab worth more than R80 000. The immediate response of the residents

of Tembisa township, which includes migrant workers working in the mines, was not to pay the increases.

These increases were between 30% and 40% for houses and beds in hostels respectively. Rent for the houses went up by R5 and residents will now have to pay as much as R22 for the small houses they live in. The migrant workers on the other hand will have to pay an extra R4, bringing the rents per bed up to R14,50 at Sethokga and R10,50 at Makaulong hostel.

In order to fight the increases the residents of Tembisa set up the Tembisa Residents' Action Committee to negotiate directly with senior Erab officials. They, thus bypassed the community council and its members, whose petty properties were also damaged by the angry residents.

Eight days after the decision was taken, senior Erab officials announced that the 15 community councils in the East Rand were to decide whether they wanted to go ahead with the rent increases or not. The community councils were told to do so only because the government feared the disturbances would



Overcrowded misery in R4 000 houses if the workers are lucky!



Under workers' government this house, recently on the market for R70 000, will be used to house the homeless!

spread to other townships. The community councils really had no choice in the matter because the minister (Koornhof) had the final say.

The residents likewise have no choice. They have to pay the higher rents or risk being thrown onto the streets.

Once again the poor people will have to carry the burden of an ailing economy. Not enough funds are allocated to develop the infrastructure in black residential areas and the workers in these townships are forced to pay higher rents in order to pay for the development of their residential areas.

As well as this, even where funds are available, government policy prevents their use. Erab, in whose area there is an official shortage of 21 000 housing units (excluding hostel bed shortages), has R34 million in investments which it cannot allocate to housing because of government anti-inflation curbs on capital spending.

The increase in rent therefore is not because the value of the houses increased or that the houses have been improved. Nor does it mean more houses for the homeless. The extra R4 and R5 the residents will have to pay means that the people will have less food to eat. Conditions will worsen in those areas.

What is worse, the workers are often dumped in the worst areas in the towns and crowded into small houses with little or no sanitary facilities.

The rich, on the other hand, live in the best areas of town with big houses, spacious gardens and lots of trees. Very often there are many more rooms in their houses than there are people. In most cases these people also have summer houses and cottages by the sea. The poor therefore not only pay for their own upliftment but also for the privileges of the rich.

Solution

The government is not only aware of the serious shortage of houses but is also unwilling to do anything about it. The figures the government released indicate that there are 160 000 houses needed for Africans outside the 'homelands'. In Soweto alone, the official shortage of housing has grown over the last ten years from 3 000 to 33 000 units.

In four Indian townships in the Transvaal about 14 250 houses are needed. Community leaders argue that a lot of applications disappear mysteriously and the real number of people who would be on the waiting list is much higher.

The Johannesburg City Council provided figures for the number of living units needed for whites and coloureds as 749 and 5 640 respectively.

Just these figures make a total of 180 000 which, we can be sure, is only the tip of the iceberg.

The crisis is so serious that the Minister of Community Development decided to appoint a National Housing Commission to look into ways of shortening the waiting lists. What the Commission discovered was that the cost to build a house had increased by more than 25% per year over the past few years. They worked out that it would cost about R125 000 in the year 2000 to build a house that costs about R20 000 today.

In the past it has taken the Department of Community Development about 5 years to build only about 150,000 houses. The state was not willing to build houses when the cost was still below R20 000 and will be no less unwilling to provide it at higher costs. The poor who are exclusively dependent on meagre wages cannot build or even buy houses.

The growing need for housing is a consequence of the migration of people from the countryside to the towns in search of employment. (And to a lesser extent the increasing number of people born each year.)

The number of workers and unemployed is increasing faster than the capitalist state can provide houses. What happens in this case is that slums and squatter camps blossom around the towns. These squatter camps are inhabited by people who cannot make a living in the rural areas and cannot find houses in the urban areas.

The housing crisis is also worsen-

ed because the capitalists also decide to demolish houses to open up old mines or to build new highways or office blocks. Capitalists also do not have any interest in building houses in these areas because the poor will not be able to pay the rents they would like to demand. Even the petty-bourgeoisie complain that the private home owners demand rents which are exorbitant.

Expropriated

The Actonville Community Council (ACC) proposed that the Group Areas Act be scrapped so that the empty houses in white areas could be occupied by other people. But then the Johannesburg City Council indicated that even among the white community there are waiting lists. The ACC's proposal, good in itself, does not go far enough.

Mrs Newton Thompson of the PFP argues that the only practical approach is to introduce a system of housing loan finance which has to be paid back monthly by the purchasers. The question we ask is: How will a worker with a family who earns a mere R56 per month be able to buy a house? Furthermore, how will the freezing of rent increases help to solve the housing problem?

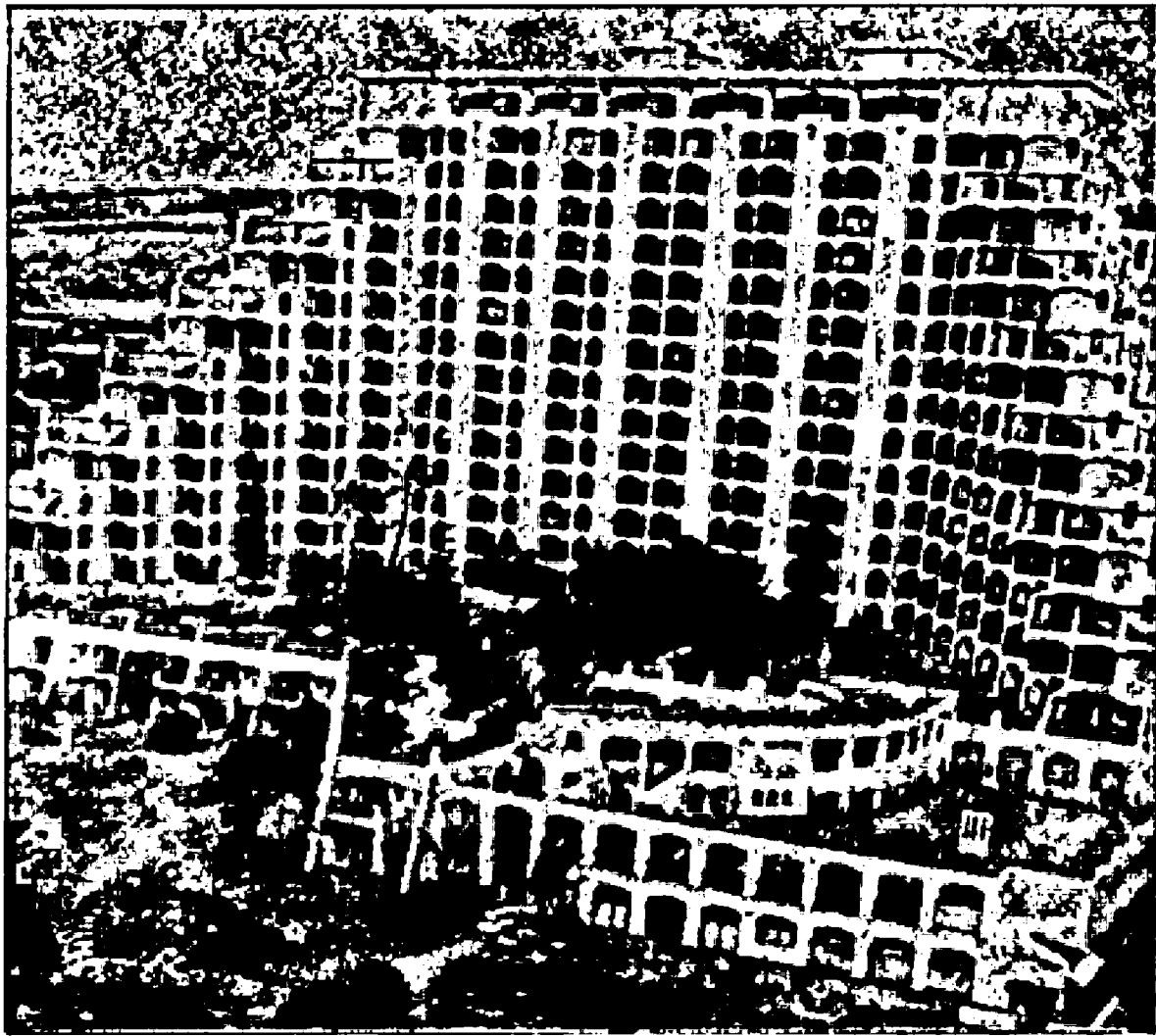
All the proposals put forward by the capitalists, the middle class, as well as the state and its so-called experts only tinker with the rent crisis and the housing crisis.

The crisis of housing and of rising rents cannot be solved without a crash programme using to the full the resources of society to provide homes in accordance with the needs of the working people. This would at the same time create jobs for the unemployed and set in motion equipment and machinery which is lying idle.

But that cannot be done in an economy governed by private profit instead of by people's needs.

The solution of the housing crisis at the same time demands an end to race and class segregation which secures for the rich few their ownership of luxury mansions, while hundreds of thousands are homeless.

Housing which is owned by landlords and used as a source of



rent must be expropriated. The big houses of the rich must be divided to accommodate the homeless. The Group Areas Act, and all racial barriers on residence, must be removed and give way to a democratic programme for integrating all residential areas.

These measures cannot be carried through without dismantling the whole capitalist structure in South Africa. The rent crisis as well as the housing crisis are but two of the thousand evils of present society. The only solution to all these evils lies in the overthrow of the capitalist mode of production and the seizure of the instruments of labour by the working class itself.

The struggle against housing shortages and rent increases must become a conscious part of the

whole struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime and replace it with a government of the working people. Only a united working class with a socialist programme can effect this change in society.

A democratic workers' state in South Africa would ensure that, as a minimum:

- * all families will have adequate living space in proper houses;
- * rents will be determined democratically, according to what families can afford;
- * segregation of housing will be abolished.

A socialist plan of production under workers' control and management would ensure that slum conditions are ended and that housing for all people is constantly improved.



MONONO'A BONA — MASAPO A RONA

The South African bourgeoisie, represented by the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Federated Chamber of Industries and Assocom, recently issued a 12-point programme outlining new approaches to the problem of inflation.

These included "a suggestion that the government should not introduce minimum wage laws; lengthening the working week and abrogating certain measures in the field of social security that induce unemployment." Just the kind of people who understand the problems of the working class, our bosses.

Mind you, luxury flats are going to be built for top civil servants in Pretoria. They will be subsidised out of public money to the tune of over R1 100 per month each. The lowest rent that the tops will pay will be well below R20 per month.

But at a time when the latest estimates point at a growth rate of only 2% this year the workers, especially the black workers, will be expected to pay for these excesses by accepting cuts in their living standards. Workers' problems of joblessness, housing shortage and starvation wages will continue and get worse.

One suggestion we can make about how to 'beat the inflation monster': overthrow capitalism in South Africa and rising prices can be stopped.

A certain army sergeant in the former Belgian Congo has made quite a career for himself. Ex-sergeant, now General Mobutu, President of Zaire since seizing power 15 years ago, is now believed to be the richest head of state in the world.

His possessions include blocks of flats, stately homes and land in Belgium, Switzerland, France, Spain and Africa. Presumably he uses the R125 million or so which he has stashed away in a Swiss bank account for small change.

In 1978 only the aid of French paratroopers enabled the general to survive a popularly-supported armed rebellion in the mineral-rich Shaba province. Since then Mobutu has become even more of an embarrassment to his backers in the West. They have lent Zaire around R2 000 million to support his vicious and corrupt dictatorship which enables them to make fabulous profits from copper, cobalt and manganese mining. But the

general's government claims that it cannot repay even the interest on its debts to Western banks. It is difficult to prove otherwise—Zaire's budget has not been made public for several years.

Mobutu is aware that he needs more than the troops of Western imperialism to protect him from the overwhelming majority of the people. But we don't think his new 4,5 kilogram, gold-plated bullet-proof waistcoat will be enough to stop the revolution of the oppressed workers and peasants of Zaire.

Italy, as one of the capitalist countries where the ruling class governs by means of a parliament instead of police dictatorship, is a showcase of 'Western democracy'. The recent P2 scandal shed some light on what this democracy consists of.

An investigation revealed that Italy has virtually been run for years by a secret bourgeois clique, the 'P2' freemasons' lodge, consisting of 962 bankers, industrialists, politicians, judges, TV and newspaper chiefs, and generals. Behind the back of parliament they took the real decisions.

P2 leader Gelli is a fascist who served as a torturer under Mussolini. Today he is a millionaire. An example of the group's operations: a plan to syphon off R100 million from the state oil company to chosen politicians.

Because of these disclosures, the Christian-Democratic coalition government was forced to resign—only to be replaced by a similar government headed by a bourgeois Republican.

So great was the public indignation that a determined lead by the workers' parties, the Communist Party (PCI) and Socialist Party (PSI), could have drawn behind them the mass of society and struck a real blow at the corrupt power of the capitalist class.

Instead, the perspectives of the workers' leaders have been limited to what PCI leader Berlinguer has called "a government of honest men" from all parties.

But 'honest' capitalist politicians must 'honestly' defend the interests of their class—which is precisely what they have been doing. Only workers' rule can stamp out the inevitable abuses of government for, by and on behalf of the capitalist elite.

Meat Prices —

By
Florence Bosch

ANARCHY AND CORRUPTION

Anarchy, profiteering and corruption lie behind the astronomical 70% increase in the price of red meat over the past year. The price of meat is now so high that for most people it has become a rare luxury. It is out of our reach, and we are told it is to go still higher. Just three kilos of liver would already take up a quarter of the wage of a worker earning R40 a week, and it is soon to go up.

There has been a lot of argument in the press about why meat has gone so high so quickly, but for all the hot talk, the real reasons are carefully hidden from view.

On the one hand, the Meat Board (which controls meat marketing and pricing) says the price has gone up because of a shortage of beasts of slaughter, and because prices were in any case too low before. On the other hand farmers are complaining that, because of corruption on the Meat Board, they can't get permits for slaughtering the cattle they have ready for the market.

Can they both be right?

Structure

The meat market is made up of three elements—the farmers, the 'middle men' (agents, abbatoirs, meat processors, wholesalers and retailers) and the buyers (us!)

In order to send cattle for slaughtering in the urban areas, farmers have to obtain permits from the Meat Board. Some cattle are bought for immediate slaughtering by agents—others are bought for fattening before slaughter.

Carcasses are then sold by public auction from the abbatoirs to the wholesalers, who in turn sell to retailers (butchers, supermarkets etc.)

It all sounds very simple. But there is no clearcut separation between producers of meat, agents slaughterers, wholesalers and retailers. The whole of the meat

industry is dominated by three giant monopolies—Imperial Cold Storage, Karoo Kanhym and Vleissentrale. The total turnover of all three taken together is in the region of R1500 million year.

Domination

These three giants exercise a dominant interest in ranches, lending to farmers, livestock agencies, auctioneering, abbatoirs, wholesaling and retailing, hides and skins and meat processing.

From the hoof to the supermarket or butchery, they have the meat industry effectively in their hands. With the financial muscle they wield together and separately, they can squeeze small operators aside, and set prices and regulations to suit themselves.

Vleissentrale alone controls around 50% of the total meat industry; Kanhym Karoo handles 25% of South Africa's beef. All three control the Compound Pool, which sells meat to the mines; all three control the Offal Pool, which has the monopoly on the sale of offal.

Health and refrigeration regulations favour the big operators over the small, so that at Johannesburg's City Deep Abbatoir, for example, the biggest in the country, there are seldom more than 5 buyers at the auctions—usually only 3!

The domination of the Big Three extends further than just the production and marketing side. Today the overwhelming majority of members on the Meat Board (which was set up in the 1930's to protect farmers against low prices and profiteering by middlemen and which allocates slaughter permits) are associated in one way or another with the Big Three. Eight of the 13 members are associated with Vleissentrale alone, which also has its men on the Abbatoir Corporation, which is responsible for the slaughtering of more than half the cattle in the country.

So in every important respect, the Big Three have the supply of meat in their grip. They can manipulate the supply of meat through permits (which they can get first for themselves) and the price of meat, to keep their profits rolling in.

Inevitably, with the outcry over the rapid rise in the meat price and the dissatisfaction of small farmers who cannot compete with the monopolies attention has been focussed on the stranglehold exercised by the Big Three. the government has been forced to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate.

A number of elements underly the public outrage surrounding the Meat Board at the moment. One is a conflict between the farmer and the middleman over the allocation of profits between them. For every R1

FINANCIAL MAIL ESTIMATES OF MARKET SHARES [1979]

	Asokor *	ICS	Vleissentrale
Livestock auctioneering	30%	-	35%
Livestock agency marketing	20%	-	40%
Trade wholesaling	30%	35%	20%
Trade retailing	15%	30%	10%
Trade processing	30%	20%	10%

* (now combined with KK)

we pay in the butchery for meat, 54c goes to the farmer and 46c to the various middlemen.

Towards the end of 1980, for example, the average farmer received R314,79 for 196,5 Kg carcass. If we deduct the levies, tariffs, slaughter fees etc. he has to pay, and add on what he gets for offal and hides and skins, he gets R294,16; just under R1,50 a Kg. By the time the meat reaches us in the shops, it is closer to R3 a Kg!

The advantage for the Big Three is that as farmers, agents, slaughterer's, wholesalers and retailers rolled into one, they get the 54c and 46c as well!

Permits

Another area of conflict is between small farmers and the Meat Board. Obviously, The Big Three make sure they are first in line for permits, preventing the small farmers from getting their slice of the beef. So their complaint against the Meat Board is a complaint against the monopolies at the same time.

No one, of course, has said anything about the agricultural workers, or the industrial meat workers, who are denied trade union rights and who cannot afford to buy the very things they produce.

The meatworkers of Cape Town waged a long and bitter struggle last year against the combined meat bosses for the right to organise into democratically elected committees of their own choice. They felt the whip not only in the bosses' refusal to budge, but also in the price of red meat which went up around the same time.

Food prices

A further aspect is the conflict between industrialists in the urban areas, and agricultural control boards in general. Industrial capitalists are concerned to maintain an efficient food industry to keep prices as low as possible. The lower the food bill, the less they need to pay in wages.

South African farming is wasteful



To support the meat workers' strike in Cape Town, 1980, residents of Guguletu and other townships boycotted red meat. Many of them bought chickens instead.



and inefficient; hence the large number of control Boards to keep prices up and farmers in business. Prog MPs, the Press and captains of industry, in the interest of higher profits, want them whittled down.

For the workers, nothing will come of this Commission of Inquiry into the Meat Industry. The government will continue to protect the monopolies, although a few sops may be given to quieten the anger of small white farmers. Profiteering and anarchy will continue to disrupt meat production, like production in general, for as long as it remains in the hands of individual capitalists, and takes place for profit, not need.

Anarchy

Together with the profiteering by the monopolies, the anarchy of production lies at the heart of the increase in the meat price.

Three or four years ago, there was a so-called 'surplus' of red meat. (By that they mean, of course, not that there was too much to eat, but that there was too much to sell at fixed prices!) Because of the drought, farmers considered it cheaper to slaughter, or move into the production of other things, rather than try and maintain their herds. "Excess supplies" of meat built up, which were then kept in cold storage or sold overseas, all at substantial cost. In the space of 18 months, the national herd fell from 9,4 million to 8,4 million.

Now, the Meat Board tells us, with the end of the drought, and higher prices, meat farming has become more profitable, and farmers are once more building up their herds. This is creating a meat 'shortage' and further high prices. Dr J. Lombard of the Meat Board said earlier this year that there would be a

15% reduction in the supply of beef, mutton and pork this year which, he claims, is "an essential mechanism to adjust prices to a profitable level".

This means that the Meat Board is deciding to limit slaughtering in order to create a shortage in order to keep prices and profits up. Why else would some farmers complain about not getting permits?

What would happen in five or six years, when the herds have been restored and supply 'stabilises'? Will prices come down? We know the answer to that already.

The Meat Board could well find itself then with 'too much' meat at too high prices, and will have to store, destroy or export meat at great cost, as is done by the Egg Control Board, the Maize Board and so on. Shortage today; surplus tomorrow; what we know for certain is that the price of red meat is high and will stay high.

Planning

Only the working class in the towns and on the land have an answer to this anarchy, corruption and profiteering. That is to take the land and industries under democratic workers' control, and through a plan of production ensure that enough is produced to meet the needs of the people. Production for need, not profit!

Under a plan of production, working people themselves will decide what is needed and the most efficient way of producing it. Proper planning could allow for a steady supply of cheap meat and take care in advance of the effects of drought, disease etc. Then there will be no manipulation of prices for the benefit of the few; no artificial shortages.

Everyone will be able to eat meat.

Capitalis

* In our society we find rich people travelling in expensive cars, living in big luxurious houses, and eating the best food ever produced. Life looks so splendid to this class of people—the rich ones.

On the other hand we find poor people, the mass of the people, going barefoot, dressed in tattered clothes, for days without food and staying in terrible places. The unemployed search for food in rubbish dumps, for shelter in car scrapyards or dump heaps, and roam the streets in search of work. For them life is so disgusting and hardly worth living.

In South Africa the working class suffers so terribly because they work under the worst conditions, live in poor houses, eat bad food, never get good hygienic treatment, but they produce the best results at work. They own nothing on earth except their own labour power which the capitalists buy so cheaply.

Here the capitalists base their exploitation on racism and apartheid. They know where they can always get cheap labour: among the black working class.

But the last eight years have witnessed the great strength of the working class in South Africa: an uncontrolled wave of strikes, sit-ins, mass demonstrations, and student boycotts. The capitalists retaliate by sending their ruthless police to the strikers, demonstrators, and boycotts. But all the violence and harassment couldn't stop the working class and the youth who are on the warpath.

Many employers stay in fear of strikes which always disrupt their evil plans. It is clear that the capitalists do not want to believe that their time is over and that they should give way to the workers to rule society.

Instead they hope they will manage to bribe the working class leadership and convince the workers that there are no profits in the factories. They hope the workers will stop striking, but this is a false belief.

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ts, your time has come!

by Headman Sasa

In defence of their wealth, the capitalists now turn to new tricks to turn the workers from the path of struggle. A (black) so-called U.S. economist, Professor Walter Williams, recently said: "The economic system is, in fact closer to socialism (!!!) than to true free enterprise". He warned it was dangerous to call the present South African system free enterprise.

"People, especially blacks, who were most disadvantaged by the Government control, tended to reject the present system, wrongly believing

him for these words! It is clear that Prof Williams is a 'good boy' campaigner of capitalism. He sees that the black working class is rejecting capitalism outright. Not even those right of the National Party would confuse South African capitalism or so-called 'free enterprise' with socialism!

To the working class 'free enterprise' means the 'law' of no limit on exploitation of the workers. Professor Williams wants society to have 'economic liberty'. One may wonder what 'economic liberty' means? Is it not the same as private ownership of property which impoverished the workers?

We all know that in the USA the

much to listen to his malicious words, but the middle class might listen to him.

All the agents of capitalism are like this professor. They tell untrue stories about capitalism so as to win the support of the workers. The so-called 'free enterprise' or pure capitalism which has never existed anywhere in the world will never do anything for the workers except to keep them chained to the factories and give them nothing in exchange for labour.

Throughout the country union leaders are arrested, tortured, charged with terrorism and inciting others to strike. The courts and police are cruel to the workers, and the workers never get fair trials.

The capitalists spend millions to try improve their system which is too rotten to be improved. The worst part is that they never rest as they try to manoeuvre the failure of the coming workers' revolution. They know the strength of the working class and they will do everything possible to divert the workers.

That is why in February 1981 Mr Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation, said: "If the South African government does not take substantial steps towards blacks, there could be a revolution within five years".

He sees that events are moving to that situation where he will also be given an overall and a pick-and-shovel.

Capitalism is decaying and all the talk of the so-called free enterprise and freedom cannot stop its decay in any way. The working class must see that they are carrying everything on their swollen backs.

No force is as powerful as the working class and they must overthrow capitalism and replace it with a workers' government pledged to implement a socialist programme.

The task of INQABA is to raise the consciousness of the working class, to show the working class the power they possess through their organisations. Power to the workers!



Defiant Leyland workers in Cape Town.

it to be free enterprise. Instead of seeking true free enterprise they turned to socialism."

He concluded by saying: "I would strongly (my emphasis) recommend that you start by admitting that what you really want to reject is socialism not free enterprise".

Let the working class not pardon

working class is also exploited. Does the Professor say the same thing in the USA? Quite possible! And yet, mind you, the professor was educated with the money of the workers he wants to be suffocated by capitalism! What a way to be grateful!

The working class is suffering too

The white workers -

Over the last few years, important changes have taken place in the position of the white working class in South Africa. There has been a steady erosion of their standards of living and their importance within the economy.

Especially in the public sector, once the bastion of white employment, the white workers' incomes have been sharply cut by repeated pay freezes. As a result they have been leaving it in droves, to be replaced by black workers.

Between 1979 and 1980, for example, the postal services lost 17 204 white employees—nearly a quarter of the total white staff! In the same period the SAR & H experienced a staff shortage of 40% and according to the SAR Artisan Staff Association, "the railways

now use more than 20 000 blacks in jobs previously reserved for whites".

Pay 'rises' in February in fact meant a further cut in real wages of at least 3%. White pensions were cut, in real terms, by 6%. These cuts will be more than doubled by inflation in the course of the year.

Politically, the white workers have been thrown into confusion. Some have swung behind the HNP; others have relapsed into apathy or frustration. More and more of the skilled workers' unions have found it impossible to preserve their privileges on the traditional whites-only basis.

The April elections merely emphasised the general confusion. None of the white capitalist parties is able to offer the white workers

any convincing perspective for the future.

How will the white workers move? Will they always continue to provide the capitalists with armed support against the struggles of the masses? Can they be pulled en masse behind the banner of racist reaction and ultra-right terrorism? Is there any prospect of building class unity among South Africa's workers by involving sections of white workers in the struggle of the blacks for national and social liberation?

In this article D. SIKHAKHANE examines these questions which will be of major political and strategic importance to the black working class and youth in the revolutionary period ahead.

The whole capitalist world has gone into a period of crisis, the most serious ever in its history. The South African economy, despite its short-lived upswings, is in a process of decline. Over the coming period a general deterioration is inevitable.

This economic instability has, in its turn, fuelled an enormous explosion of the class struggle.

The bourgeoisie has been mounting vicious attacks on the jobs and already low living standards of the black workers. The consequence has been an upsurge in the mass struggle of the black workers and an enormous increase of their organisations.

The black workers have always been in the forefront of the struggle against capitalism in South Africa. Today, however, the crisis is also beginning to seep into the consciousness of the white working class. Their protected jobs and privileged positions are now under attack. Old alliances and relationships are breaking up.

Up to the present, the white workers have found themselves trapped in the camp of the ruling class. They have collaborated with the bourgeoisie in maintaining racism in South Africa. This has

been a consequence of the conditions created by capitalism to serve its economic and political interests. The white workers' consciousness has been determined by these conditions, which appeared to favour them.

From the start, capitalism in South Africa depended on the use of cheap black labour. White workers had to be imported in the early period of mining, at higher rates of pay, because their skills were needed. These original divisions were encouraged and, later, systematically exploited by the capitalists to the detriment of the entire working class.

Profit

In the early period the mine owners attempted, as now, to replace white workers with cheap black labour. The basic issue was profit.

The white workers' organisations, the craft unions, were created mainly for protecting their skilled jobs and higher wages against undercutting by the capitalists—which the white workers saw as 'en-

croachment' by blacks. Originally these unions were formed by English-speaking workers and directed against the unskilled Afrikaners as well as the black workers. Later, when the Afrikaner workers learned skills, they got assimilated into these unions and reinforced their racist traditions.

Thus the white workers saw the black workers not as a liberation force but as a battering ram for employers against them. In their conflicts and struggles against the bourgeoisie, the white workers' leaders failed to draw the conclusion that the capitalists can only be defeated by the class movement of the workers, which must involve building unity with the black workers.

As the black workers learned to handle every form of manual labour, the white workers became increasingly dispensable to the productive process. As a result they suffered defeat after defeat.

In 1907, white miners were instructed to supervise three drills operated by black miners instead of two, while at the same time their wages were cut. The white miners' union accused the capitalists of "diluting skilled labour in prepara-

towards defeat or towards revolution?

tion for large-scale retrenchments of whites". They called a strike but were badly defeated because the capitalists simply introduced the black workers and production was carried on without them. Hundreds of strikers were dismissed and replaced with landless Afrikaners at lower rates of pay.

Similar strikes were fought by the white miners in 1913 and 1914 which, after some initial successes, were broken by military force. One lesson that should have been drawn by the leadership from these events is that as long as they divide themselves from the main body of workers, it is very easy for the bourgeoisie to defeat them.

Hence the importance of workers' unity, not only of employed and unemployed, but of black and white workers. Linked to this was the need to develop a programme on which workers' unity could be built.

But the white workers' leaders, their minds clouded with racialism, were unable to draw any lessons. Again, on the basis of racism, they plunged the white workers into the deadly hands of Smuts during the 1922 Rand Revolt.

The white workers had gone on strike against cuts in their wages, the continued employment of black workers in skilled jobs and the threat of mass dismissals. The strike was brutally suppressed.

Much as it was correct for the white workers to stand up against cuts in their wages and retrenchment, the basis was incorrect. The division between black and white workers had arisen out of the need for the capitalist class to maintain the mass of workers at the level of cheap labour. The cheap labour policy was (and remains) the key also to the capitalists' policy towards the white workers.

The only way forward for the white workers, the only way in which their jobs and wages could be

protected on any lasting basis, was through unified struggle by both black and white workers to eliminate the wage gap—i.e., for the increase of all wages up to the levels earned by whites—and the guarantee of a job for every worker.

The struggle for such a programme, which capitalism in South Africa is incapable of granting, would have raised the understanding of all workers of the need to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a workers' state, in which the provision of jobs and decent living standards for everyone would be entirely possible.

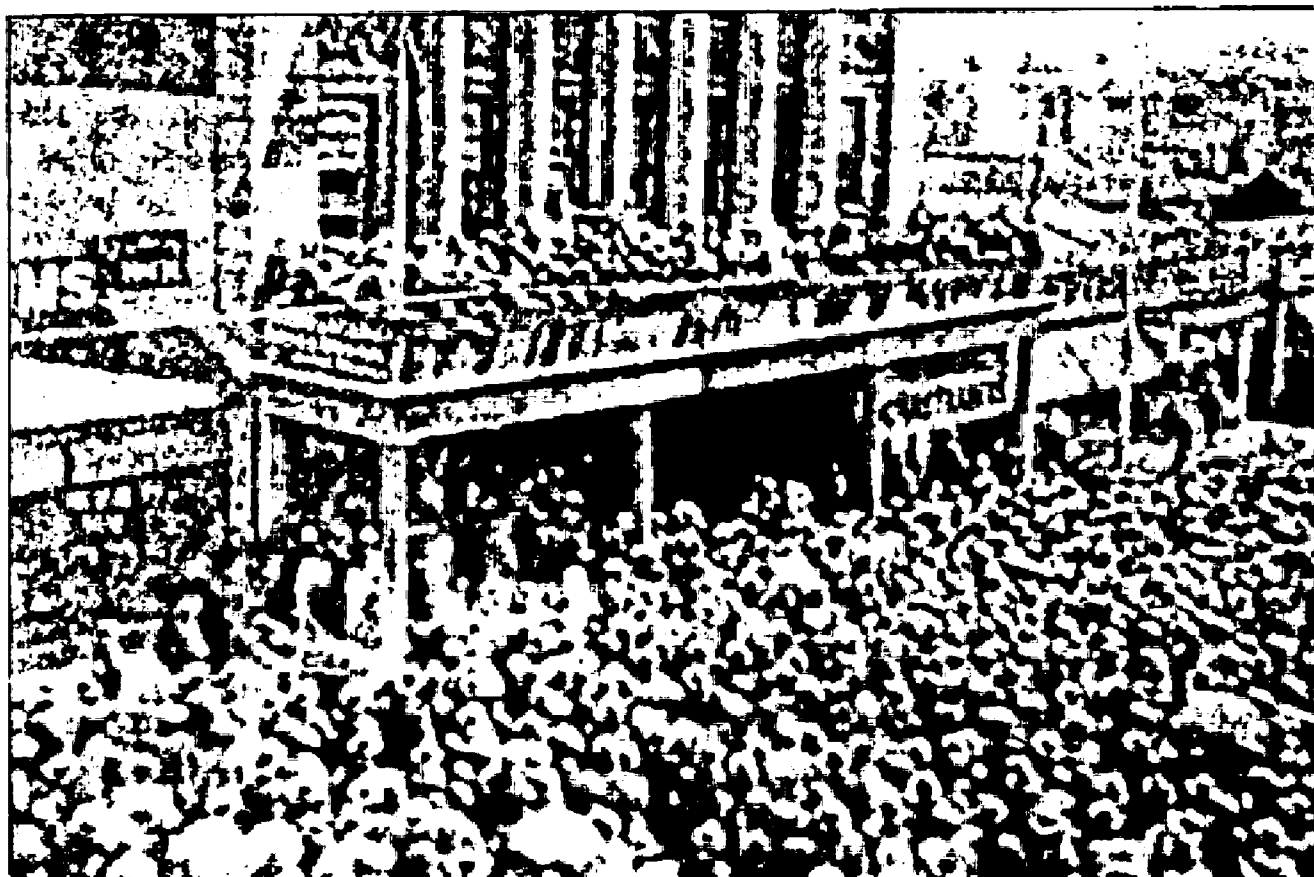
Faced with the unified force of black and white workers in the revolutionary world climate of the early 1920s, capitalism in South Africa could have suffered a great defeat. Instead, capitalism was allowed to gain a victory by the disastrous racist policies of the white workers' leaders which deepened the gulf between the two sections of the working class.

Having defeated the white

workers in 1922, what led the capitalists to spare them and maintain their privileged position? It was not, as the capitalists would like us to believe, the pressure of the white workers and the threat of another 1922—such a prospect had been ruled out for a whole period. Fundamentally, it was the interests of the capitalists themselves which determined their racist policies.

Following World War I, the South African ruling class was faced for the first time with the rising mass movement of the black working class. In 1920, the black miners went on strike in the Transvaal. The ICU, formed in 1919, spread "like a veld fire" across the country and filled the bosses with alarm.

Also sections of the white workers had been radicalised by the impact of the Russian Revolution of October 1917. If the bosses now proceeded to crush them into the ground and take away all their privileges, this could force whole layers of them to turn to the black workers' movement as the only re-



The scene outside Johannesburg Trades Hall on 10 January 1922 as white miners' leaders announce the strike.

maintaining alternative. Among the poorest sections of whites, this possibility continued to exist throughout the 1920s and early 1930s.

During this period 41% of the Afrikaners were living in the cities, many unemployed and living under very poor conditions. As the Carnegie Commission reported: "The number of whites who are very poor rose from 106 000 in 1921 to 300 000 in 1933".

"Militant non-racial workers' movement"

This situation could not be left as it was. It could ultimately give problems to the whole capitalist system. A Parliamentary Select Committee, for example, warned that these workers would "sink into a corrupting intercourse with non-Europeans spearheading a militant non-racial workers' movement". This is what the ruling class was afraid of.

We thus have the paradox that even while crushing the white workers' rebellion, the capitalists found it an advantage—and indeed a necessity—to meet their demands for protection on a racist basis. It had become vital for them to maintain the white workers as a separate privileged group that could be relied on to defend the capitalist system against the mass movement of the blacks.

This is the basis of the legal protection that was extended to the white working class after 1922, first by the Smuts government and later by the Nationalist-Labour Pact government. The defeat of 1922 enabled the bosses to impose the class compromise on their own terms.

Thus Smuts's Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, which 'recognised' white trade unions for the first time, at the same time brought them under state control. It also illegalised strikes except under certain conditions. Hertzog's Wage Act of 1925 completed the legal control of the capitalist class over the wages and working conditions of the working class as a whole.

Concessions towards the white working class were made possible by the industrial growth of the South

African economy from the mid-1920s onwards. A key part of this was the establishment of state enterprises such as ISCOR and the railways.

Under these conditions Hertzog was able to introduce the so-called 'civilised labour policy'. In terms of this policy the state was to employ 'civilised' persons (i.e. whites) in preference to 'uncivilised' blacks. As a result, the number of whites employed in the public sector rose from 10% to 39% between 1924 and 1938, while that of Africans fell from 75% to 50%.

This was the beginning of a process that led to closer and closer ties between the white workers and the ruling class. The Nationalist Party served as a special vehicle for developing and cementing these ties. This process culminated in the coming to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948. After World War II, with the advanced capitalist countries in a period of upswing, South Africa underwent rapid industrial expansion. With the super-exploitation of the mass of black workers in the mines, factories and farms, profits increased tremendously. The bourgeoisie was enabled to bribe the white workers with ever-improving wages, social security, health services and other amenities. At the same time it financed the growth of white employment in the public service, the police and the army.

On the other hand, such rapid growth in the epoch of imperialism meant the accumulation of industries in the hands of the monopolies, resulting in the slow strangulation of the middle classes. Thus the white middle class became increasingly virulent towards the black middle class which competed for its dwindling share of the market.

Along with these developments was the continuing growth of the black working class, both in size and strength. The efforts of the state to maintain its grip on the growing black proletariat resulted in more discrimination and more vicious oppression of the black population as a whole.

The leadership of the white workers collaborated eagerly with the ruling class. The openly racist SA Confederation of Labour played on the fears of the white workers of

seeing their position undermined by the influx of cheap black labour. Also the 'liberal' TUCSA, in words supporting 'the rate for the job', in practice supported the status quo. Thus during the 1950s and 1960s racism got even more entrenched in the consciousness of the white workers.

But with the end of the post-war boom and the onset of social crisis in South Africa, the class collaboration of the white workers with the capitalists is beginning to be shaken.

Obviously it is the black working class which suffers the consequences of the bosses' crisis first. Their wages and jobs are the first to be attacked.

However, the bourgeoisie is being forced to mount attacks also against the privileged position and protected jobs of the white workers. Driven by the need to increase profits, the capitalists are intent on lowering the cost of labour. This is why the white workers are experiencing a general reduction in real wages and are also being pushed out of their jobs to be replaced with cheap black labour.

The Wiehahn Commission was simply brought into the picture to justify and formalise a process that has been long in operation. It was to give the bourgeoisie more effective control over black and white workers alike.

These developments, together with the manner in which the Chamber of Mines defeated Arrie Paulus's mineworkers' strike against the scrapping of job reservation in 1979, reflect the seriousness of the bourgeoisie in cutting the costs of production. The Nationalist Party, for the first time, failed to come to the white workers' assistance.

Cuts

This process is accompanied by cuts in state expenditure, a measure by which capitalism tries to restore itself in times of crisis. This explains the problems of the workers in the public service. For a long period their wages have stagnated, resulting in a defection—especially of teachers—to the private sector.

Had it not been for the April elections, it is doubtful whether the 12% increase in public sector wages

would have come. In any case, the 12% rise is nothing compared with the present rate of inflation.

Not only for economic but also for political reasons it is becoming necessary for the capitalist class to undermine the exclusive privileges extended to the white workers and middle class in the past. Unable to control the mass movement by armed force alone, the ruling class is compelled to look for new allies among the black middle class and try to split the black working class by creating divisions between migrant and 'settled' workers.

Coming in a period of economic crisis and falls in living standards, these political changes are eagerly being exploited by the white racist demagogues of the middle-class ultra-right. It is the 'concessions' made to blacks, they claim, which are the cause of all the problems!

Turmoil

With their position under attack, the white workers will be forced to respond. For a whole period, cushioned by rising standards of living, they were lulled into political passivity by their right-wing trade union leadership. On the other hand the black working class, with its growth and its harsh experiences in the townships and countryside, on the mines and farms, has advanced enormously in political consciousness. This is shown in the growth and militancy of their trade unions.

These general relations are in turn reflected in the growing turmoil throughout the white trade unions, the conflicts and the splits with the Nationalist Party. The Mineworkers' Union is pulling away from the Nats towards the HNP while the Artisan Staff Association, like the Underground Officials' union, has retreated to the more liberal position of accepting black members. The white railway unions, like the public sector unions in general, have long been angry over the cuts in their real wages. The Teachers' Union is constantly threatening the government. Even the white civil servants' union, for the first time in its history, has been forced to consider industrial action.

As a result, wider and wider cleavages are opening up between



Black 'artisan aide' being trained by white 'artisan' on West Driefontein gold mine. In fact the black workers do most of the skilled work that was formerly reserved for whites.

the Nats and their traditional white worker following. The NP came to power in 1948 as a result of its alliance with the majority of white workers. It gave guarantees to these workers for the protection of their jobs, privileges and wages. But with the growth of capitalism, with the rise of the Afrikaans-speaking financiers, industrialists and mine-owners, its bourgeois aims were exposed.

Now, under the impact of economic crisis and the struggles of the black workers, its leaders are forced to trample on all the traditional dogmas of the Party as they stumble in search of stability. Afrikaner nationalism has become a mere rallying cry for maintaining a semblance of unity between the opposing class interests.

The immediate result has been apathy and frustration among broad layers of the white population. However, under conditions of more acute crisis, they could turn in desperation towards ultra-right reaction, which will lead them to their death.

Under present conditions the capitalists have nothing to gain and everything to lose by allowing ultra-right reaction to provoke a confrontation with the black masses. If the HNP or the extreme right wing of the Nationalist Party were to emerge as a serious contender for power,

the ruling class would use all possible devices to head it off.

In fact, the bourgeoisie has long made its preparations. The machinery of the state has been strengthened and refined. The police and army have been massively expanded and equipped with the most effective techniques of repression. It is here that the hopes of the bourgeoisie increasingly rest.

Already heads of the military have been drawn into the uppermost councils of the state and raised to ministerial office. Parliamentary power is being slipped quietly out of the hands of the white voters and concentrated in the Executive. The President's Council is being set up for the purpose of relegating parliamentary power. It is one of the reasons why Botha called his elections in April—he needed the endorsement of his President's Council before its implications became well apparent to the white workers.

These moves by the bourgeoisie have produced the greatest confusion in the ranks of the white workers. Their present leaders, utterly degenerate and soaked in class collaboration, are incapable of learning and cannot provide even a glimmer of a progressive class response.

Among sections of the white trade union leadership there has been a

shift in a 'liberal' direction. This leadership rejects extreme racism as suicidal but has nothing to propose in its place except to follow the lead of the bourgeoisie.

A pertinent example is provided by the leadership of TUCSA. On the one hand they are turning their unions 'non-racial' and inviting black workers to join. On the other hand they willingly submit these same unions to state control, objecting only to 'unreasonable' powers of control, and insist in the most despicable manner that stronger control should be exercised over the independent trade unions that courageously refuse to register.

The way forward for all the workers of South Africa lies through common organisation to overcome their racial divisions, and common struggle for a programme of social transformation that will end the power of the bourgeoisie and place the working class in control of production. No concessions can be made to white privilege or to bourgeois interests. Common organisation must be independent of state or bourgeois control, and unite black and white workers under democratic working-class leadership.

For the white workers there is no separate solution and no possibility of securing their future by clinging to the capitalist class in its period of decline. Along this road they will encounter nothing but disaster. They will pay in blood for their last remaining 'privilege', that of defending the property of their masters, while being rewarded with growing insecurity and losing all political power to the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

On the other hand it is important for the black workers' movement to draw white workers out of the camp of the capitalist class. The power of the state to wage a bloody war against the revolution will depend entirely on its continuing support among the whites, especially the white workers.

As capitalism moves into its death throes, the conditions of struggle are swinging into the favour of the workers' revolution. This opportunity must be grasped to show the white workers that their fate is tied up with that of the black workers. If the white workers remain in the



The Nationalist Party has become openly a party of big business. Here P.W. Botha and Koornhof pose with their fellow Directors of Nasionale Pers.

hands of reaction, liberation will only be achieved at a great cost of lives. This does not have to be so.

By winning over sections of white workers, or even raising doubts in their minds over the wisdom of continuing with the capitalist class, the black workers' movement will seriously weaken the bosses' reaction and increase the prospects for its own victory.

Workers' unity

It is therefore necessary for the black working class to understand the leading role it has to play in the struggle of the workers. The fact that a majority of white workers may at first take a right-wing direction should not confuse us. At the root of the white workers' struggle will be their fight against the consequences of capitalist crisis upon their living standards. But because of their ingrained racist ideas, and because they will constantly be encouraged to blame their problems on the concessions made to blacks as well as the black workers' militancy, the white workers may at first be led further to the right.

Only if the strength and militancy of the black workers grows and remains undefeated, only if the leadership of the black workers' movement advances the clear perspective of a democratic socialist future for all workers, and only if it fights for the real unity of all workers on this basis—only then can the white workers begin to swing over to the left, bringing a

significant number of them to the revolutionary camp.

Clarity on the question of the white workers is part of the clarity that is needed on the nature and tasks of the revolution as a whole. With the further development of their political consciousness, the black workers cannot help but realise the importance of bringing over white workers to the side of the revolution. The knowledge that the struggle is not only against the colour bar but against the capitalist system itself will bring with it a clear understanding of the need to unite the entire working class in that struggle. Comrades throughout the labour movement should fight to bring about a correct position by their workmates and their organisations on this question.

Above all it is vital that the leaders of the ANC and SACTU, who will not only be looked to by the mass of the black workers but will also be taken seriously by most whites, should campaign for the programme of revolutionary working-class unity in struggle. By patiently explaining this position in the face of all capitalist propaganda and distortion, enormous strides can be taken towards shattering the foundations of capitalist rule and bringing the working class to power.

Only in this process can South Africa's working class be united and conditions created to heal the racial divisions that capitalism has inflicted on our society as a whole.

SPORTS BOYCOTT

The clamour, locally and internationally, for the isolation of South African sports has become an important issue for sportsmen and -women everywhere. Many organisations have taken up this call, hoping to force the South African government to scrap apartheid. What they have achieved thus far is to underline clearly that questions of sport cannot be separated from politics. And in reality, politics means the class struggle capitalist society.

Apartheid reflects itself in all aspects of South African life, sports included. Black sportsmen, due to the national oppression of blacks under capitalism, are subjected to the most inferior standards and facilities.

Gymnasiums are usually a backyard or a ramshackle shack; soccer fields consist of pavements or streets and derelict grasslands; golf courses are any old field and cricket pitches are gravel strips. Plastics filled with old rags make for soccer balls; old tennis balls substitute for cricket balls and netballs.

The result is that black sportsmen have to make twice the effort of their white counterparts, who usually have all the necessary facilities as well as qualified coaches. And when

the majority of sportsmen have to make do with these conditions, the standard of sport must suffer generally.

Many commentators complain that the levels are low because of a lack of international competition. This is only partly true; if athletes do not have proper facilities, no amount of international competition will improve the standards.

These commentators want the door to international sport opened through 'multiracial' sport in South Africa. Multiracial sport, however, means blacks competing against whites, with token blacks playing for white clubs and vice versa. Facilities remain poor and apartheid remains the same oppressive machine.

Big business and sport

The main force behind 'multiracial' sport is sections of big business. Among them are South African Breweries, Mainstay, Adidas, Datsun, Shield, Dion, Iwisa, Induna, Holiday Inns, Pepsi Cola and so on. The aim of sponsoring 'multiracial' sport is profit—it opens up a huge advertising market for their products.

However, since the entry of big

business into sport, it (sport) has split almost down the middle. On the one hand there are the 'multiracial' big business and government-sponsored organisations. On the other hand there are the non-racial organisations, who argue that normal sport is impossible in an abnormal society. They refuse to participate in 'multiracial' sport because normal sport will only be possible when apartheid is completely scrapped.

Big business does not support non-racial sport. This has resulted in defections from non-racial sport to multiracial sport.

The reason for this lack of big business sponsorship is obvious. South African capitalism can only survive on the basis of apartheid—a system that ensures the availability of cheap black labour. To call for the scrapping of apartheid would therefore, in the final analysis, become a call for the overthrow of capitalism.

While the non-racial organisations do not yet base themselves on this understanding, nonetheless activists in the labour movement should support their stand against government-sponsored 'multiracial' sport.

The black working class, barracked in the poverty-ridden matchboxes of the sprawling townships, lead a dreary life. Each day the crisis of capitalism brings them more misery and worry. If it is not higher food prices and rents, it is higher bus fares, school fees and so on.

This impels the working class to intensified struggle for higher pay and better conditions. It throws them onto the streets in protest against their steadily worsening living conditions. Struggle burns up much of their energy and time. It is only natural then that workers must seek some recreation.

The most popular recreation is spectator sports, particularly soccer and boxing. The tradition of support for these two forms of recreation goes back decades. And for most workers, when a black sportsman makes it at the level of inter-



national sport, he/she is to be lauded. Not so much because they are South African, but because of the tremendous odds the black sportsman is required to make battle with.

For this reason workers will sacrifice from their meagre resources to see such athletes and teams. At such times the problems of their existence are temporarily forgotten.

Big business and its state make political capital out of these developments. They gleefully ask: does the high turnout at 'multiracial' matches not reflect support for the government's sports policy?

The answer is that it does not. Because multiracial sport has all the money, it has attracted the best athletes and players. The best teams have the highest standards and the highest standards mean the highest entertainment value. This is what attracts the workers.

The call for boycotts of certain athletes and games must take these facts into consideration before they are launched. To propose a boycott without a programme and without

preparing the support of workers and players shows an inadequate understanding of the role of sport in society.

Unfortunately AZAPO made precisely this error when it called for the boycott of the Terror Mathebula fight on the grounds that it "entrenched the rule of apartheid" and because P.W. Botha was to attend the fight.

Championship

The support for Terror stems precisely from his ability to win a championship in spite of the odds against him. The workers were not going to be fooled by P.W. Botha's attendance at the fight and the propaganda the state would have liked to make out of it.

Everybody knows that the SABC and TV did not bother to cover the fight when Terror won the world championship; their sudden interest afterwards served only to expose the opportunism of the state and big business.

The workers were more interested in seeing a champion, born in the

midst of common poverty and oppression, and the boycott call therefore fell flat.

What was regrettable about the call was the failure to discuss it among the workers and organise support around a clear programme. Instead the call was made arbitrarily through the press. This should serve as a lesson to all activists that without the mobilisation of the working class, any battle against the state is doomed to failure.

We support the call for the international isolation of the South African ruling class, including sports isolation. But such isolation can only be effective through the combined action of the South African and international working class.

The labour movement must take its example from the response of the trade union federations in New Zealand and Australia to the proposed Springbok rugby tour, and in Ireland to the rugby tour of South Africa. These organisations resolved to do all in their power to halt the tours by withdrawing all passenger, customs and other services under their control.

The call for boycotts and the normalisation of sport in South Africa must be organised around a clear programme or come to nothing. The sporting associations of the working people must come together with the trade unions and other workers' organisations, and with the organisations of the youth and students, to work out a united programme of action. The aims of this programme should be—

- * the full integration of sport on the basis of scrapping all apartheid laws
- * an end to the manipulation of sport by big business
- * democratic control of sport and the financing of sport
- * provision by the state of sports facilities for all at a cost that the working people can afford.

The struggle for such a programme must begin now, although it cannot be finally successful under capitalism. For it is only under socialism where recreation will be organised for entertainment and not for the profit of big business.

20/4/81

By R. Malgas



How to prevent nuclear war —

Detente, or World Revolution?

**By
Richard Monroe**

Over the last two years, in a process speeded up by the election of Reagan, the United States government has resumed an increasingly aggressive and warlike posture on the world stage.



The US military budget, already a massive \$220 000 million per year, is to be vastly increased, to amount to \$1 000 000 million over the next three or four years (one third of total US government spending).

US government spokesmen, as well as Thatcher in the UK, urge the European and Japanese capitalists to step up their military spending in turn. The US is preparing a "Rapid Deployment Force" numbering some 150 000 soldiers, for "intervention anywhere in the world".

At the same time the US strategists are set on building and deploying new generations of nuclear weapons, giving a new twist to the spiral of the arms race between the super-powers.

The renewed militarism in the West, echoing the Cold War, is

welcomed by the South African regime and other reactionary regimes around the world. Held diplomatically at a distance for some time by the West (at the same time that the West has helped it to develop the ability of producing arms independently) the South African ruling class now hopes to be welcomed back openly into the fold of the Western military alliance against the Soviet Union on the one hand, and on the other hand against the forces of liberation in Southern Africa. Already there are discussions about a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

These developments bring to the fore important questions for the labour movement world-wide. Spiralling arms budgets highlight the enormous wastefulness of international arms spending—presently

amounting to \$500 000 million a year—at a time when 800 million people live on the edge of starvation.

The huge technological advances made by mankind during this century are squandered in producing more sophisticated weaponry. Yet the money spent on just one missile could build countless hospitals. The allocation of just 1% of what is spent on arms could ensure safe drinking water throughout the planet within ten years.

Arms spending and the sabre-rattling of Western governments also give rise to renewed fears of war, which has brought a resurgence of a peace movement in the advanced capitalist countries.

It is true that the world as a whole has hardly known 'peace' since the Second World War. Since that time,



The face of detente—Soviet President Brezhnev with the former US President Nixon.

it is estimated, there have been at least 25 million people killed in wars, many in the course of struggles for national liberation.

Today the renewed militarism of the US government evokes, for the first time since the barbarities of the Vietnam War, the spectre of counter-revolutionary interventions in the 'Third World'. Already the US has stepped up military assistance to the reactionary regime in El Salvador.

Also the spiralling of the nuclear arms race appears to sharpen the threat of a Third World War that would engulf the whole of humanity in a nuclear holocaust. Already in 1969 the nuclear stockpiles of the superpowers contained the power of 1 300 000 of the atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima; and were enough to kill the world's population 690 times over. A new World War would mean the annihilation of humanity, leaving the earth to the plants and the insects.

What is the way to a secure peace? How can the prospects of a counter-revolutionary intervention by the US in the 'Third World' be averted? What are the prospects of a new World War and the annihilation of humanity?

In the resurgent peace movement in the West, there are calls for governments to reduce arms spending and to disarm, on their own, or through negotiations. There are calls in particular for renewed

negotiations and treaties between the superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union. There are appeals for world disarmament under the auspices of the United Nations.

In the same spirit, the plea is raised in the anti-apartheid movement abroad for Western governments and the United Nations to isolate the South African regime which, particularly with its new nuclear weapon capability, constitutes a threat to world peace.

These calls are also voiced by many of the governments in 'socialist' countries. Thus a 'World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace', meeting in Bulgaria in September 1980 with participants from 137 countries, called for renewed negotiations between the USA and the Soviet Union on arms limitations. It called also for the disbandment of all military alliances and winding up of all foreign military bases.

Colonial world

A return to conditions of detente between the USA and the Soviet Union, it was argued, provided the "best possible opportunities" for the "wars of liberation" in the colonial world—and in South Africa—to be brought to a suc-

cessful conclusion.

Can world peace be secured, and imperialist intervention in the Third World be halted by these means?

For Marxism, questions of war and peace are class questions. As was said by Clausewitz, the pioneer bourgeois military strategist, "war is the continuation of politics by other (i.e. violent) means". Politics is essentially an expression of class struggle; and the potential for war is rooted in the existence of class society.

In our epoch, the potential for war is rooted in the inner contradictions of capitalist society, and in the inevitable conflict of interest between capitalist states and those states where capitalism and landlordism have been abolished.

Over centuries, to create a world market and enslave millions of producers to wage-labour, the capitalist class has engaged in endless bloody wars of colonial conquest and extermination, and violently suppressed revolts of the masses. In this century millions of lives have been lost in two World Wars, caused by the cut-throat competition between imperialist powers for markets, raw materials, spheres of interest and colonies—competition which is inherent in the capitalist system of private ownership and rival nation-states.

After the Second World War the capitalist class in the USA, dominating world capitalist production, emerged as the policeman of world imperialism. The building up of arms and military organisation by NATO and the West in this period has not been 'senseless', as many in the peace movement argue. It is been money well spent from the capitalist point of view.

The old colonial powers of Holland, Britain, France, Portugal etc., as well as the US, have fought continual wars to protect the interests of imperialism. They have used their military resources to engage in subversion and destabilisation wherever it has suited their interests.

With the onset of the world crisis of capitalism over the last few years there have been sharpened efforts by the capitalist powers to defend the sources of their wealth and power, and a heightened rivalry among them.

At the same time, throughout this

century, the capitalist class has been increasingly losing the battle to defend its position on a world-wide basis.

The First World War, as Lenin explained, already signalled the world-wide seize-up and decay of capitalism, and the objective need for the working class to take production and society into its own democratic control, overthrowing the capitalist order, and commencing the world socialist revolution.

Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution of 1917, giving birth to the first workers' state, established a foothold for this new social order. Despite the political counter-revolution in the Soviet Union which entrenched the power of a privileged bureaucracy, the framework of nationalised production and planning created as a result of the 1917 revolution has survived. This social system has established its superiority over the chaos of capitalism, where production is based on the law of the jungle, and remains objectively in conflict with capitalism.

For this reason the capitalist class has never completely lost hope of reversing the gains of the October revolution. The 1918-21 war of intervention by 21 imperialist armies, and the Nazi invasion of 1941 which resulted in the loss of 20 million

lives of Russian workers and peasants, show the threat that imperialism has posed to the Soviet Union.

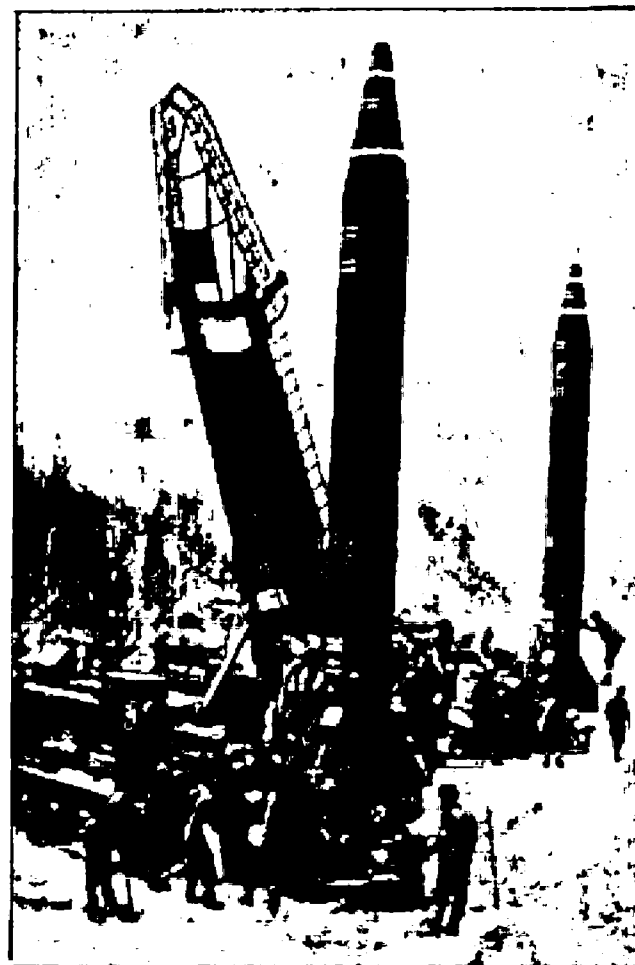
Since the Second World War capitalism has lost further ground. In Eastern Europe, China, Syria, Burma, Cuba, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola and elsewhere capitalism and landlordism have been overthrown.

The revival of the capitalist system in the advanced industrial countries in the 25 years after the Second World War never extended to the 'Third World'. Indeed the very prosperity of the advanced industrial countries depended in part on the super-exploitation of the workers and peasants of the 'Third World'.

The absolute stagnation and decay of the capitalist social order in the former colonial world has been intolerable to the masses, who have pressed forward in country after country to smash it. Planned economies under state ownership and control were established.

Without socialist workers' parties to lead the revolution, power has tended to fall into the hands of bureaucratic or military regimes modelling themselves on the 'socialist' pattern of the regimes in Russia and China. At the same time in country after country economic advances have demonstrated the superiority of the planned economy.

The catastrophic effects of the world capitalist crisis in the 'Third World' only intensify the pressures



Soviet nuclear missiles.

in more and more countries towards a break with capitalism. It is this, also, which underlies the renewed ferocity of a weakened US imperialism.

For all these reasons, as was explained by Lenin, "capitalism means war". It is pointless to expect that the capitalist class can be induced to disarm, and give up the means of defending their wealth and power, through appeals to 'reason' or 'humanity'.

As the workers' movement knows when it comes to wages or jobs, it is a relentless struggle to wrest concessions from the bosses. It is no different on the issues of arms and war. For all the treaties, negotiations, and calls for disarmament that preceded the First and Second World Wars, those wars could not be prevented in that way.

It is only by linking the struggle for peace with the struggle of the labour movement against the capitalist class itself, for the transformation of society, that there can be any guarantee of success.

This is not the approach of the leadership either of the Social Democratic parties or the 'Communist' parties of the major capitalist countries. The 'communist' movement has, as a result of the political counter-revolution in the Soviet Union in the 1920's, completely abandoned the international struggle for socialism which was the hallmark of the Communist International in its first five years.



US bombing of Vietnam.

After the 1917 Russian revolution, the Bolsheviks launched an appeal to the independent class interests of workers against their imperialist bosses. The defence of the gains of October was integrally linked to the spreading of the world revolution.

In place of this, the bureaucracy which usurped power from the Russian workers progressively came to rest its defence of its own position and privilege on compromises with the capitalist class in the West. During the Second World War the Comintern itself was dissolved by Stalin to appease the imperialists. At a series of meetings—at Yalta and Potsdam—the post-war world was 'divided up' between the imperialist powers and the Russian bureaucracy.

The ability to conclude such

agreements is a reflection of the mutual fears of the working class revolution held by the capitalists and the Stalinist bureaucracies. This mutual fear also lies at the root of the continual search for 'detente', particularly as the class struggle intensifies in the East and the West.

Conflict of interest

At the same time, there remains an objective conflict of interest between the capitalist powers and the Stalinist states. Thus it is pointless to expect either the imperialist powers or the Soviet Union to disarm voluntarily.

But neither can the defence of the Soviet Union by arms alone provide

a lasting guarantee of peace and security for its people.

In conventional terms, certainly, the Soviet Union is militarily secure. After the Second World War, the forces of the Warsaw Pact rapidly gained conventional military superiority over NATO. Today it is accepted that Warsaw Pact forces could occupy West Germany within days and reach the English channel within a week. The same is true in the Middle East.

After the Second World War, the United States capitalist class massively expanded their nuclear arsenal as a threat to the Soviet Union. The effect has been to provoke the same development on the side of the Soviet Union.

Once begun, the nuclear arms race assumed a crazy logic of its own, despite the increasingly crippled

The golden 'detente' between

In March and April 1981 articles appeared in the international press with headings like "The Kremlin Connection—The clandestine partnership of South Africa and the USSR".

What are the facts?

In 1980 the Soviet Union and South Africa accounted for 75% of the world's total gold production. Besides gold, the two countries also dominate world production of diamonds, platinum and chrome.

No official trade or diplomatic links exist between the Soviet Union and South Africa. The Soviet bureaucracy is supposedly in the forefront of the campaign to impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

But the facts reveal that instead of economic sanctions, economic collaboration takes place. It has, for example, been an open secret since the 1950s that Moscow sells its rough diamonds to De Beers, who bring them on the market.

The Soviet leadership is also interested in exchanging mining expertise and metals technology with South Africa. In this way they hope to meet their targets for gold production which they failed to achieve in 1980.

The South African ruling class

By Elma Louw

also hopes to gain from co-operation with the Soviet authorities. Gold Fields, for example, is interested in buying Russia's Kivcet lead smelting process for use in lead and silver mining in the North-Western Cape.

Leaders of the two countries keep in touch through trading centres and banks in London, Frankfurt and Zurich. South African mining directors have also been secretly visiting Moscow. In November 1980 Mr Gordon Waddell, a director of Anglo-American Corporation, was spotted in Moscow's Bolshoi Theatre with Soviet officials—at the same time that President Brezhnev was receiving President Samora Machel of Mozambique on a well-publicised state visit to the Soviet Union.

Waddell's 'explanation' to the journalist who saw him was, "I am just passing through"!

Publicity about these facts has been highly embarrassing for the Soviet authorities. Their government newspaper Izvestia branded the reports in the western press as lies, and claimed: "The whole world knows that the Soviet Union ... strictly adheres to United Nations decisions on economic sanctions with regard to the racist regime."

Confronted with the evidence; however, the Soviet authorities can offer no explanation. This is how a senior Soviet official, Vladimir Bykov, attempted to answer the question by a BBC interviewer (broadcast on 6 April) of what Waddell had been doing in Moscow:

"You know and I know that in South Africa there is a lot of multi-national corporations and companies and you call the name of the company Anglo-American. It means that British and American capital is involved and he represents in Moscow British and American capital."

Nor could Bykov deny a recent meeting at London's luxurious Connaught Hotel between Harry Oppenheimer himself and top officials from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade.

"But," Bykov claimed, "I

ing burden that it has placed on both the US and the Soviet economies.

The 'balance of terror' is maintained by means of a spiralling stockpile on each side of the scale. Both the US and the Soviet Union have the means to eliminate humanity hundreds of times over. Yet the military strategists on each side continue to search for a 'first-strike' capacity capable of knocking out their opponent's arsenal, and eliminating the power of retaliation.

There are those who argue that this crazy arms race in itself increases the likelihood of war and annihilation. Even some 'accident', they believe, could trigger off a full-scale nuclear war.

But, historically, wars have never broken out by accident. Where 'accidents' have set off wars (e.g. the

shooting of Archduke Ferdinand in 1914 which triggered World War I), it has been because the conditions for war have already been prepared by events.

Safeguard

The existence of nuclear weapons does not alter this situation fundamentally. Despite the scares created in the capitalist press on occasion, the rulers of society take good care to safeguard against such 'accidents'.

Thus, when Mitterand recently was elected President of France, the first act of the outgoing President was to personally entrust him with the codes to France's nuclear

weapons.

There are good reasons why the capitalist class avoids direct military confrontation with the Soviet Union at the present time. Any serious confrontation would threaten to escalate into a full-scale nuclear war—and hence to the destruction of civilisation.

It would mean the annihilation of the productive forces, and of the working class, i.e. the destruction of the basis of the wealth of the capitalist class itself. This is equally true for the capitalist class in SA which cannot suppress the struggle of the SA masses in this way, because it would mean dropping nuclear weapons on their own cities.

As more and more countries gain nuclear weapons the danger increases of their use in wars between the smaller powers. Nor can it be en-

Moscow and Johannesburg

again assure you that our representative, when he talked to him (Oppenheimer), he talked to him as a businessman perhaps from the United States or from Great Britain. I am sure of that, not like to a South African businessman. I am sure of that."

Black workers employed by Mr Oppenheimer's Anglo-American will know what to think of this story!

Can there be any justification for Moscow's secret links with the South African ruling class?

All countries—including the Soviet Union—have to buy and sell on the world market. On the other hand, it is in no way essential for the Soviet Union's survival to collaborate with the South African ruling class.

While the Soviet bureaucrats are involved in secret deals with South Africa's mine owners, the workers in these mines are fighting bloody struggles for living wages and conditions.

In May, for example, 1 600 workers at Buffelsfontein were sacked after going on strike. How must these and other workers view the links between Moscow and Anglo-American's bosses except as a shameful betrayal of their strug-

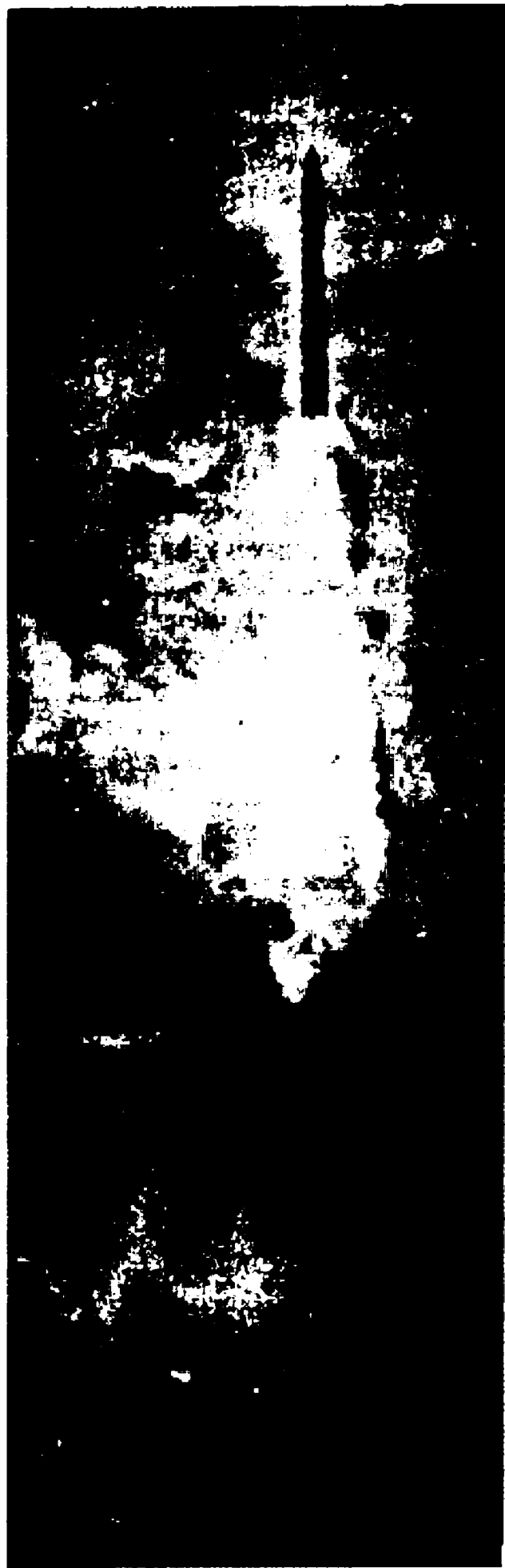
gle? And what would the Soviet workers think if they were told the truth?

A policy of co-operation with South Africa's murderous capitalists cannot be combined with support for the revolutionary movement of the workers and the youth. The Soviet Union cannot genuinely support the liberation struggle without breaking all links with South Africa's ruling class.

The leaders of the ANC and the SACP should do their utmost to expose these secret dealings to the workers in South Africa, in the Soviet Union and internationally. They should demand that the Soviet government end its links with apartheid and, instead, give all-out support to the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in South Africa and the establishment of workers' rule.



Workers at a South African gold mine.



Test launch of a US "Minuteman III" nuclear missile.

Despite repeated "arms limitation" conferences between the powers, more and more horrific weapons of destruction continue to be developed.

International "agreements" have never been enough to halt the arms race. In 1898, for instance, 23 powers (including the USA and Russia) agreed unanimously to ban the dropping of explosive projectiles from hot air balloons!

Today the same powers possess rockets and explosives capable of destroying the world hundreds of times over.

tirely ruled out that the SA regime will use nuclear weapons against other countries. But this would not of itself lead to a war between the super-powers.

For a Third World War to come about would first require a fundamental change in the relationship of class forces within the major im-

on the state. Maniacal generals would have the nuclear button at their command.

Already, even in the early stages of the crisis, US generals have been toying with the possibilities of a 'pre-emptive' nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Counter-revolution in the advanced capitalist

Treaties are no more than the words of those who sign them. When conditions change, those words will be repudiated.

perialist countries. Why is this so?

The present-day states in these countries have been perfected over many decades as instruments of capitalist rule. A long period of bourgeois democracy, in the USA and elsewhere, has enabled the bourgeoisie—both through parliament and, behind the scenes, outside it—to select and refine its control over the key officials of the executive, military, etc.

Thus the bourgeois ruling class (which has everything to lose from a nuclear holocaust) can in its own interests stay the hands that might provoke and trigger a Third World War.

Paradoxically, this balance is maintained in the last analysis by the strength of the working class and its organisations in the advanced capitalist countries, which firmly defend the democratic rights gained for the masses through struggle. Eager as the bourgeoisie now is to curtail democracy in order the more freely to attack the workers' living standards and raise profits, every move in this direction is and will be fiercely resisted by the labour movement.

But the present balance cannot last indefinitely. Staggering into its death-agony, world capitalism is rotten-ripe for socialism. If in the coming period the working class fails to take power and so resolve the contradictions, the capitalist class will launch waves of counter-revolutionary action in an effort to restore a profitable and stable basis for capitalism.

This could only be achieved through the coming to power of military dictators, who would need to crush the workers' movement and to eliminate all democratic restraints

countries would remove the 'responsible' bourgeois politicians from the scene and bring their watchdogs unmuzzled to power. Sooner or later, under such circumstances, a nuclear war would be inevitable.

This is the terrifying danger which will arise in the next ten to twenty years—unless the working class of the US, Europe and Japan take power and establish socialism.

Against these dangers, there is no solution through the call for a resumption of the 'detente' negotiations of the 1970's.

'Peace' has depended on the balance of power between the USA and the Soviet Union, and on the balance between the classes in the past period. 'Detente' reflected the desires of the US capitalist class and the Soviet bureaucracy to limit arms spending because of its burden on the economy, and to defuse tension because of a mutual interest in expanding trade.

Temporary agreements

Through such negotiations, it has been possible to establish temporary agreements—though each one is displaced or torn up and no agreement has halted the spiralling of the arms race.

Treaties are no more than the words of those who sign them. When conditions change, those words will be repudiated.

Particularly at the present moment, with Reagan in office in the US reflecting the interests of the military-industrial complex, even temporary agreements are unlikely.

Nor are the "best possible oppor-

tunities" for the struggles in the colonial world dependent on a return to detente. The defeats suffered by imperialism in those areas have been the result of mass struggle—both in the Third World and in the imperialist heartland itself.

Not negotiations between the ruling cliques of the super-powers but social upheaval in the USA and Portugal helped to create the conditions in which the working people of Vietnam, Mozambique and Angola could defeat capitalism and landlordism.

It will be the rise of the class struggle internationally that will tend to prevent the use of nuclear weapons against the colonial peoples and also frustrate imperialist intervention by conventional military forces. Even the first moves towards US military intervention in El Salvador have already provoked greater immediate resistance in the West than the decision in 1965 to deploy US troops in Vietnam.

Neither arms alone, nor negotiations with the capitalist powers, can guarantee the security of the workers of the Soviet Union or the workers and peasants of any of the countries with a planned economy.

The reliance on these means alone is a reflection of the fundamental break made since the 1920's by the Soviet bureaucracy from the internationalism of the Bolsheviks.

In 1918-21 Russia was in ruins. Imperialist intervention was combatted not only through the military organisation of the Red Army, itself built on revolutionary self-sacrifice, but through international political propaganda and campaigns. A class appeal to the workers in uniform in the imperialist armies and to the workers in the imperialist countries was able to undermine those armies and their channels of supply.

Common interests

The workers of each country have common interests with the workers of each other country to overthrow both the capitalist bosses and the Stalinist bureaucracies in order to achieve workers' democracy and socialism. This is the key to a successful struggle for securing lasting peace.

Socialism is the only means by which the ultimate threat of nuclear

annihilation can be averted. The inevitability of nuclear war if the workers fail to take power is the fundamental reason for the urgent necessity of transforming society on socialist lines.

The strength of the workers' movement internationally, which makes it at present impossible for the imperialists to launch a world war, also gives the working class an overwhelming superiority of social power in the battle to decide the future of society. Putting 'peace' before socialism, and the slogan of 'detente' in place of the struggle for socialism, can only delay the development of conscious mass support for socialist aims.

The aim must be the socialist transformation of Western Europe, Japan and the United States, as well as the overthrow of the bureaucracies of the Stalinist states, leading eventually to a world Socialist Federation. The potential for this has never been greater.

On this basis not only can hunger and poverty be totally abolished. Arms will be beaten into ploughshares, and the horrendous weapons of the present time will live on only in museums as relics of an age that is gone for ever.

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.