

INQABAD

YA BASEBENZI

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***Build a mass ANC on a
socialist programme!***

No retreat from the Freedom Charter!

The ANC is 70 years old this year. And it is 26 years since the ANC programme, the Freedom Charter, was adopted at the Congress of the People.

The Freedom Charter is the most far-reaching programme for change ever put forward by a mass political organisation in SA.

Today we are in a new period of mass movement—broader, more conscious, and more militant than ever before. With the workers the driving force, the bosses and their government do not know which way to turn.

The trade unions, the youth, the community organisations are rallying ever more boldly around the call to implement the Freedom Charter. The banner of the ANC is being displayed more openly at workers' meetings and in the townships.

This reflects the popular desire of the oppressed to build one mass political organisation to unite the struggle against the present system—and overthrow it completely.

Is the Charter an adequate programme for abolishing white supremacy and national oppression; for fully democratising society; for eliminating poverty; for ending all oppression and exploitation; for beginning to build a socialist society?

The Freedom Charter is not a programme of socialist revolution. But its radical democratic demands, and the immense reforms which it spells out in the fields of housing, transport, education, wages, working conditions and welfare are impossible for the capitalist system to afford.

Capitalism has always depended on cheap labour, on mass poverty,

and therefore on brutal dictatorship to secure its profits in SA. Now, with world capitalism in crisis, the bosses in SA are all the more threatened by a programme of democracy and social reform.

To implement the Freedom Charter and build a new society, it will be necessary to overthrow the bosses and end capitalism. Otherwise, even if the ruling class is forced in a time of weakness to concede partial reforms, they will fight viciously at the first opportunity to reverse them.

The cornerstone of the Freedom Charter is the demand for nationalising the banks, mines, and monopoly industry. Only by ending private ownership of the main means of production can the way be opened to secure our democratic and social demands.

But the state machine is the instrument which the bosses depend on for maintaining control over the factories, banks, mines and land. So long as police can be called into the factories and the army into the townships, the bosses retain the power ultimately to reverse the gains of the mass struggle.

No demand in the Charter can be secure until this state is swept away. Only a new state, built and controlled by the working people and based on their own armed power, can secure liberation, end poverty and implement the reforms in the Charter.

A democratic workers' state would also pass on to the tasks of socialist construction.

The great weakness of the Freedom Charter is its failure to explain these realities of our struggle and point the way forward to workers' power.

Unless the ANC leadership is prepared, consciously and openly, to organise the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism—it will be forced to retreat from the demands in the Freedom Charter. Inevitably, the demands for national liberation and democracy would have to be watered down.

Anticipating this problem, many of the middle-class leaders in SA today who proclaim the Freedom Charter advocate only its "principles" while failing to publicise its concrete democratic and social demands.

Instead of helping to mobilise a mass revolutionary force headed by the organised workers, they argue that agreement can be reached with the rulers of SA at a National Convention to implement the Freedom Charter. This is impossible, and would lead to retreating from the Charter.

The task of all consistent democrats, as well as socialists, is to prepare the mass movement for the revolutionary overthrow of the state. We must build the ANC as a mass organisation above all of the millions of oppressed workers and their families, on a clear programme to establish a democratic workers' state. That is the only way to genuine liberation for the working class and the oppressed middle class too.

While arguing for a socialist programme for the ANC, supporters of INQABA will implacably oppose all attempts to retreat from the Freedom Charter. We will join wholeheartedly in every struggle to carry the demands of the Charter into force. Each victory along this road will strike a real blow against the racist and capitalist enemy.

Ha Ho Khuttlelo Moraao

Ka Freedom Charter

Selemong sena ANC e lilemo li mashome a supileng e thehiloe. Ke lilemo tse mashome a mabeli a metso e tseletseng leano la ANC, "The Freedom Charter", le amohetsoe lekholtleng la sechaba.

Ka leano lena (Freedom Charter) la sechaba sa Africa Boroa, liphetoho tse bonahalang li tla ba teng.

Re le sechaba sa Africa Boroa, re ipopa le ho feta pele ho loantsa sera sa sechaba. Basebetsi ke bona baetapele ba tokoloho, batlatlapi le muso oa bona ba tsietsing.

Ele ho tsehetsa Freedom Charter, mekhatlo ea kopano, bacha hammoh le sechaba ba sebetsa ka thata. Batho ba sebelitseng ka matla titibelong ea ANC, ba bonahala ka kotlolohlo liphuthehong tsa basebetse esita le makeisheneng.

Ka hoo ho bonahala hantle hore sechaba se hateletsoeng se ikemiselitse ho ipopa ho loantsa le ho felisa ka hohle tsela ea puso e Africa Boroa.

Freedom Charter na e be ke leano le matla a lekaneng ho felisa boikhohomoso ba batlatlapi ba basoeu le ho tlosa khatello ea sechaba ka kakaretso, ho tlisa puso ea sechaba ke sechaba, ho felisa bofutsana, ho felisa khatello le tlatalpo, le ho aha sechaba se secha se senang khatello?

Freedom Charter hase leano la ho tlisa tokoloho ea socialism. Empa seo e se emelang ka matla molemong oa sechaba, ke bolulo ba batho, mokhoa oa lipalangoang, thuto, meputso, boemo ba khiro, bophelo le boiketlo ba sechaba ka kakaretso.

Puso ea batlatlapi e itsetlehole holim'a basebetsi ba fumanang meputso e tlase, le bohloki bo pharaletseng, esita le khatello ea basebetsi, e etsang hore maruo a

Africa e Boroa a oele feela ho ba kaholimo pusong. Ka ho lemoha hore mafatse a kapitale a lebane le mathata a maholo, batlatlapi ba SA ba tsositose ke leano la sechaba ka ho loantsa tlatalpo le khatello ho tlisa tokoloho ho bohle.

Ho phethahatsa Freedom Charter ho aha bosechaba bo senang tlatalpo, hoa lokela hore ba kaholimo—batlatlapi—ba ketoloe ho felisa khatello. Le ha ho ka ha et-sahala hore lequloana lena la bahatelli le leke ho felisa tse ling tsa likhatello, le tla batla mano a mang a ho khutlisetsa lintho morao.

Motheo oa Freedom Charter ke hore libanka, limaene le indasteri, e be tsa sechaba, eseng li be tlas'a tsamaiso ea batho ba 'mala batsoereng puso. Re ka fumana hona ha feela ho ka etsoa hore moruo oa naha o se ke oa eba oa batho ba itseng empa oa sechaba ka kakaretso.

Empa puso ea joale ke eona e fang batlatlapi bana matla a ho tsamaisa lifectori, libanka, limaene esita le mobu. Ha feela mapolisa a ntse a sebelisoa lifectori le masole liahelong tsa batho ba batso Africa Borwa, bahatelli bana le bona ba tsoelapele khatellong ea ho setisa sechaba ho loantsa tlatalpo.

Ha ho letho le ka fumanehang ka tlasa Charter haeba 'muso oa batlatlapi o sa ketoloe. 'Muso o mocha a ahiloeng, o bileng o laoloang ke basebetsi tlasa matla a bona ke oona feela o ka sireletsang bolokolohi, o ka felisang bohloki le bofutsana esita le ho etsa ka hohle seo Charter e se hlokang molemong oa sechaba.

Lefatse la puso ea basebetsi le ka ntsetsa pele mokhoa oa ho bopa sechaba ho se ea phelang ka mofutto, oa phatla ea e mong.

Bofokoli bo boholo ba Freedom

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Charter ke ho hloloa ho hhalosa linne te tsena tsa ntoa ea rona le ho bontsa basebetsi tsela ea tokoloho.

Ha eba baetapele ba ANC ba sa ikemisetsa ho loantsa le ho hlola botlatlapi, ba tla tlameha ho ikhula ho Freedom Charter. Ha ba sa ikemisetsa puso ka sechaba molemong oa sechaba e ke ke ea bonoa tokoloho Africa Boroa.

Malebana le mathata ana, kajeno baetapele ba bangata Africa Boroa ba hhalosa hore Charter e emela leano la eona empa ba hloloa ke ho phatlalatsa ka bophara titokelo le bosechaba bathong Africa Boroa.

Ho fapani le ho thusa ka ho thaota le botho la ntoa ea tokoloho tlasa basebetsi, ba re litumellano li ka fihleloa le babusi (ba basoeu) ba Africa Boroa e le "National Convention" ho phethahatsa leano la Freedom Charter.

Hona ho ke ke ha phethahala ka ha e le ho tsoileng tseleng ea Charter.

Ke mosebetsi oa bohle ba emelang puso ea sechaba ele ka 'nete ho etsa litokiso tsa ho ketola 'muso ka ntoa ea boiketso. Re tlameha ho aha ANC ele mokha oa 1'millione tsa basebetsi ba hateletsoeng hammoho le malapa a bona, ka mohoo o hlakileng oa ho theha sechaba se lokolohileng. Ke eona tsela feela e lebisang tokoloho ea 'nete ea basebetsi le ea bohle ba hateletsoeng.

Nakong ea ho aha motheo oa bo-socialist ho ANC, batsehetsi ba IN-QABA, ha ho potang, ba tla ba khahlanong le ho nyahlatsoa ha Freedom Charter. Re tla kopana re le pelo 'ngoe lintoeng tsohle tsa tokoloho ho phethahatsa Freedom Charter. Tlholo e 'ngoe le e 'ngoe tseleng eena e tla o tla ka matla khatlanong le bahatelli le bahanyapetsi bana bao eleng sera sa sechaba.

Akukho Ukurox'umva Kumgaqo we Mfilidomu Tshatha (Freedom Charter)

Inkongolo ine minyaka eyi-70 ubudala kulonyaka. Kwakhona sisithuba seminyaka eyi-26 ukusukela mhlia uludwe Iwamabangoenkululeko (Mfilidomu Tshatha) kwavunyelwana ngawo eNtlanganisweni (yesizwe) yaBantu.

IMfilidomu Tshatha yiyo kanye kanobom ethe yeqgithisa nganya zonke ukubhengeza amabango abhekiselele ekuguquleni umbuso eyakhe yabekwa ngumbutho wobupolitika womndilili e-Mzantsi Afrika.

Namhla oku, kutsha nje, singene kwithuba lentshukumo yomndilili (wabantu abantsundu abacinezelweyo)—ebanzi, ehlaziyeke ngakumbi ngengcinga, futhi, kambe ekhaliphe ukudlulisa amathuba angaphambili. Bejongenenabasebenzi, isitshitshitsi somlilo wenkululeko, oongxowankulu norulumente wabo bayatyhwatyhwa abazi ukuba baza kuphambukela phi na.

Imibutho yabasebenzi elwa uncukutho (iinyunyane), ulutsha, nemibutho yase zivekwani (ezidolophini nase maphandleni), ngobukrotikazi, zitsho intlabo mkhosi edabini lokulwela amalungelo abekwe yiMfilidomu Tshatha. Isitsaba siku Nkongolo sibonakaliswa ngoku phandle geqe ezintlanganisweni zabasebenzi nase zilokishini.

Oku kubonakalisa ulangazelelo iwabacinezelweyo lokufuna ukwakha umbutho wobupolitika ka wonke-wonke khona ukuze kuhlangane imikhosi elwa esisimo sengcinezelo—sibhukuqwe, futhi, ggibi.

Ingaba na iTshatha le yanele ukutshabalalisa ikratshi lobulungu, nengcinezelo yesizwe; ukwakha ubuzwe obukhululekileyo ngokuzeleyo; ukuphelisa indlala; ukuphelisa zonke iintloba zengcinezelo nonukutho; ukwakha ubuzwe obungena bugong-qongqobongxowankulu?

IMfilidomu Tshatha ayi beki mabango anokwenza, okanye angabangela kuguqulwe umbuso wongxowankulu ube ngumbuso wabasebenzi. Kambe, umvungamo wayo ngokubhekiselele kumabango enkululeko, nenguqulo ezitsho kanobom kummandla wezindlu, wetilanisipoti, wemfundo, wemirolo, yezimo zokusebenza, kwakunye nenxaso-ntlalo yabantu ngenxa zonke, azinakufumaneka phantsi kombuso wobungxowankulu.

Ubungxowankulu basoloko bux-homekeke ekunciphiseni ixabiso lamandla abasebenzi ekubetheni umn-

dilili wabantu ngephango lendlala, ngoko ke, futhi, ekulawuleni ngongalonkulu okhohlaakeleyo khona ukuze buqiniseke ukufumana ingenemali (polofithi) e-Mzantsi Afrika. Ngalo mzuzu, ubungxowankulu belizwe lonke jikelele busengxingweni Kungoku nje, xa ubungxowankulu belizwe lonke jikelele busengxingweni, oongxowankulue—Mzantsi Afrika bankwantiwa ngakumbi ngamabango enkululeko, nenguqulwana entlalwani yobuzwe. Ukuphumeza amabango enkululeko eMfilidomu Tshatha, nokwakha ubuzwe obutsha, kuya kuyanzeleka kuwiswe umbuso wongxowankulu, nobungxowankulu. Kungenjalo, nokuba udidi longxowankulu olu lawulayo luthe Iwanyanzeleka ngexesha oluthe Iwaxinga etyeni, ukuba lwenze iinguqulwana ezingephi, luya kuthi ngekroba lokuqala elinokulifumana lilwele ukufa ukohlutha ezonguqulwana.

Itsika ye Mfilidomu Tshatha libango lokohlutha ongxowankulu iibanki, imigodi, nokuphelisa uburamneongxowankuluobulawula iifektri—zonke ezintsika zendyebo zibe phantsi kolawulo Iwesizwe sonke. Kuxa kuthe kuphela kwaphelisa ubumnini-ndedwa bamaziko amakhulu enza indyebo yesizwe apho kunga vuleka indlala yokufumana inkululeko yethu, namabango obuzwe afanelekileyo.

Kodwa, urulumente ligqudu oongxowankulu abaxhomekeke kulo ukukhusela, nokungeina ezandleni zabo iifektri, iibanki, imigodi nomhlaba. Eloko, amapolisa anokuthunyelwa ezifektrini, nomkhosi (amasoja) unoku ngena ngendlov'ayingeni ezilokishini, oongxowankulu basaphethe iintambo zokulawula abazisebenza, ekugqibeleni, ukohlutha oko kuthe kwazuzeka edabini lomndilili.

Akukho nelinye ibango kwi Mfilidomu Tshatha elingafumaneka kuphele de kube urulumente woongxowankulu ubhukuqiwe. Ngurulumente omtha kuphela, owakhiwe, ulawulwa ngabasebenzi, usekelwe, futhi, phezu kwamandla nezixhobo zabasebenzi ongenza kufumanek inkululeko ye nyano, uphelise indlala, umise kwakhona, ngeyona ndlala ifanelekileyo iinguqulo ezifunwa yiTshatha.

Urulumente (wombuso)wabasebenzi uyakuthi kananjalo ugqithe ngomtshokotsho wakhe ubuzwe obukhululekileyo phantsi kolawulo Iwabasebenzi. Ukufinyelela okukhulu beM filidomu Tshatha kukoyisakala ukuchaza, nokucacisa ezinyaniso

ngedabi lethu, nokwalatha indlala esingisa ekulawulweni kwelizwe ngabasebenzi.

Ngaphandle kokuba ubunkokheli beNkongolo buzimisele, ngokucacileyo ngengeinga nango kuphandle, ukuququzelabuhlanganise idabi loku bhukuqa umbuso wobungxowankulu—buya kunyanzeleka bubethe ngezinentsente kuphasalake lawo mabango akwiMfilidomu Tshatha. Ngokuqinisekileyo, amabango enkululeko yesizwe, neyomntu wonke aya kupatalaka.

Ekulindelekeni kwale ngxaki, uninzi lwenkokheli zophangwana, namhla, e—Mzantsi Afrika, ezifunga ngeMfilidomu Tshatha, zishumayela "ukulunga" kwayo ngelia ziso yisakala ukuqononondisa ubunzulu bayo kwidabi lenkululeko, naku mabango obuzwe.

Endaweni yokuba bancedise ekuquzeleni ukuhlanganisa umndilili wentshukumo yokubhukuqa umbuso woongxowankulu, ekhokhewe yimbumba yabasebenzi, babeka ikhondo elithi isivumelwano ngeMfilidomu Tshatha singenziwa nabacinezel, oongxowankulu boMzantsi Afrika, eNgungqutheleni yeSizwe. Unotshe, eli likhondo lokurox-umva kumgaqo weMfilidomu Tshatha.

Umsebenzi, obanzi nonzulu, wabo bonke abanyanisekileyo ukuphelisa ingcinezelo, kwakunye naba kumkhosi wabasebenzi, kukulungiselela intshukumo yomndilili ngenjongo zokubhukuqa urulumente woongxowankulu. Ma sakhe Inkongolo ibe ngumbutho womndilili, ngakumbi umndilili wezigidi zabasebenzi ezicinezelo yentapho zazo, yakhelwe phezu komgangatho ocacileyo wokwakha umbuso wabasebenzi norulumente wabo olawulwa ngabo ngqo. Le yiyona ndlala ekukuphela kwayo eya enkululekweni eyinyaniso zabasebenzi, nophangwanaabacinezelweyo ngokunjalo.

Nangani simelele ngoku ngathan-dabuzekiyo imibono yeNkongolo ejongise ekulawuleni kwabasebenzi, abalandeli INQABA baya kuphikisa ngokuqinisekileyo onke amalinge okubuya umva kumgaqo we Mfilidomu Tshatha. Siya kungena ngokuzimisela ngokupheleleyo kwidabi ngalinye eli qhubela phambili ngamandla amabango eTshatha. Impumelelo nganye edabini kule ndlala iya kuba ngumvatho wegalelo elinamandla lokuggobhoza intloko yotshaba eli ngungxowankulu, eli calula licinezela ngebala.

Geen stap terug van die Freedom Charter!

Die ANC is vanjaar 70 jaar oud. En dis 26 jaar gelede dat die ANC-program, die Freedom Charter (Vryheidshandves), aangeneem is op die Congress of the People.

Die Vryheidshandves is die mees vergaande program wat ooit deur 'n massa politieke organisasie in Suid-Afrika uitgebring is.

Vandag verkeer ons in 'n nuwe tydperk van massabeweging—breër, bewuster en strydbaarder as ooit tevore. Met die werkers as dryfkrag, weet die base en hul regering nie meer waarnatoe hulle moet keer nie.

Die vakbonde, die jeug, die township-organisasies skaar hulle al hoe sterker agter die oproep om die Vryheidshandves uit te voer. Die ANC-vlag word al hoe openliker op werkerversgaderings en in die townships vertoon.

Dit weerspieël die verlange van die onderdrukte mense om een massa politieke organisasie te bou om die stryd teen die huidige sisteem te verenig—en dit heeltemal te vernietig.

Is die Handves 'n voldoende program om wit baasskap en nasionale onderdrukking af te skaf; om die samelewing heeltemal te demokratiseer; om armoede weg te neem, om alle onderdrukking en uitbuiting te beëindig; om 'n sosialistiese samelewing te begin bou?

Die Vryheidshandves is nie 'n program van sosialistiese revolusie nie. Maar sy radikale demokratiese eise, en die geweldige hervormings wat dit beteken op die gebied van huisvesting, transport, onderwys, lone, werktoestande en welsyn kan onmoontlik deur die kapitalistiese sisteem bekostig word.

Kapitalisme was nog altyd op goedkoop arbeid afhanklik, op massa-armoede, en daarom op 'n brutale diktatorskap om sy profyte

in Suid-Afrika veilig te maak. Nou dat die kapitalisme oor die hele wêreld in krisis verkeer, word die base in Suid-Afrika nog meer bedreig deur 'n program van demokrasie en sosiale hervorminge.

Om die Vryheidshandves uit te voer en 'n nuwe samelewing op te bou, sal dit nodig wees om die base omver te gooi en kapitalisme te beëindig. Anders, selfs al word die heersende klas in 'n tyd van swakheid gedwing om bietjies hervorminge toe te gee, sal hulle woeend veg om dit so gou moontlik weer terug te vat.

Die hoeksteen van die Vryheidshandves is die eis om die banke, myne en monopolie-industrie te nationaliseer. Net deur privaatbesit van die belangrikste produksiemiddelle te beëindig kan die pad oopgemaak word om ons demokratiese en sosiale eise te verseker.

Maar die staatsmasjien is die instrument waarop die base reken om beheer oor die fabrieke, myne en land te behou. Solank as die polisie na die fabrieke geroep kan word en die soldate na die townships, hou die base die mag om uiteindelik alles wat die massastryd bereik het, weer terug te vat.

Geen eis in die Handves kan werklik verseker word voordat hierdie staat weggevee word nie. Net 'n nuwe staat, gebou en beheer deur die werkende mense en gebaseer op hul eie gewapende mag, kan die bevryding verseker, armoede beëindig en die hervormings in die Handves uitvoer.

Die groot swakheid van die Handves is dat hy hierdie werklikhede van ons stryd nie verduidelik nie, en nie die weg aanwys na werkernmag nie.

Tensy die ANC-leiding voorberei is om bewus en openlik die stryd te organiseer om kapitalisme omver te

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gooi—sal hulle gedwing word om terug te val van die eise in die Vryheidshandves. Die eise vir nasionale bevryding en demokrasie sou dan onvermydelik afgewater moet word.

Hierdie probleem word vooruitgeloop deur baie van die middelklasleiers in Suid-Afrika vandag, wat die Vryheidshandves proklameer maar net sy 'beginsels' bepleit, terwyl hulle stil bly oor sy konkrete demokratiese en sosiale eise.

In plaas dat hulle help om 'n massa revolucionêre mag agter die georganiseerde werkers te mobiliseer, beweer hulle dat 'n ooreenkoms met die heersers van Suid-Afrika op 'n Nasionale Konvensie bereik kan word om die Vryheidshandves uit te voer. Dit is onmoontlik, en sou beteken dat daar teruggeval word van die Handves.

Die taak van alle standvastige demokrate, sowel as sosialiste, is om die massabeweging voor te berei vir die revolucionêre omverwerping van die staat. Ons moet die ANC opbou as 'n massa-organisasie veral van die miljoene onderdrukte werkers en hulle families, rondom 'n duidelike program om 'n demokratiese werkernstaat te vestig. Dit is die enigste weg na werklike bevryding vir die werkende klas en die onderdrukte middelklas ook.

Terwyl ons opkom vir 'n sosialistiese program vir die ANC, sal INQABA-ondersteuners vasberade alle pogings teengaan om van die Vryheidshandves terug te wyk. Ons sal met hart en siel aansluit by elke stryd om die eise van die Handves uit te voer. Elke oorwinning langs hierdie weg sal 'n ware slag slaan teen die rasistiese en kapitalistiese vyand.

Build A Mass ANC On A Socialist Programme!

"...it is a sign of the times in South Africa—as well as outside South Africa of course—that the labour field is slowly but surely becoming the focal point of the political situation. Indeed this is the case throughout the world."

S.P. Botha, Minister of Manpower, speaking in Parliament on 6 August 1981.

In wave after wave of struggle, now continuing without pause for over two years, massive sections of the black people have been drawn into action against the crushing burdens of apartheid and the cheap labour system.

In the factories, mines, schools and townships, a new generation has come to the fore that refuses to submit to poverty and baasskap, and will fight with selfless dedication to end it.

Workplace struggles over wages, jobs, conditions, and union rights; campaigns against bus fare and rent increases; militant explosions among the youth; resistance to new repressive measures—all these have combined into a mighty tide of mass struggle which, through all its ebbs and flows, has strengthened the self-confidence of all the oppressed.

In this mass movement it is above all the power of the organised black workers which has emerged as the driving force and pushed the ruling class on the defensive.

Significantly, most strikes over the past year have ended in partial or total success for the workers. Out of the veld fire of industrial struggles the independent trade unions have increased hugely in membership and strength.

No step can be taken by the capitalists or their regime without

**By Daniel Hugo
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calculating its effect on the militant army of black labour.

As the workers discover in struggle their ability to inflict blows against the oppressor, their movement more and more acts as a magnet around which the whole mass movement gravitates. Industrial struggles—at Eveready, Fatti's and Moni's, Rowntrees, and elsewhere—have become a focus of action also for the youth and sections of the middle class.

At every point, the developing struggle comes up against the force of the state. Wage strikes bring the police to the factories, and result in arrests and detentions. Township campaigns lead to head-on confrontations with the officialdom of the regime. Even the demand for better education is met with armed repression, turning a whole generation of black youth onto the road of political struggle.

Capitalism in SA, dependent on cheap labour, has developed only on the basis of merciless repression. The state is a military-police dictatorship over the black majority to enforce the system of migrant labour and national oppression, thereby creating an army of cheap labour.

Against this system each struggle of the masses for the slightest social improvement reveals the need for the complete democratic reorganisation of society.

Thus the rising tide of mass struggle raises a nightmare to haunt the ruling capitalist class.

Defending their profits in a period of world capitalist decline, they are even less able than in the past to afford cracks in the cheap labour system. What they are forced to give with the left hand they must struggle the more viciously to recover with the right.

Finding their ruthless police state methods ever less able to hold back the mass movement, but only arousing it to greater fury, the bosses are nevertheless incapable of ruling by any other means.

All the new devices which they concoct to try to clothe their naked dictatorship and stabilise their rule—such as the President's Council, Carlton I and II—only further expose their bankruptcy.

Early stage

All this underlies the deepening splits in the ruling class and the regime, and the divisions opening up among their white supporters.

On the side of the mass movement, on the other hand, there is growing confidence, unity, and

strength. These, won in bitter struggle, are instilling the perspective that the vicious system of exploitation and oppression can soon be overthrown—not just "within our lifetime", but even within the decade.

Undoubtedly, the SA revolution is only beginning to unfold. The disintegration of the ruling class and the regime is still at an early stage. The magnificent struggles of today have drawn in only a small part of the forces that will be needed to defeat the regime and achieve national and social liberation.

To take the next decisive step forward will require the development of **organisation** that can co-ordinate the struggles of the oppressed into a single country-wide movement, united around a clear programme, capable of overwhelming the forces of the oppressor.

In the trade union field, bold and effective organisation has been built by the workers in many places of work, and national unions organise workers in several industries. But—with the exception of the magnificent political general strikes of 1976—the workers' struggles have been mainly spontaneous and local.

The August meeting of indepen-

dent trade unions in Cape Town reflected the pressure towards national unity among the organised workers. But this has been only a first step, that has still to be translated into united organisation and action at branch and factory level.

Unity in action

Encouraged by the granite foundations of the factory movement, a host of local organisations have sprung up in the townships, the 'squatter camps' and the countryside.

The black youth have been at the forefront of the mass struggle on all sides, and have infused broader layers with their own revolutionary spirit.

But they have found themselves unable to defeat the regime decisively through localised community struggles. Increasingly the need for country-wide political unity in action is becoming clear—for mass organisation, based on the organised strength of the working class, linking together the struggles in factory, township and countryside, of employed and unemployed, migrant and non-migrant, men and women,

young and old.

In scores of existing organisations—youth organisations, action committees, womens' groups, even the churches—activists are seeing no way to country-wide unity except by rallying around the banner of the ANC. Also the trade unions, as they come into increasing conflict with the state, are experiencing the need to fight back by political means. Activists in their ranks will raise the demand to join the Congress movement.

The increasingly open turn to Congress heralds a new period in the liberation struggle.

Unable to crush the trade union movement by brute force, the ruling class will also find it impossible to suppress the political organisation of the working people.

Freedom Charter

Already the anti-SAIC campaign, culminating in the October conference in Durban, developed into a demonstration of support for Congress. This gathering, like the earlier one in Lenasia, endorsed the Freedom Charter, programme of the ANC since 1955.

Significantly, not only veterans of



Marching behind the ANC flag—Alexandra, June 1981

the ANC and Congress movement were involved, but also some representatives of the new generation of workers and youth—for example SAAWU, GAWU, COSAS and AZASO.

The Freedom Charter calls for huge social reforms in the fields of housing, transport, education, wages, working conditions, and welfare which have been placed on the agenda of struggle by the masses. The Charter, and the workers and youth in struggle today recognise that these social reforms cannot be achieved without ending

more than the bludgeon historically established by the capitalist class in SA to enforce its domination over the working class.

The capitalist class, clinging to its ownership of industry, will never consent to dismantle this brutal apparatus of baasskap. Thus the democratic struggle to end white minority rule, national oppression, and dictatorship is at the same time nothing other than the class struggle to smash the capitalist state. Only on this revolutionary basis can the social and democratic demands of the Freedom Charter be secured.

to such a point that open platforms for all democrats, such as that in Durban, can no longer be entirely suppressed. It is the early stirrings of that power which compelled the withdrawal by the regime of the Pensions Bill, a victory for all the oppressed.

The working class, to free itself from the chains of poverty, the pass laws, the migrant labour system, has no choice but to continue this life-or-death struggle until the bosses' rule is ended.

In organising the destruction of capitalist power, the working class will at the same time need to create its own organs of armed power to replace capitalist rule.

By the nature of its existence, the working class can only exercise its power in a collective way. The workers' method of rule, as Lenin explained, is the creation of conditions for the fullest possible democracy.

The key characteristics of workers' democracy, as the workers' movement has discovered in the course of its history, can be summarised as:

- * power to be exercised through democratically elected councils of the working population;

- * all officials to be elected, subject to immediate recall, and official duties rotated so that no bureaucracy develops;

- * no official to receive a higher income than the average wage of a skilled worker;

- * no standing army but the people

Securing the demands of the Freedom Charter depends on the destruction of the capitalist state

national oppression and establishing genuine democracy.

But nowhere in the world is the question of democracy an abstract question: the struggle for democracy is rooted in the struggle between the classes.

In SA the ruling class cannot allow the working class—the overwhelming majority of the people—to gain democratic control of society precisely because capitalism allows no room for significant and lasting improvements in the conditions of life of the masses.

SA cannot be reorganised along the lines of the Freedom Charter so long as capitalism exists.

This is why the cornerstone of the entire Charter is the demand to transfer SA's mineral wealth, banks, and monopoly industry to the ownership of the people as a whole, combined with the demand that "all other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people".

But the Freedom Charter fails to make clear that securing this and its other demands depends entirely on the destruction of the capitalist state and its replacement by democratic workers' rule.

Every day, new arrests and bannings, strikes broken by the police, hammer home that the wealth and property of the bosses is protected and defended by the power of the state—the police, the military, and the apartheid bureaucracy. At its core, white minority rule is nothing

The defeat of the apartheid regime involves the complete dismantling of all its forces of repression—the police, the military, the prisons, the bureaucracies of the state and the Bantustans—and their replacement by new organs of self-rule created by the masses themselves.

Only the organised working class aroused and conscious of its task, and leading all the oppressed, has the power to defeat this monstrous capitalist regime. This potential power is present a hundred times over in the factories, mines and townships.

It is the power of the oppressed black workers, still barely awakening, which has paralysed the regime



armed, so that no military or police power can be the tool of a minority against the majority.

The "democratic organs of self-government" demanded in the Freedom Charter will be realised in practice only along these lines.

Already, within the trade unions and other organisations of the SA working people, these democratic forms are emerging in embryo.

Thus the struggle for democracy, in essence, is the struggle for workers' organisation and workers' rule.

With workers' rule, the nationalisation of the main means of production would be achieved under the control and management of the workers themselves, subject to a plan of production democratically drawn up by the working people. Not only would this speedily secure the implementing of the whole of the Freedom Charter, but, in laying the foundations of socialism, the programme of the Charter would rapidly be surpassed.

The recognition that its very survival as a ruling elite is threatened by the unfolding mass struggle strikes terror into the SA capitalist class.

Hence, while clinging to the whip of baasskap, they are also sowing the illusion through their press and elsewhere that 'democratic reform' can be achieved which will leave intact the 'free enterprise' system. At a 'National Convention' to be convened as a last resort at some time in the future, they suggest, agreement

can be reached on the peaceful dismantling of white minority rule.

This promise is false through and through: the capitalists will negotiate only when faced with defeat—and then only about altering the form of their rule, in the hope of preserving its substance. For this they must preserve the armed bodies of men (the state) on which their power depends.

Unfortunately, there are some in the fold of the mass movement already falling into this trap being prepared by the capitalists. Some middle-class democrats sincerely believe that, by watering down the demands of the mass movement and removing any open challenge to the capitalist system, they will pave the way to negotiations with the 'liberal' bosses which will allow the Freedom Charter to be implemented bit-by-bit.

Altered

At the Durban conference of the anti-SAIC campaign, the 'Charter' that was endorsed was not in fact the original Freedom Charter, but a programme altered from it in many important respects.

The most blatant example of this concerns the demand for the sharing of South Africa's wealth.

The Durban 'Charter' calls merely for "control of South African resources by the people" to "ensure its utilization towards the benefit of the people as a whole."

The Freedom Charter, in contrast, stipulates clearly that the mines, the banks and monopoly industry "shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole." It is "all other industry and trade" which shall merely be "controlled to assist the well-being of the people."

"Control" refers to those things which are not intended to be owned in common by the people. Yet the Durban 'Charter' drops the demand of common ownership completely. It would leave the private property of the capitalists subject merely to an undefined "control".

It completely abandons the central plank which makes the Freedom Charter a programme for revolutionary struggle by the working class.

At the same time the concrete demands of the original Charter—for a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers, full unemployment benefits, an end to the pass laws...

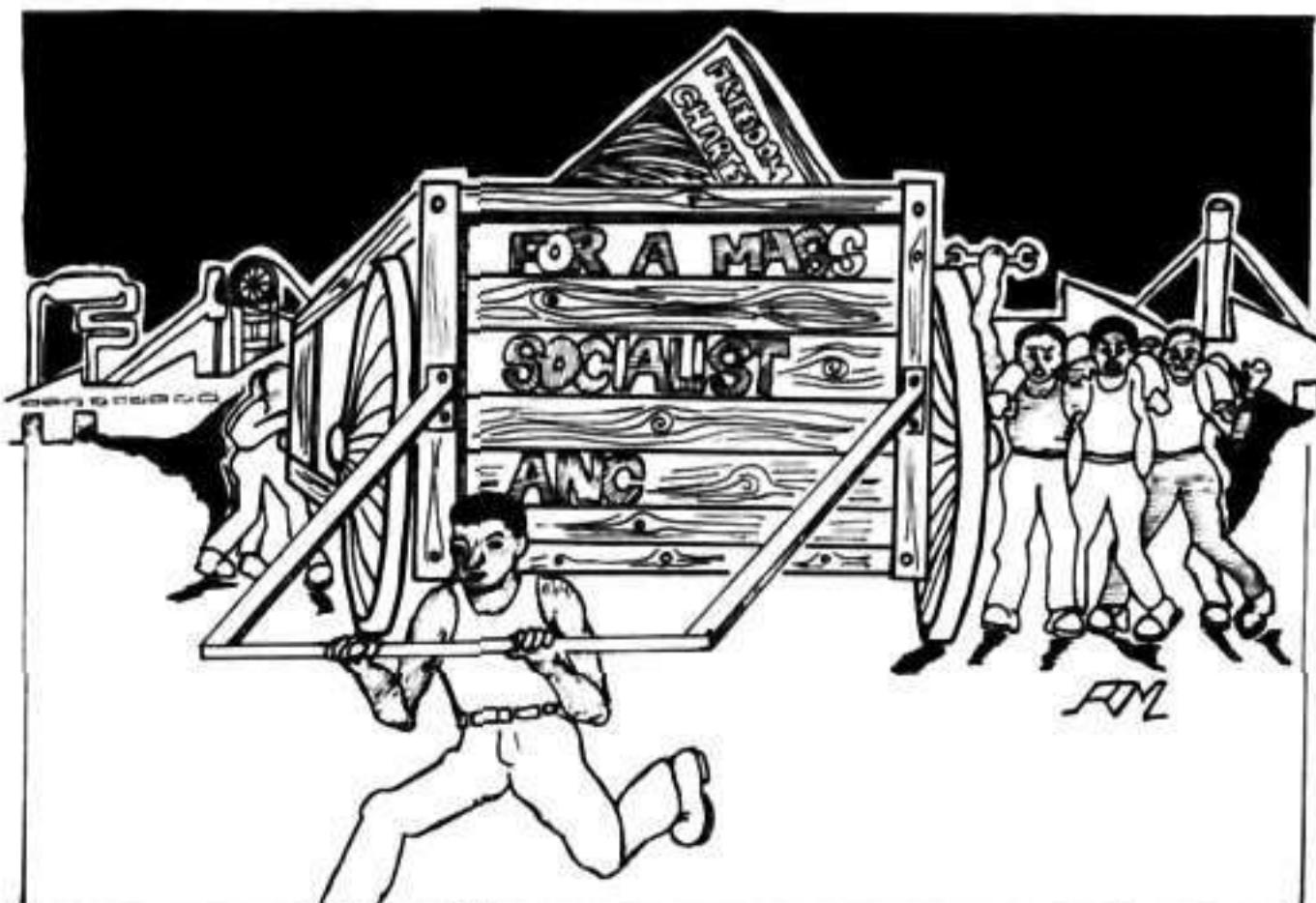
...do not appear at all in the Durban version.

Naturally, under police state conditions, there are limits to what can be stated openly. Yet where the mass movement has developed the power to express public support for a banned organisation and its programme, no security considerations can justify diluting that programme to the point where all hint of the need to break with capitalism is hidden, and where the concrete demands of the working people are erased.

This hides nothing from the capitalists, who are perfectly well aware of the real demands of the people—and will, where they can, lock up diluters of the Charter too.

What is hidden is hidden from the masses in struggle. A programme from which the workers' concrete demands have been eliminated cannot serve as a rallying point for the life-and-death struggle which lies ahead. Failing to take forward and clarify perspectives and programme, it would become a recipe for division, confusion, and demoralisation—which, in the end, poses the danger of crushing defeat.

The need is rather to translate the



aims of the Freedom Charter, already supported and struggled for in the mass movement, into concrete demands and campaigns that can link the ongoing struggles in the factories, schools and townships into a nation-wide movement against the capitalist enemy and its savage watchdog, the apartheid state.

Dangerous

Failing to prepare for the task of destroying the capitalist state machine will leave the enemy in possession of his most deadly weapon. Armed and dangerous, the capitalists will be able to play for time as long as the odds are against them—and then unleash the counter-revolution as soon as conditions allow this.

These are the lessons of Chile in 1973. Implementing reforms that threatened capitalist power, the workers' leaders stopped short of mobilising the workers to dismantle the reactionary capitalist state. They accepted instead the promises by the generals of 'respect for democracy'—the same generals who, when the time was ripe, launched a bloody counter-revolution.

The developing movement for democracy in SA can be sustained in action only by the working class, building the ANC on a **socialist programme**—a programme concretely linking the struggle for democracy to their own struggle to take power and cast off the crushing burdens imposed on their everyday life by the bosses.

Around such a programme all the oppressed can be rallied. To such a programme, supported by the full force of the black working class in action, many white workers could also eventually be won. This would weaken the support enjoyed by the oppressor and limit the potential of white reaction.

The ANC is being called to take its place in the factories, mines, schools and townships, to provide a fighting lead, to combine the day to day battles into organised country-wide struggle for the overthrow of the regime.

But a fighting mass ANC will not drop into our midst ready-made. It will need to be built through the **organisation** of the masses now moving into action on all sides. It will be built through combining legal with illegal, open with underground, work.

Working-class activists, together with the youth, must take the lead in all the organisations formed by the oppressed and explain the perspectives and tasks which lie ahead. Underground ANC committees must be formed in every factory, mine, township, university, high school, etc., linking up regionally and nationally, with the aim of assisting and guiding the struggle of the masses as a whole.

The leaders of the ANC in exile need to throw their full weight and all the resources of the organisation behind this development. Only if the ANC is rebuilt as an instrument of the unity and power of the working class will it be able to rise to its tasks.

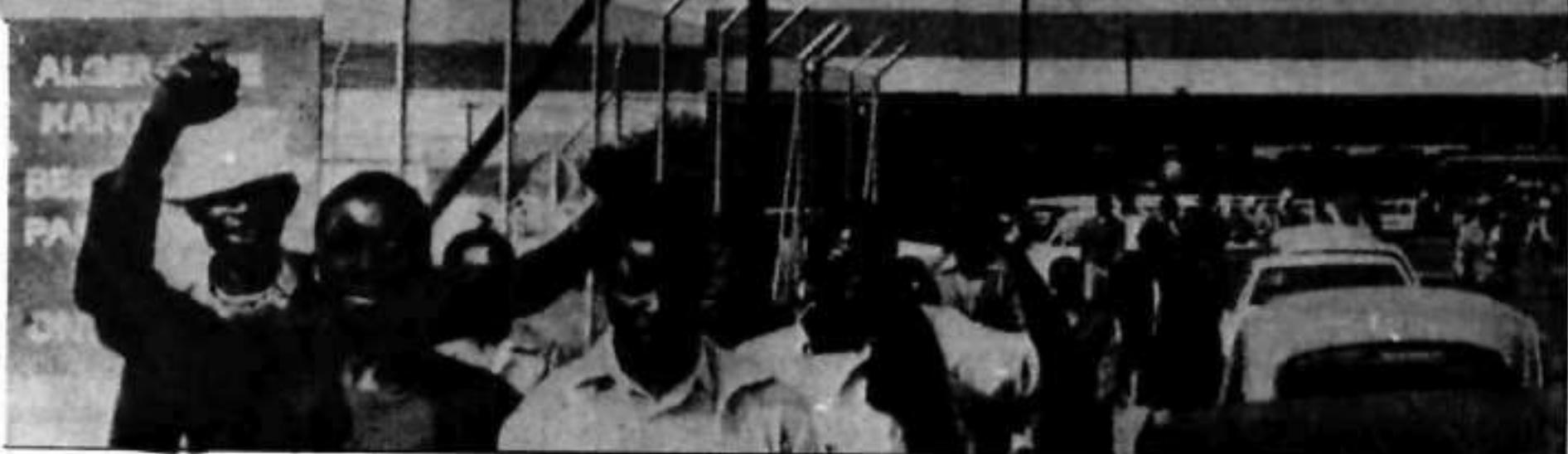
Building the ANC in this way, the workers in struggle will be able to impress their policies, strategy and tactics on the movement as a whole. By ensuring the widest discussion possible under prevailing conditions, and collective decision-making, the ANC will become enriched with all the experience and ingenuity of the workers, and all the uncompromising revolutionary spirit of the youth.

The workers must ensure that the policies put forward in the name of the ANC correctly reflect the tasks of the struggle, as a rallying call to still broader layers of the oppressed and to the working class of the world.

Any open assemblies that can be organised under police-state conditions must be as widely representative as possible. Elected delegates, discussions giving maximum time for participation by all, elected continuation committees which can carry out decisions arrived at, will help to strengthen the fighting unity of the working people against the regime and the bosses.

On these foundations the ANC can be built as an invincible fortress of the working people, capable of leading the mass armed insurrection to establish workers' rule, abolishing poverty, privilege and racial oppression, securing democracy and a decent life for all, and beginning the construction of socialism.

SIGMA
MOTOR CORPORATION



Strike at Sigma, Rosslyn

Hands off the trade unions!

The announcement by the regime that SAAWU and CUSA trade unionists, among others, are to be put on trial is a challenge to the whole working class of South Africa.

Over the last few months there has been a sharp increase in detentions and bannings as the regime lashes out against the growing opposition to its rule. Acting with growing desperation now that all promises of reform are turning to dust, the bosses are turning their attack on the workers' movement in an attempt to stamp out the rising demands of the masses.

It is reported that almost 200 people are currently being held in detention by the security police. The actual number is much higher, as the defence committees formed by relatives of detainees and activists have shown.

After toying with the idea of industrial reform, the strategists of the ruling class have now concluded that this is inadequate to stem the rising militancy of the working class. Fearful of the resistance that could be provoked by an all-out attack on the trade unions, sweeping away all existing leaders, the regime is trying to intimidate the whole trade union leadership by cracking down on some.

The bosses and the regime are worried also at the prospect of a strong trade union movement, determined to defend its recent gains, at a time when the economy is moving into a downward curve. They want the utmost flexibility in the factories to fend off the pressure on their profits, which could be wiped out by hard struggles to defend wages and to stop layoffs and

**By Gerald Desai
and
Jake Wilson**

firings of workers.

The regime is making every effort to discover the weaknesses of the trade unions and frustrate their growth. It is trying to crack open the unity which is being built.

But it is the workers' struggle that has forced openings in the 'united front' of the employers. The strikes against the 'no payout' Pensions Bill brought about a free-for-all fight between different employers. In the end, all they could agree on was that the regime was to blame.

At other employer meetings, leading bosses have argued that the non-racial trade unions have a legitimate political interest, especially in housing and transport.

And again, in the ultra-cheap labour textile industry, even the close friends of the security police have been forced to offer the non-racial trade union national negotiations outside the framework of the industrial council.

Bosses weakened

All these developments have signalled flashing danger signs to the regime—the top defence organisation of the bosses. They mark the growing weakness of the bosses in defending their dictatorship in the factories and mines.

And so the question of trade unionism has moved from the hands



of Wiehahn into the lap of the security police murderers—the defenders of cheap labour and the bulwark against trade union freedom.

The trade union movement, which has suffered no decisive setback in the last period, is entering into a serious struggle in the factories, townships, courts and police cells.

Any sign of weakness, any hesitation in defence and reorganisation, will be taken full advantage of, not only by the police and prosecutors, but by every employer facing organised workers.

Since the regime is at this stage testing the strength of the non-racial trade unions, the impending trial of the detained leaders provides enormous opportunities for trade union defence. A spirited defence by the accused, turning the spotlight onto the regime and exposing the bosses' complicity in trade union repression, would win great sympathy throughout the country and internationally.

Mass meetings, marches, and resolutions demanding the release of the accused are essential to their defence. In this way the unorganised majority of the working class, the youth, and community groups can be drawn into the struggle.

The old slogan 'Hands off the trade unions' has to be carried forward on a country-wide basis to rally the detainees committees, com-

munity and youth organisations, and all others struggling against the regime, behind the leadership of the working class.

The defence of the detained trade unionists should be taken up at all levels of the workers' movement. In each province and area it should become a campaigning issue for organising the solidarity committees proposed by the trade union unity meeting in Cape Town last August.

By drawing together the whole trade union movement, great opportunities are raised for a mass drive to organise the unorganised, particularly the migrant workers, around fighting demands.

The task of defence is not to cover the line of retreat. Now more than ever the question of defence has to be linked up with a concerted effort to build the trade union united front around the issues

facing all workers:

- *a national minimum wage of R100 a week, with automatic increases index-linked to the cost of living (or formulated to ensure the widest possible unity in struggle);

- *trade union freedom, and the right to strike against all laws oppressing workers.

Most importantly, the roots of the unions in the factories and docks need to be tended. A trade union movement made up of two layers only—generals and soldiers—is vulnerable to having its head cut off. Leadership must be strengthened at all levels. **Factory committees** must become the firm foundation of defence within the trade unions—the training ground for workers to take up the reins of leadership.

The task of developing a layer of

underground leadership, secure against attacks from the regime, should not be neglected. The building of an underground network of trade union activists will make it more difficult for the police to identify the leaders of the movement. It will ensure that, even in the event of a general clampdown on the trade unions, the workers in the factories will not be left leaderless.

A combination of underground and open organisation can lay the basis for a mass trade union movement which will force the regime to retreat from bannings, detentions and show trials.

Armed with a national minimum wage demand and a well organised campaign of trade union defence, the target of 1 million trade union members is within reach.

GEORGE PEAKE — Class fighter



In early October 1981 George Peake died a tragic and premature death in exile.

Born in 1921, he was a bricklayer by trade, becoming active in the Western Province Building Workers' Union after the Second

World War.

In 1953 George was a founding member of the Coloured People's Congress, allied to the ANC, and soon became its national President. He was a delegate to the Congress of the People in 1955 where the Freedom Charter was adopted.

As a powerful spokesman against the regime, George inevitably suffered his share of persecution. From 1956 to 1958 he was one of the defendants in the Treason Trial. In 1956 and again in 1961 he was banned. During the Emergency of 1960 he was imprisoned without trial.

In 1961, George was elected to the Cape Town City Council by the people of District Six. In this period he became one of the first to volunteer for *Umkhonto we Sizwe*. In 1962, arrested for sabotage, he was imprisoned on Robben Island.

On his release he was put under house arrest until he left the country, moving to Britain in 1968.

In exile as at home, George unreservedly threw himself into the struggle of the working people.

Employed as a building worker, he served as a shop steward until he was elected a full-time convenor for UCATT, the building workers' union. He was also elected a Labour

Party municipal councillor in the town of Slough where he lived.

But George always retained his orientation to the South African freedom struggle. He was active in the Anti-Apartheid Movement and, in 1980, helped to launch the South African Labour Education Project.

As an honest socialist, George matched his life-long struggle against the exploitation and oppression of his class with equally stubborn opposition against ideas and methods on the part of the leadership which he found damaging to the struggle.

George only made contact with the ideas of Marxism comparatively late in life. But recognising in those ideas the conscious expression of everything he had been fighting for, he unreservedly made them his own.

An ever fresh enthusiasm for the struggle was George's outstanding quality. He continued to invigorate younger comrades with his lively spirit, his humility, his wealth of experience and his intimate knowledge of the liberation movement which he never tired of sharing.

George Peake has earned an honourable place in the annals of the workers' movement both in South Africa and Britain.

Guerilla struggle and the workers' movement

This is the first in a series of articles on armed struggle. In order to fully understand this question, it is necessary to examine guerilla war as it developed in the revolutionary upheavals in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Further articles will analyse guerilla struggle and the use of armed force in the South African revolution.

The period following the Second World War has been one of unprecedented turbulence in the colonial and underdeveloped countries with continual revolutionary uprisings against national oppression and imperialist domination.

In many of the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa, the strategy of guerilla war in the countryside and even urban guerillaism, has been adopted by leaders of the struggling masses. Guerilla struggle has been hailed as the only way towards victory over the oppressor, and a means by which socialism could be achieved.

Today the working class, moving into struggle in all parts of the former colonial world, encounters many organisations and leaders which put forward these ideas. In South Africa guerilla struggle is the official policy of the ANC and other organisations. For this reason it is important for the workers, the youth and all revolutionaries to understand clearly what this method of struggle has to offer the working class, and when and where it can further the struggle against the capitalist enemy.

Even during the long post-war boom in the advanced countries, the continued grip of capitalism over the 'Third World' has meant one uninterrupted nightmare for the masses.

Indeed the explosive struggles of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries forced imperialism to retreat from direct political-military domination. The old colonial empires, despite desperate and often barbarous measures by world capitalism, disintegrated.

The achievement of political independence in the countries subjected to colonial rule has been an irreversible step forward.

But during the boom period of 1950-1974, despite political independence, the economic stranglehold of capitalism over most of the 'Third World'—over the means of production as well as trade—tightened.

Monopoly capital now completely dominated the capitalist world. This meant in turn that the capitalist class (national bourgeoisie) of the underdeveloped countries was fee-

ries was based in part on the super-exploitation of the masses in the former colonies through these unequal terms of trade.

This process has drained these countries of wealth and submerged them hopelessly in debt. Seeking to expand cash-crop exports, they have become net importers even of basic foodstuffs from the advanced capitalist world.

Production has become more and more dominated by the narrow profiteering interests of the multinational monopolies, taking advantage of cheap labour.

In some 'Third World' countries there has been a certain growth of industry, based on the 'leavings' of the world economic upswing. But this has fuelled the demand for imports of machinery, resulting in ever-increasing borrowing from the Western banks, and loading the economies with crippling interest repayments.

The land question in general has remained unsolved. Most agricultural land has remained in the hands of reactionary landlord classes. The peasant masses, at the mercy of the capitalist market, unable to compete with large-scale modern agriculture and increasingly dependent on capitalist industry and bankers for their implements etc., have been trampled deeper into poverty and debt.

Capitalist rule has generally consolidated the age-old oppression of

**D. Sikhakhane
and
R. Monroe**

ble and emaciated, having entered the scene far too late to play any positive role in the development of society.

Dependent and fragmented, these economies cannot hope on a capitalist basis to challenge the dazzling industrial development of the Western powers. Most have continued to serve in their colonial role of exporting agricultural and mineral raw materials to the advanced industrial countries, and providing markets for the products of Western capitalism.

Over the period since the Second World War, the prices of their products have generally fallen in relation to the prices they must pay for manufactured imports. The upswing in the advanced capitalist coun-

the peasantry by the landowners. The capitalist class, weak and lacking a social basis, could maintain itself only by entering into political alliances with the landowners.

In this atmosphere, no basis existed for stable political democracy. Democracy opens the way for the masses to press for social reforms, for which there is no lasting room on a capitalist basis.

Even where the regimes are nominally 'democratic', that democracy cloaks a hell of exploitation and poverty, enforced at various times by 'states of emergency' and martial law.

Most of the capitalist countries of Latin America and Asia are ruled by dictatorships, completely suppressing the trade unions and workers' parties. They are marked by terror, torture and massacre. Most of the independent states in Africa have also become one-party regimes or military governments, not allowing any organised opposition whatsoever.

These regimes are weak and unstable. Coups are followed by counter-coups. Military governments give way to civilian rule and then military government again.

Unable on a capitalist basis to solve any of the problems, they cannot indefinitely hold back the relentless pressure of the masses. Hence they balance between the pressures of imperialism on the one hand, and that of the workers and peasants on the other.

The state, serving the interests of capitalism, becomes partly elevated above the masses locked in struggle, repressing the masses for the benefit of the capitalists and landlords, but enforcing reforms at the capitalists' expense when the struggle of the masses becomes threatening.

Only in exceptional and temporary circumstances has there been any advance in the living standards of the colonial workers and peasants. Conditions of life for the overwhelming majority of the people of the capitalist 'Third World' have not only dropped further and further behind those of the advanced capitalist countries, but have become absolutely worse.

Incomes, the prospect of secure jobs and health have all deteriorated. Poverty, squalor and disease have increased to the pro-

portions of mass starvation and epidemics.

More and more, these conditions have forced the masses to move. There is no way forward on the basis of capitalism.

Revolution

The experience of the Russian Revolution of 1917 confirmed the fact—brilliantly anticipated by Trotsky in the theory of the permanent revolution—that the capitalist class of an underdeveloped country is incapable of carrying through the tasks of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It can solve none of the inherited problems of poverty, semi-feudal structures, landlessness, imperialist domination, arbitrary tribal and national divisions, and the absence of mass markets, because it is tied to the imperialists and the landlords.

Under these circumstances the task of taking power and carrying through the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution falls on the shoulders of the working class. But the working class, leading the peasantry and the majority of the nation, cannot stop at the accomplishment of these tasks. It will struggle to pass on to the socialist tasks—the expropriation of capitalism, etc.

This process was set in motion in the Russian Revolution of 1917, when the working class took power and established its own democratic state. But the socialist tasks cannot be completed within any single country, especially an underdeveloped country. The revolution needed to spread to the more advanced capitalist countries.

If this had happened, world history would have been different. If the working class in Western Europe had taken power at this time, it would have ignited the hot flame of social revolution throughout the colonial world.

But in fact, opportunities for carrying through the social revolution in Europe in 1917-1923 were missed, and the Russian Revolution remained isolated. Under these conditions, a privileged bureaucratic caste was able to usurp power in the Soviet Union, crushing workers' democracy and raising itself into the sole commanding stratum.

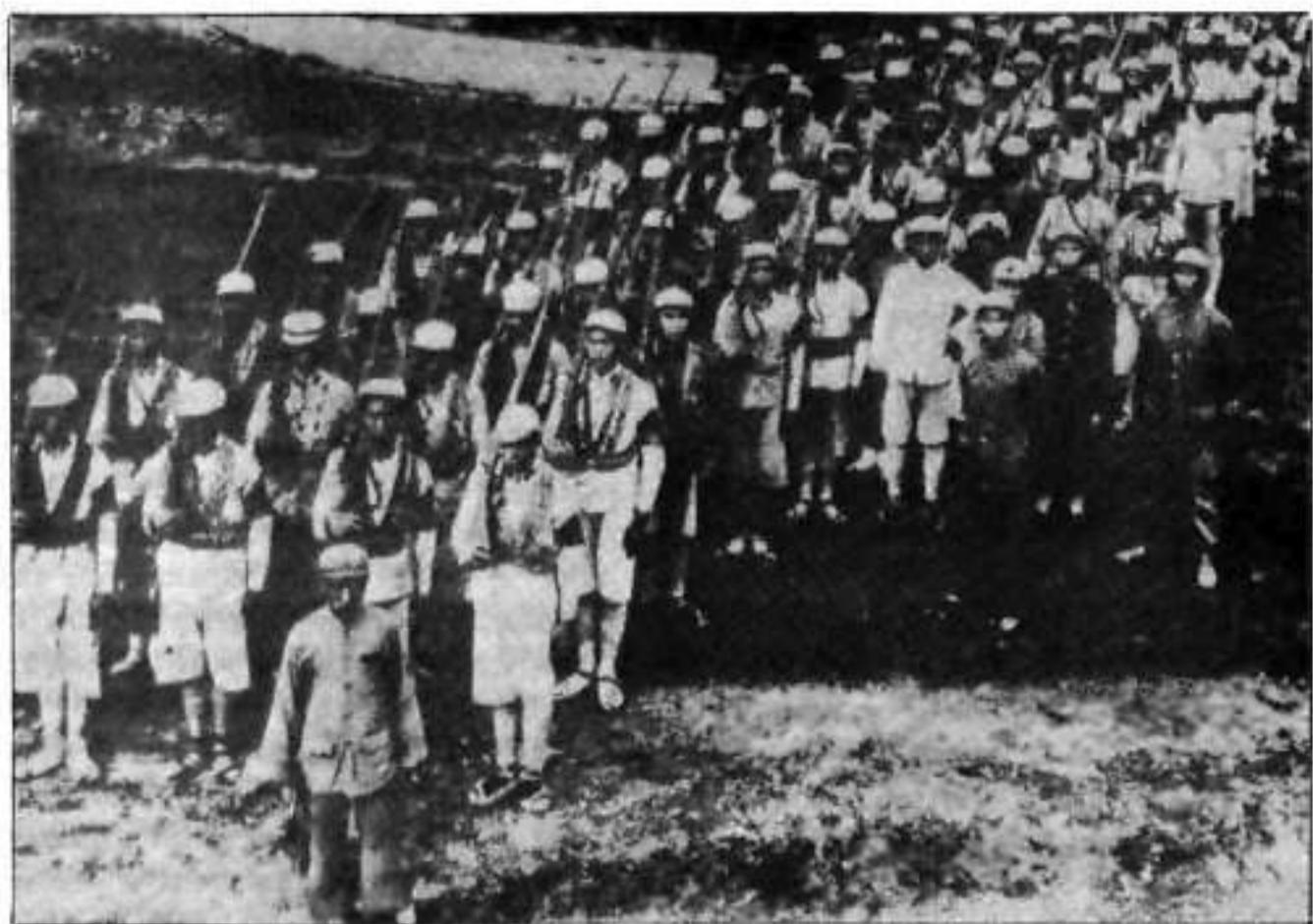
Delay

All that remained of the October Revolution was the abolition of capitalism and landlordism, together with a plan of production, in a bureaucratically distorted form.

Again after the Second World War huge revolutionary possibilities



Sao Paulo,
Brazil:
after 35 years
of
capitalist
boom



The Chinese Revolution 1944-49: the Red Army under Mao came to power

opened up for the working class in both Western and Eastern Europe. But the socialist revolution in the major capitalist countries, the decisive areas of the world, was derailed.

Thus the national awakenings and revolutions in the underdeveloped countries took place under unfavourable international conditions.

The defeat of the social revolution in the West, and its distortion in Eastern Europe, was a direct result of the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy.

In Western Europe the workers looked to the Communist parties for a revolutionary lead, because of the role played by Russia against Nazi Germany and the activity of Communists in the underground resistance against fascism.

But the Soviet bureaucracy, needing to maintain control over the Soviet working class, had everything to lose from the unleashing of the workers' revolution internationally. Stalin, at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, agreed secretly with the Western leaders that Western Europe should remain in the hands of imperialism.

The treacherous policies of Stalinism ensured that the socialist revolution in the West was delayed for a whole historical period. This provided the **political** basis on which capitalism, severely weakened by the war, was saved. A new era of capitalist growth was ushered in for all the advanced countries.

The capitalists, with expanding new resources, could offer concessions in response to working-class pressure. The Stalinist and reformist leaders came to echo the claims of the capitalists that crisis and class conflict were things of the past. They lulled themselves with the belief in an unending future of gradual reform.

Distorted revolution

The delay in the European revolution meant that no genuinely socialist lead and no industrial basis was provided for the workers and peasants in the underdeveloped countries.

But the masses in the 'Third World' could not wait until the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the advanced countries was resumed. Their problems were too crushing.

Thus the colonial masses have hurled themselves forward in a whole series of epoch-making struggles that have snapped the chain of world capitalism at one link after another: China, Cuba, Burma, Syria, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola etc.

In some cases the immediate cause of the break with capitalism was a military coup, resting on the support of the peasantry. In many other cases the driving force has been a peasant army mobilised in protracted rural guerilla warfare.

The Chinese Revolution of 1944-1949, which brought Mao's Red Army to power, was the first of these revolutions. Removing nearly one quarter of the world's people from the grip of landlordism and capitalism, its historical importance is surpassed only by the Russian Revolution itself.

The Chinese Revolution shifted the world balance of forces against imperialism and has secured the transformation of China, in 30 years, from a broken and weak semi-colony into a mighty power. It is only necessary to compare China with India today to see the enormous advantages for the masses resulting from the nationalisation and planning of production.

But, in contrast to the Russian Revolution, where the working class took power and later lost it to the Stalinist bureaucracy, **workers' control over society and the state never existed in China.**

In China, the workers' state was based from the outset on the rule of a bureaucratic caste, raised above the workers and peasants, its aims restricted to the national development of China alone.

This was the inevitable consequence of a revolution based on the peasantry and led by the middle class.

Not for nothing does Marxism explain that the socialist revolution and the building of socialism is the task of the working class. This is not accidental, but because the **specific role in production** of the working class gives it a **specific capacity and consciousness** possessed by no other class.

It is the working class alone, organised by the organisation of industry, which has the social position and can develop the collective consciousness to create a planned economy and a democratic workers' state, without bureaucracy or privileged strata. Only on the basis of workers' democracy can the way to genuine socialism be opened.

The Chinese Revolution was not based on the mobilisation of the working class under a Marxist leadership, struggling for workers' democracy and socialism. It was rooted in the heroic struggles of the peasantry against landlordism, and led by middle-class elements appalled by the oppression and suffering

of the masses.

In general this has also been true of the social revolutions in other underdeveloped countries.

Often even more than the working class, the peasantry suffers the most horrendous oppression under capitalism, and struggles fiercely against the landlords and the state. Why then cannot the peasantry carry through a revolution which leads to socialism in the same way as the working class?

The peasantry approaches social questions from the standpoint of a class of **individuals** who are not bound together in production.

As a class scattered in the countryside, isolated from the centres of

creating socialism, through the means of a people's guerilla war.

In fact it was no part of Mao's conscious programme to abolish capitalism. Prior to the revolution, the Chinese Communist Party proclaimed that a "new democracy" and "fifty years of national capitalism" lay ahead.

It was the **objective conditions** which enabled the middle-class leaders of the Chinese Revolution to take power, and left them no alternative but to take industry into state ownership, turning China onto the road of modern development.

The Chinese capitalists, linked to the landlords, were too bankrupt and decrepit to develop the forces of

factories and welcomed him with red flags.

Cuba

Fundamentally similar processes took place in Cuba in the late 1950s. The guerilla army gathered together by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara consisted of peasants, ex-workers, and the unemployed. It based itself on a bourgeois-democratic programme for the removal of the Batista dictatorship with no suggestion of abolishing capitalism.

The only real participation of the workers in the struggle was in the last stages when a general strike was called in support of Castro's march on Havana.

The fall of Havana meant the collapse of Batista's hated police state. Power fell into the hands of Castro at the head of the guerillas. But the abolition of capitalism and landlordism did not take place as the result of a conscious plan.

Taxes were imposed on the capitalists by Castro to raise money for basic reforms. American imperialism, controlling nine-tenths of the economy, violently objected and imposed a blockade on Cuba in retaliation.

As a reprisal for the blockade, the Cubans seized the American assets. Thus nine-tenths of the economy fell into the hands of the state. They then proceeded to nationalise the remaining tenth.

Thus the **economic foundations** of a workers' state came into existence but with power in the hands of the former guerilla leadership.

These military leaderships rapidly consolidated themselves into bureaucratic regimes, modelled on the 'socialist' bureaucracy in Moscow.

Starting out from conditions of indescribable economic destitution, the new regimes were able to organise considerable economic progress because of the superiority of a planned economy compared with decaying capitalism. Starvation could be abolished, schools built for all and life expectancy increased. This provided them with massive support among the working population.

At the same time, the severe constraints on production within a



Cuba: peasants ride in support of agrarian reform

industry, the peasantry cannot act collectively as a democratic organising force in production. The peasantry tend to follow the class or stratum which commands power in the towns.

Where the working class strives to socialise the property taken away from the exploiters, the tendency of peasants is rather to divide it among themselves. The advantages of collectivisation do not occur naturally to them, but must usually be demonstrated by others.

Where the working class must strive to solve problems on a national and international scale, the peasantry experiences problems on a local scale and is sceptical of national planning which appears to curtail its independence.

Because of the Chinese Revolution and the similar revolutions which followed, some intellectuals have concluded that the peasantry now has the historical role of

production. Chiang Kai-Shek, the bourgeois leader, saw his army of peasants in uniform disintegrate as the soldiers, offered land by Mao, flocked over to the side of the revolution. The lesson was clear: to gain land, the peasantry needed to rise up against the capitalist-landlord regime.

Imperialism, exhausted by the Second World War, was unable to come to the assistance of the Chinese ruling class. The Soviet bureaucracy, emerging strengthened from the war, provided Mao with material aid as well as the model of a bureaucratic workers' state.

Though Mao's victory led to the abolition of capitalism, **at the same time it crushed the independent movement of the Chinese working class against the capitalists**. So far was Mao from the example of the Russian Revolution that on entering Shanghai and other cities, he shot down workers who had seized their

single, underdeveloped country, governed by the world market, ruled out the all-round development of industry and agriculture to create the conditions of material abundance that could form the foundations of socialism.

As was shown in Russia after 1923, even a healthy workers' state, particularly in a backward country, will degenerate unless the social revolution spreads to other advanced countries. In conditions of generalised poverty and shortages, privileged elites will always arise and graft themselves onto the backs of the masses.

As Trotsky pointed out, when bread queues form, there will have to be officials to distribute the bread and policemen to keep the queue in order! And it is easy to see who will help themselves first—and most.

Like their counterparts in the underdeveloped capitalist countries, the bureaucratic regimes in the countries where capitalism was overthrown could only maintain themselves by balancing between the classes. Unable in the long term to satisfy all the demands of the workers, peasants and middle classes, they are forced to maintain rigid political control. Reforms are launched in response to pressure from the masses; at the same time the regimes remain vulnerable to the pressures of capitalism and imperialism internationally and are forced to adapt to these.

Thus, for the working class in the underdeveloped countries, the task to broaden their struggle internationally is a central part of the struggle to solve their daily problems. Only when the commanding heights of the world economy have been

brought under workers rule can the crushing burdens of imperialist super-exploitation and underdevelopment in Asia, Africa and Latin America be altogether removed.

The Russian and later the Chinese bureaucracies have supported national liberation struggles but, in the interests of 'detente' with imperialism, have opposed all efforts to organise the working masses consciously for the overthrow of capitalism. Their programs are identical: first 'national democracy' on a capitalist basis, while the struggle for socialism is relegated to the distant future.

Where peasant struggles have led to the collapse of rotten capitalist-landlord regimes, the Russian and Chinese bureaucracies have been faced with an accomplished fact. In these countries they have supported the establishment of bureaucratic regime that would confine themselves to building 'socialism' within their own borders, appealing neither to the workers of the West, nor of Russia and China themselves, to struggle for workers' democracy.

Spread

Similar objective conditions have led to the defeat of capitalism through drawn-out guerilla struggles in other countries of the underdeveloped world, and the rise of deformed workers' states.

In Vietnam, all the barbarity of French and US imperialism could not prop up the decrepit capitalist class. First in North Vietnam (after 1954) and then in the South (after 1975), the leadership of the vic-

torious guerilla movement had no option but to take over the economy from the fleeing capitalists. (By this stage the guerilla war had escalated into virtually a full-scale conventional war.)

In Mozambique and Angola the guerilla struggle contributed to the weakening of Portuguese capitalism. This resulted in the Portuguese revolution in 1974 which, in turn, placed power in the colonies in the hands of the guerilla leaderships. Faced with the flight of the capitalist class, they also were obliged to take production into the hands of the state and initiate economic planning.

In other countries, similar deformed workers' states have come into existence not as a result of guerilla warfare, but of a crisis within the existing state machine. In Ethiopia, sections of the officer caste staged a coup to replace the degenerate feudal absolutism of Haile Selassie by a constitutional monarchy. What compelled them to act was a famine imposing devastating suffering on the masses.

But, with the collapse of the monarchy, the feebleness and rottenness of the capitalist class—its inability to take the country forward—was obvious. It could not command the state or impose its stamp upon society.

Feeling the intense pressures of the peasants and workers beneath them, and only a vacuum above, the officers had no alternative but to base themselves on the support of the masses.

Initiating a programme of land reform, they won the support of the peasants, expropriated the landlords, and took the remainder of the economy under state control.

Leaders of guerilla armies often claim that 'victory is certain'. The bankruptcy of capitalism in the underdeveloped world, particularly in its most backward areas, continues to create conditions in which guerilla struggles based on the peasantry can result in a distorted social revolution.

But these victories are not automatic. With a more developed base of capitalist production, the capitalist class may not disintegrate completely under the pressure of the guerilla war. They may crush the guerilla struggle (as was the fate of



Since the elimination of capitalism and landlordism, Chinese industry has made great advances

Che Guevara's attempt to wage guerilla war in Bolivia) or, where deadlock is reached, may force the guerilla leaders to compromise.

In Algeria and Zimbabwe, for instance, guerilla struggle has resulted, not in the overthrow of the capitalist class, but in the former guerilla leadership forming a government with the state machine and property of the capitalist class largely intact.

Way forward

The examples of the distorted social revolutions in China, Cuba etc. have been attractive to the middle class because they pose no threat to its privilege. The middle class in those countries became transformed into a privileged bureaucracy standing over and above the mass of the people.

All that these states have in common with workers' democracy is state ownership of the means of production and economic planning. On this basis they can develop the productive forces at a pace impossible on their former capitalist basis, and can begin to feed, clothe, house and raise the educational and cultural level of the people.

These gains by the masses provide the historical justification of the colonial revolution, however distorted



The 'honeymoon': Castro with US Vice-President Nixon in 1959



Castro with Brezhnev and Kruschev in 1964

in its form.

Yet, starting from backwardness, developing production in the limited framework of a single country, the advances are tiny in comparison with what would be achieved on the basis of the socialist transformation of the world.

Today conditions for the world socialist revolution are once again re-emerging. World capitalism has entered a new period of prolonged death agony, which is arousing the working class of Western Europe, the US and Japan into mighty struggles which will develop over the next 10-15 years towards revolutionary situations.

In Russia and the other developed Stalinist countries, the bureaucratic regimes have turned into an absolute fetter on the development of production. As in Poland, the workers of these countries will again and again be impelled to rise up in an effort to overthrow the bureaucracy and establish workers' democracy.

A single revolutionary victory in a developed, industrialised country would spread like a bush fire, far faster and with more profound effects than even the Russian Revolution of 1917. It will raise the level of the working class internationally to heights never seen before.

In every major country of the underdeveloped world, the working class, with the crisis of world capitalism loaded on its back, is engaging in huge struggles against the bankrupt bosses and rotten regimes.

For the working class in struggle, the methods of guerillaism offer no solution. Guerilla struggle cannot mobilise the workers into a con-

scious force for the capture of power, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers' democracy. The methods of guerillaism can lead at best to deformed workers' states in which the working class is ruled by the armed forces and the bureaucracy.

The way forward for the working class in the underdeveloped world is through the development of its own programme within its own mass organisations, winning the support of the oppressed peasantry in its struggle for the socialist transformation of society. Above all it will need to link up with the struggle of the working class internationally. Its model should be, not the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, but the Russian Revolution of 1917.

At the same time, especially where the working class is a small force, a guerilla struggle of the peasantry can have an important auxiliary role in the struggle for workers' power. In these conditions the proletarian revolution, based in the cities, must be assisted by the peasant war in the countryside under the overall leadership of the workers.

The main task is to build the conscious movement of the working class for workers' power and socialism. The recent general strikes in countries such as Argentina, Sri Lanka, India etc. have shown that also in the underdeveloped world the working class is the key force to change society.

The crisis of capitalism will compel these workers to take their place in the front ranks of the world movement of the working class for the socialist transformation of society.

WORKERS ORGANISE!

PUTCO profits from workers

Throughout the country PUTCO is putting in for higher bus fares despite increases in Pretoria in January and on the Witwatersrand in July last year.

Even though the company made a profit of R13.7 million in 1981, the shareholders of PUTCO are demanding that the workers should be charged higher fares. On top of this PUTCO also has the advantage of deciding new routes, and can keep out competition from other bus companies.

Not only are the workers forced to live far outside the cities, with long hours to and from work every day. They also have to put up with whatever services the PUTCO monopoly decides to run, and pay whatever it decides to charge.

With rising costs, PUTCO's profits depend entirely on raising bus fares for the workers.



Overcrowding on Port Elizabeth buses

All workers would agree that bus fares must be stopped from rising. The solution is not 'black' bus companies, which will have to exploit the workers in the same way in order to be profitable.

The answer is nationalisation under workers' control and management of the bus companies and the whole transport system. Only then

can public transport as a whole be planned in the workers' interest.

The struggle against the increased PUTCO bus fares must be taken up by the trade union movement, particularly the unions which include the bus drivers.

No more profiteering at the workers' expense! No increase in bus fares!

J.W.

Right at the start of 1982 the Zimbabwean railway engine crews went on strike for better pay. From Bulawayo, the strike spread quickly across the country, bringing the railways to a standstill.

Within days, over 250 of the strikers (about 400 in all) were arrested and sentenced under Smith's Law and Order Maintenance Act. They were given 6 months suspended sentence on condition that they returned to work immediately.

During the strike, the government also passed emergency regulations increasing the penalties for railway workers who strike.

Last October the teachers and nurses were on strike. A *Sunday Mail* columnist, though opposing the strike, nevertheless reflected the opinion of most workers in the towns: "Both the teachers and nurses had good cases. Their wages, set during colonial rule...have always been sub-human particularly

Zimbabwe workers on strike

in the rural areas...The gap between the nurses' wages and those of the sisters was as vast as the gap between the North Pole and the South Pole...Some (teachers) earn 84 dollars and others 384 dollars—teachers with the same qualifications."

The striking teachers besieged the Ministry of Education, fruitlessly demanding a hearing. Hundreds were arrested. The rest were told to return to work or be sacked.

Their strike was unofficial, and they were not satisfied when the Minister consented to see only an official delegation from the Zimbabwe Teachers' Association, in which they had no faith. Later the Minister saw the elected strike committee, but only to dismiss them

from their jobs without listening to them.

One of the delegates said: "When we tried to argue, he ordered us out or he would call the police and have us thrown out."

When the nurses came out, over 500 were arrested in a demonstration on the first day. The next day, Prime Minister Mugabe threatened them and the teachers: "It is not difficult to arrest them and throw them into the bush for two or three months in order to make them feel the kind of hardships freedom fighters and peasants in the rural communities suffered."

Five days later, after army medics had been moved into the hospitals and the government had promised to investigate the grievances, the

WORKERS ORGANISE!

nurses returned to work.

These recent actions—following in the wake of strikes by many thousands of less skilled workers over the last eighteen months—shows a change in the mood of mass enthusiasm which swept Mugabe to office. Among the working class there is a growing determination to see the promises of socialist policies turned into reality.

But the "real power" in society, as Prime Minister Mugabe pointed out on January 16th, overwhelmingly lies in the hands of those who control "the minerals and farms, commerce and industry"—the same bosses and landowners as before independence.

The demands of the workers, skilled and unskilled, can only be met, and white privilege can only be finally swept away, if the leaders of ZANU and ZAPU break with the constraints of Lancaster House and mobilise the workers and peasants against capitalist power.

Such a movement would have overwhelming support from the mighty black working class of South Africa, who have the power to paralyse all efforts by the capitalists or the SA regime to attack the Zimbabwean revolution—and to lead the way to the socialist transformation of Southern Africa as a whole.

S.F.

White workers join independent union

Seventy-five workers from the whites-only Yster en Staal union have left to join a predominantly black union affiliated to FOSATU.

This happened because NAAWU shop stewards at the Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage were successful in resolving the problems of these white workers, where the Yster en Staal shop stewards had failed.

This is a small but clear sign that if the black workers' movement can show a militant lead to all workers and offer unity in action, then white workers can begin to swing to the camp of the black workers.

Apart from short-lived 'consumer booms', white workers' living standards have declined steadily since the early 1970's. Sections of white workers are beginning to see that there is no future by clinging to the capitalist class, to bankrupt white racism, or to the white union bureaucracy.

In fact, it is precisely the reactionary right-wing trade union leaders of the Arrie Paulus and Yster en Staal type, collaborating most closely with the bosses, that are

least able to defend their members' interests. As a result of the resignation of these members, the Yster en Staal leadership is now, belatedly, establishing courses for their shop stewards to train them in effective wage bargaining!

But the future lies, not in a resurgence of sectional struggles by white workers, but in the movement of the mass of the black workers. The black workers' movement must grasp the opportunities that are opening up to show to broader layers of white workers that their fate is tied up with that of the working class as a whole.

Without making the slightest concession to white privilege, they must explain that building a mass trade union united front is indispensable to the fight for all workers' interests.

The Yster en Staal example shows that even workers who in the past had followed the most reactionary union leaders can be pushed to these conclusions.

On this basis, winning further sections of the white workers, the black workers' movement can seriously weaken the bosses' forces of reaction and ease the road to the victory over the apartheid regime and the boss class.

The leaders of the ANC and SACTU must campaign resolutely for a programme of revolutionary working-class unity in struggle.

On this basis, the example of the Yster en Staal workers can be an early chord of the music of the future, in which our society will have been cleansed of violence, class and racial oppression, and hold the prospect of prosperity and security for all working people.



Y.F.

Zambia on a time-bomb



Seventeen years after winning independence, Zambia is in economic stagnation and deep social crisis.

After studying the situation at the request of President Kaunda, Rene Dumont, an agronomist, made the following chilling remark: "rich men's pigs have a better diet than the average Zambian."

At dawn each morning long queues are formed in front of the state-owned shops, which are irregularly supplied with basic essentials like mealie meal, cooking oil, salt, flour, wheat and sugar. But people often return home empty handed even after an eight hour vigil.

When patients are admitted to hospital, they have to take their own food. **Sharing a bed is not uncommon.** Drugs are not always available. Unemployment is at a record level, and could increase by 100 000 in 1982.

There has been a savage decline in living standards. A peasant now has to grow three times as much maize as he did during the 1960's to buy a similar shirt, blanket, or hoe.

Despite the continued massive injection of capital from the International Monetary Fund, none of the economic problems have been solved. In one of the most fertile coun-

**By Jasper Smith
and
Yusuf Fakir**

tries in Africa, starving to death has become common. Forty per cent of children die before they reach the age of 5, and 30% suffer from severe malnutrition. This reflects the economic impasse, verging on utter catastrophe.

The crisis is the heritage of British imperialist rule, and the domination of the economy by foreign monopolies. Within the capitalist world market, dominated by the big imperialist powers, the bourgeoisie in a former colony like Zambia arrived too late on the scene to develop the productive forces.

It is the capitalist class that is responsible for the chronic inability

of Kaunda and his UNIP government, ruling on the basis of capitalism, to modernise society and overcome the problems of backwardness. The policies of "Zambian humanism", failing to break the grip of capitalism, have not relieved the appalling human misery.

The Zambian economy is overwhelmingly orientated to a single export product, copper. The copper mining industry is 51% state-owned (South Africa's Anglo American Corporation owns the rest). This partial state-ownership has done nothing to alleviate the suffering of the Zambian masses—in fact, it has been used by the capitalists to squeeze even greater profits out of Zambia.

Copper accounts for 48% of production and 92% of exports by value. The price of copper, decided in the world market, has a decisive effect on the economy of Zambia. A heavy slump in copper prices in the mid 1970's deprived the government of vital revenue, and that slump is now repeating itself. In 1974, copper and cobalt provided 54% of the government income. Between 1977 and 1979, they pro-

vided nothing. Only Kw41m (R24,6m) came from this source in 1980 when the copper price fell from £1 375(R2 540) a tonne in February to under £800(R1 430) in December. A negligible amount of revenue is expected for 1981.

At the same time, oil costs have risen by 60% in 1980 alone, while the maize harvest has failed for two seasons running. This has led to maize imports, worth Kw10m(R6m) in 1979 and at least Kw49m(R30m) in 1980.

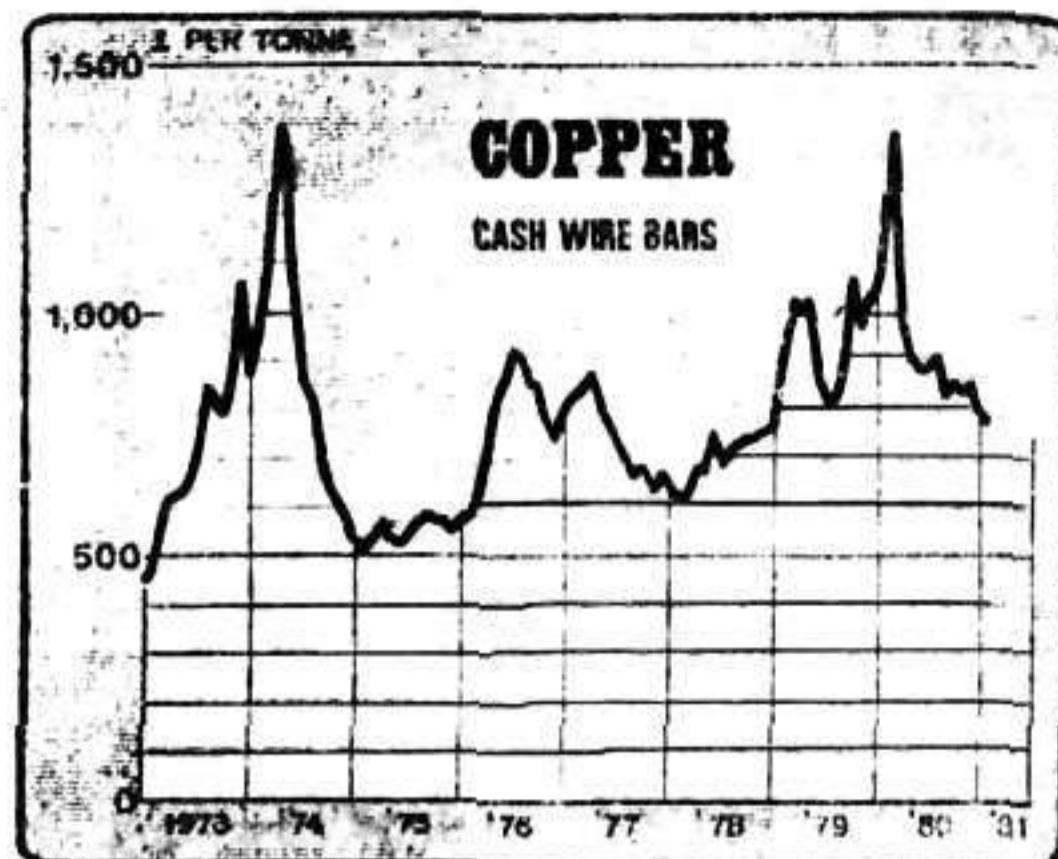
Confrontation

As this crisis-ridden economy continues to eat away at the living standards of the Zambian masses, the inevitable confrontation between government and workers has exploded yet again into the open.

Even the party-controlled *Times of Zambia* was forced to describe the situation on the Copperbelt as a "time bomb", as tens of thousands of mineworkers continue to strike over a range of economic and political issues, bringing production to an abrupt halt at all copper and cobalt mines—the nerve centre



President Kaunda: unable to solve the economic impasse on a capitalist basis



The price of copper critically affects the Zambian economy

the Zambian economy.

During the war in Zimbabwe, the Zambian masses were prepared to make sacrifices in solidarity. Now, to paper over the economic crisis and growing class tensions, Kaunda seeks scapegoats. His expulsion of two US diplomats as CIA spies, and accusations of an impending coup have done nothing to dampen the seething anger of the mineworkers.

No doubt the CIA is hard at work in Zambia. But, as one Zambian lawyer put it: "As far as the ordinary man in the street is concerned, he couldn't care less if it was the CIA or the KGB that was plotting against who. It's the bread and butter issues that are of concern to him."

The spate of wildcat strikes which swept the country at first on the issue of pay increases, have quickly matured into direct political confrontation between workers and government. Kaunda has accused trade union leaders of inciting strikes with the aim of toppling the government. Unable to ride out the storm with his customary "diplomacy", Kaunda and UNIP have been panicked into wielding a sledgehammer against the workers by gaoling Frederick Chiluba, chairman-general of ZCTU and other ZCTU leaders.

The mineworkers, however, are in no mood to be steam-rollered. When Minister of Labour and Social Services, Basil Kabwe, attempted to make the peace between government and striking workers in

July, he was shouted down and mobbed by angry strikers, who refused to join him in singing the national anthem. Then they tore his official car apart!

In another incident in September, when miners were striking against a decision to stop credit sales of meat, miners and their wives stoned union officials who stood in their way. It is precisely through struggle, that the workers will increasingly put their leadership to the test.

While it is undoubtedly the 400 000 Zambian mineworkers who hold the key to the political future of Zambia, and are in the frontline of the struggle, other sections too are clamouring for increased wages and political reform. The mineworkers have been joined by a section of the railway workers demanding equal pay and conditions for all Zambian railway workers.

Further strikes have broken out among district council workers demanding payment for the last two months which they had not received. In 1980 a total of 21 921 working days were lost as a result of 90 'illegal' strikes. In 1981, by June alone, these figures were totally surpassed: 46 329 working days had been lost as a result of 84 strikes. This reveals the growing militancy and maturity of the workers and the increased tempo of the class struggle that is developing.

It is precisely this growing struggle that persuaded the Lusaka High Court to order the immediate

release of Frederick Chiluba. The ZCTU leader was greeted with wild jubilation and cheering, clapping and shouts of "Long Live the ZCTU". Shortly after the release of Chiluba, Newstead Zimba, general secretary of the ZCTU, was released as well.

The depth of the capitalist crisis and the rotten and corrupt ruling class will provoke even greater resistance on the part of the workers, which will lead inevitably to the masses taking openly offensive action.

The workers have demonstrated through strikes their determination to use their increased strength and confidence. What is needed is a leadership of the workers' organisations, with a revolutionary determination, a conscious socialist programme to mobilize the workers and the peasant masses, and transform the situation completely.

One process

In the absence of a Marxist leadership and a programme capable of uniting and leading the workers towards the overthrow of capitalism, it is possible that the struggle could take a number of distorted forms.

Under present conditions, the grievances of national minorities could rear their head. Opposition to Kaunda and UNIP has already begun to harden around discrimination against the 18 Bemba-speaking



One of the most fertile countries in Africa, yet many areas are impoverished and depopulated

have often argued for denationalisation of mining and industry, and other measures supposed to reinforce capitalism.

The fact that workers tolerate such support for capitalism on the part of their leaders shows the confusion which has resulted because Kaunda's bankrupt capitalist policies are dressed up as "humanism" and even "socialism" in UNIP government propaganda.

The workers want an alternative to the present system. But Chiluba's policies would be an utter disaster, with further savage cuts into the living standards of the working people. This would rapidly unleash mass resistance, not least among the ranks of the trade unions

the economy.

State ownership of the main means of production constitutes the economic foundation of a workers' state. It would be a huge step forward, permitting some further development of the forces of production. But in the absence of democratic control and leadership by the working class, such a regime in Zambia would be in the hands of a bureaucratic elite. It would be a deformed workers' state, essentially no different from the regimes in Mozambique, Angola, China, or the Soviet Union itself.

But the needs of the people cannot be fully met, nor can a socialist democratic society be built, within the confines of a single country, let alone a country suffering the underdevelopment of Zambia.

Zambia is dominated and controlled by the same capitalist plunderers who control the wealth of South Africa. The revolutions in Zambia and South Africa are part of one process—the liberation of Southern Africa from the grip of the South African ruling class and the imperialist interests which it enforces.

Bankrupt capitalist policies are dressed up as "humanism" and even "socialism"

tribes which comprise 35% of the population, many of them mineworkers organised in the ZCTU and with historical allegiance to the UPP (which was Kapwepwe's party).

Frederick Chiluba, himself a Bemba-speaker, is being widely tipped as a future leader in the event of Kaunda's overthrow. But Chiluba and other leaders of the ZCTU, echoing the ideas of Kapwepwe,

themselves.

Kaunda himself, however, is not yet a spent force. It cannot be excluded that with the impasse of Zambian capitalism and the unrelenting pressure from below, he (or a successor drawn from UNIP or the army) would be left with no alternative but to mobilise the masses for the expropriation of the big capitalists and the nationalisation of the commanding heights of

W. EUROPE

Western Europe is the cradle of world capitalism and modern imperialism. Marx and Engels developed their analysis of capitalism, and their perspective of working class revolution, on its soil.

For the twenty-five years after the Second World War, it seemed as if the class struggle in Western Europe had died down. Many cynical 'left' intellectuals—in Europe as well as the colonial world—claimed that the whole European working class had finally been 'bought off' by the capitalists. This showed a complete lack of understanding of the real situation.

But today, against a background of world economic and social crisis, fresh signs are appearing in Western Europe of explosive movements that will change the course of human history.

What lies ahead has been clearly foreshadowed in the election victories this year of workers' parties in France and Greece. In France, the Socialist Party (PSF) was placed in office in the biggest electoral victory for the workers in French history, defeating the right for the first time in 23 years.

In Greece, PASOK (Socialist Party) won a crushing victory, with the left getting 60% of the vote. This, the second largest vote ever received by the workers' parties in any industrially developed country, placed them in office for the first time.

The mood of the workers was clearly expressed in a leaflet publish-

ed the very day after the elections by the biggest trade union in the Greek Electricity Corporation (DEI): "We greet the victory of the working people in the elections...and we ask you to carry out the tasks of CHANGE...starting from today, we, the workers of DEI, begin to put into practice the decisions of the Greek people. Real power within our company is now transferred to the hands of our workers and other representatives of popular power, who will implement the slogans that the Greek people were shouting in the streets: 'the people and PASOK in power!'"

Since the devastation of the Se-

**By
Simon Freedman**

cond World War, capitalism has rebuilt powerful economic foundations in Western Europe—even overtaking the United States. In 1979, 19 countries in Europe produced 45.2% of the output of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), whose 25 members include all the advanced capitalist countries. West Germany, France, Italy and Britain together produced 30.3% of OECD output. The United States produced only 34.8%.

And yet the capitalist class of Western Europe, even in those countries where the working class has gained the most benefits from the boom, is no longer able to contain the class struggle. In 1980 Sweden, the showpiece of modern social-democracy, was paralysed by a near-national general strike and lockout.

1981 has been a year of turmoil. In February a military coup was attempted and failed in Spain, sparking off a demonstration of 500 000 in Madrid opposing a return to dictatorship. The barren inner cities of Britain, further devastated by the policies of Thatcher, were stricken by a wave of protest and rioting.

In rich West Germany, Holland, Austria and even Switzerland the youth during the last few years have been vigorously protesting against the housing shortage and lack of facilities.

In October and November huge



PASOK rally in Greece

into the 1980s -

peace demonstrations, with the youth much in evidence, have taken place in Bonn, Brussels, Rome, Paris, Amsterdam, London, and Madrid. Well over a million people took part, many for the first time in their lives, to oppose the stationing of yet more nuclear weapons in Europe.

Capitalist boom

All this clearly signals the end of the social stability made possible by the longest and strongest boom in capitalist history, which Western Europe shared in after the Second World War.

The Second World War was the culmination of decades of economic stagnation and political crisis in Europe. In the aftermath of war, Europe remained ripe for social revolution: in several countries the working class could have taken power.

resurgence of capitalism in Europe.

Many other factors played a further role. The war left United States imperialism in an absolutely dominant position in the capitalist world. Under its sway, measures were taken to increase trade and the division of labour on a world scale.

Under Marshall Aid huge US loans were pumped into Europe. Production was revived on the basis of demand for consumption goods and machines postponed by war, and the modernization of machinery replacing that destroyed in the war. The collective imperialist exploitation of the workers and peasants of the Third World was intensified.

Thus capitalism got onto its feet again. But, at the same time, with the recovery of production, the working class increased in numbers and strength. The enormous power of the labour and trade union movement forced a phenomenal rise in living standards, and the development of 'welfare capitalism'. The

'mixed economy', i.e. capitalism with some measures of state intervention, and reforms for the workers where these could be afforded.

Growth slows

But by the 1960's it had become apparent that economic growth was slowing down, and inflation began to rise ominously. A breakdown in the international monetary system in 1968-71, leading to sharp rises in the oil-price from 1973, helped precipitate a simultaneous recession in nearly all capitalist countries. This was a stunning shock to the capitalists.

In fact, this recession marked the end of the post-war period of capitalist growth. Basically, capitalism was once again jolting up against the limits of the world capitalist market. Production had been increased at break-neck speed.

-The struggle for socialism

But instead of taking the lead in these movements, the social-democratic and communist leaders of the workers' parties helped suppress them. They argued in effect that the first task was not for the working class to take power and reconstruct Europe on a socialist basis, but to rebuild the war-shattered economies on the basis of capitalism.

These disastrous policies, resulting from deals struck between the imperialists and the Soviet bureaucracy at the end of the war, laid the political basis for the

possibility of radical change in Europe seemed to grow more and more remote.

From 1950 to 1974 the capitalists bubbled over with effusive self-confidence. They thought they had succeeded in banning crisis from their system forever through the use of inflationary measures to control and stimulate the economy, based on the theories of the capitalist witchdoctor Keynes.

The reformist leaders of the labour movement shared in these illusions, and became even more committed in their support for the

Now the markets were being glutted and the capitalists could sell less and less of their products at a profit.

The result of decades of heavy borrowing and massive investment, has been a falling rate of profit for capitalist production as a whole. For example, the net rate of profit of companies in the UK declined steadily from an average of 11.6% in 1960-65 to 4.9% in 1980. All over the capitalist world profit rates dropped sharply when the crisis of 'over-production' set in in 1974-5.

After a weak recovery between 1976 and 1979, there has been

renewed, and deeper, simultaneous recession in Western Europe.

The OECD forecasts that the economies of its European members will grow 0.6% in 1981, and 2.2% in 1982. In October 1981 President Reagan admitted that the US economy had entered its second recession in two years, dashing hopes of a quick recovery in Europe.

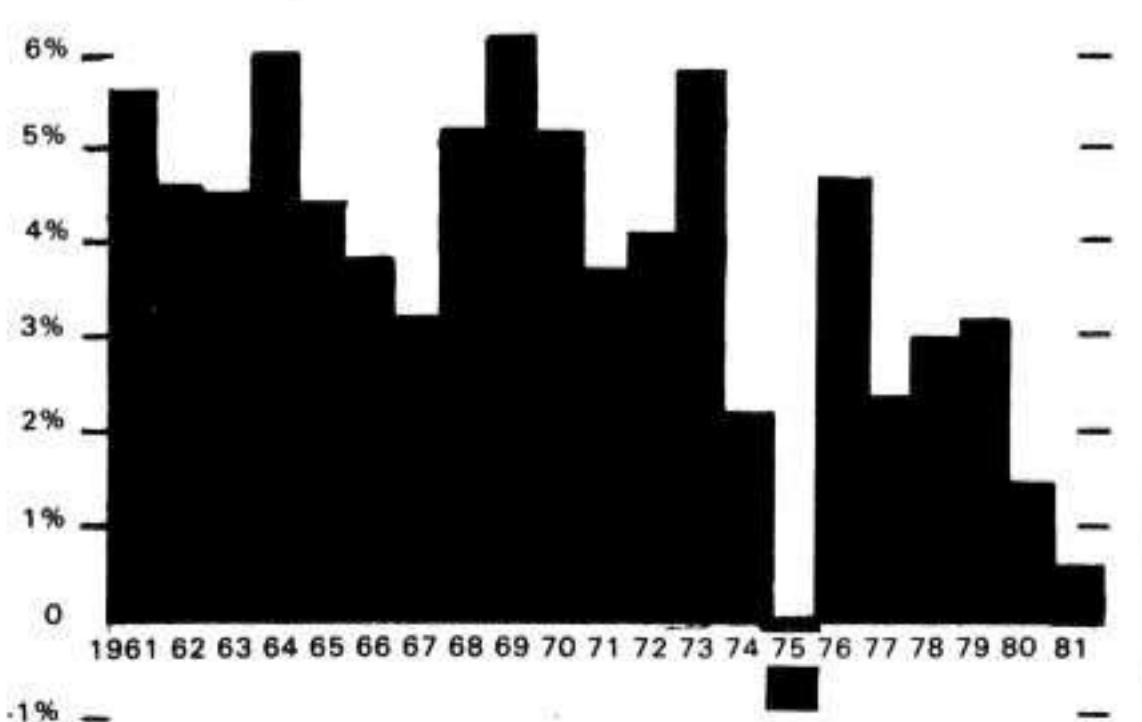
The outlook for the future is now one of continuing decline, with short-lived periods of feeble recovery, followed by new and deeper crisis.

Unemployment in the European OECD countries in 1980 was 7.1%—and is forecast to grow to 9.5% in 1982. In human terms this means an estimated 28 million people without work in the advanced capitalist countries as a whole. In the 9 countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) alone, 10 million people are suffering the misery and dislocation caused by unemployment.

For the youth in particular, capitalism offers a bleak future. In several countries more than one in every five young people are out of work. In Italy, Holland and Luxembourg the under-25's total half the unemployed, and 40% in France and Belgium.

Inflation has continued to rise, eating into workers' wages and eroding businessmens' confidence. In the EEC between April 1980 and April 1981 prices rose on average by 12.4%.

GROWTH RATES IN THE EUROPEAN OECD COUNTRIES, 1961-1981



The amount of new investment by capitalists has been drastically reduced. High interest rates make it expensive to borrow the money to invest. World trade is barely growing. The opening up of trade with Eastern Europe and China has given only temporary relief to the Western European economies.

The reasons for this economic crisis are organic to the system of capitalism itself. Marx showed that crisis is inherent in capitalism because of its built-in contradictions (obstacles to the further development of the productive forces). **Private ownership of the means of production and the nation-state are in conflict with the need for the organisation of production on an ever-increasing scale.**

Because under capitalism production takes place only for the profit of the bosses, and not the needs of society, even the best-paid workers in the world are now faced with declining living standards.

Marxism explains that when an economic system can no longer develop the forces of production, crisis and social revolution are printed in capital letters on the agenda of history. This is the basic reason why the working class of Europe are increasingly being forced into struggle to defend their gains, and the youth their future.

For, though less and less capable of developing production, the capitalist class has no intention of giving up its wealth and power voluntarily!

When an economic system can no longer develop the forces of production, crisis and social revolution are on the agenda of history

In an age when, due to the fantastic advances in technology, space shuttles can take off from the earth and return to it, millions are deprived of the most basic needs. The anarchy of the profit system throws millions of people onto the scrap heap of unemployment, as unprofitable factories are closed down or produce at only part of their capacity.

In Western Europe the capitalists are desperately trying to restore their profit rates by taking back the gains made by the workers in the post-war period.

In nearly all countries, government spending on social services is being cut, usually first hitting those weakest and least able to defend themselves. The aged suffer pension cuts; the disabled and unemployed suffer cuts in their social security payments.

Spending on the health and education of the working class is generally being slashed. In some countries, trade union rights are under heavy fire from governments and employers.

The 'justification' for all this is that if money is taken from the workers and put into the pockets of the capitalists, their higher profits will supposedly encourage them to invest more. In this way, they claim, the engine of capitalist growth can be started up again.

These policies, of cuts and strict state control of the supply of money in circulation, are associated with the name of capitalism's new guru, Milton Friedman, and go by the name of 'monetarism'. But there is

little new in them. Having seen that Keynesian policies fuelled the fires of inflation, the capitalists are returning to pre-Second World War policies—which at that time had proved disastrous.

In fact 'monetarism', leading to economic slowdown and higher unemployment, has not been able to reduce government budgets and taxation levels, even in the drastic forms practised by the Tory government of Thatcher.

Rising unemployment means governments must spend **more** on benefits—unless they can crush the workers' organisations.

Slow growth, unemployment, and levels of taxation still too high for them means capitalists hold off from reinvestment, because they have no expectations of sufficient markets or profit rates.

Capitalism's gravedigger, the working class, has grown in absolute and relative numbers since the Second World War. The workers' strategic importance in production has increased also with the technological complexity of the economy. **Today many groups of workers (miners, dockers, power workers, lorry drivers, water workers), acting on their own, can dislocate the entire economy.**

The percentage of the workforce organised in trade unions has also increased enormously. In most Western European countries today the trade union federations are the largest single organized group in society. In a country such as Sweden, 90% of manual workers are organised, and 70% of white collar workers.

With no way out of the economic crisis, confronted by a powerful working class, the capitalists are increasingly uncertain, divided, and afraid of provoking a serious confrontation. This is reflected in growing strains in their political parties.

In the British Tory party, Thatcher's 'hard-liners' are opposed by the 'wets', who would basically like to impose the same cuts and attacks on the workers, but packaged in a way which they hope will be less provocative. In Spain the ruling UCD party is openly split—with the previous Prime Minister resigning from it. In France the capitalist parties are plagued with similar differences.

Also internationally the capitalist class is in disarray. Only 5 or 6 years ago, many capitalist strategists still had the utopian dream of integrating the EEC to such an extent that all its members would use the same currency.

Precious little remains of that dream today. Constant little trade wars are breaking out between European countries, e.g. France's blockade of Italian wine in 1981.

working class, freshly emerged from the experience of Francoism, would not have tolerated renewed dictatorship for more than a few years. The convulsions necessary to overthrow such a dictatorship would then have posed a severe threat to the survival of capitalist rule itself. This was why the majority of the bourgeoisie, and the Spanish king, in the end refused to support the February coup.

In fact, dictatorship could only be



Capitalist anarchy: apples being destroyed in Greece

Of course, the economic crisis and resulting clashes among the capitalists do not in themselves mean that the end of capitalism is automatically just around the corner. The capitalists will fight on more desperately as they are driven against the wall. Capitalism will survive until it is consciously overthrown.

Despite the immense latent power of the working class, the capitalists, to preserve their rule, will increasingly have to resort to head-on attacks.

What the future can have in store throughout Europe is shown in a country like Spain, which never benefited as much from the boom as its northern neighbours. Living standards are far lower. Starvation prevails in some areas, and class tensions are far less disguised.

The attempt at a military coup in February shows that some sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie are toying with the idea of re-installing a military-police dictatorship.

If the coup had succeeded, the

lastingly re-imposed by the destruction of the workers' organisations in a civil war as in the 1930's.

But these measures will become seen by increasing sections of the capitalists as necessary in their efforts to break the resistance of the workers.

At the same time, in Spain there will be enormous opportunities for mobilising the workers' movement against the decaying capitalist system. A victory for the PSOE and PCE, the workers' parties in Spain, possible at the next election, could have even more explosive repercussions than the left election victories in France and Greece.

It could spark off a major confrontation between the Spanish workers, taking matters into their own hands, and the capitalist class. This in turn, like the revolutionary struggles in Spain in the 1930s would have a profound effect on the workers' movement throughout Europe.

In northern Europe the crisis bites more slowly into the living



Spain: Socialist Party leader Gonzalez with former capitalist Prime Minister Suarez

standards of the workers. The West German workers have experienced a decline in real wages in 1981 for the first time in a generation. But the inevitable assaults of the capitalists on the standard of life and rights of the workers, will produce conditions of social unrest, increasing in frequency and intensity, alternating with periods of seeming calm.

Through the experience of attacks and of struggle, the mass of the workers will search for alternatives to the bankrupt policies of right-wing trade union and labour leaders.

Workers' leaders

During the post-war period it was possible for the workers' leaders to negotiate rises in living standards with the employers. Rank and file workers during the boom experienced less need to be active in their trade unions and political parties. Many people, particularly from the middle class, saw opportunities to make careers by grabbing positions in the labour movement.

With the capitalist system in a generalised downward movement, the right-wing leaders are unmasking themselves. The smallest reform now requires a bitter fight. Instead these leaders bow to the pressures of the capitalist crisis, and carry out the counter-reforms demanded by the bosses.

This was the course followed by the 1974-9 Labour government in Britain, discrediting it in the eyes of the workers, and disastrously paving the way for Thatcher.

In the same way, right-wing social democratic leaders in Holland and Norway have in 1981 suffered serious election defeats, because they let down the workers' expectations.

At the same time, in times of crisis, workers everywhere tend to turn towards their traditional organisations to defend their interests. Thus the French Socialist Party saw a 40% increase in its membership between the May election and October 1981. **The workers will test and retest their leaders and policies, and draw conclusions from their experiences.**

Already this is leading to increased divisions on policy in many European social-democratic parties, e.g. West Germany, France, Spain.

In Britain, political storms are raging in the Labour Party and increasingly in the trade unions. Here a section of right-wing Labour leaders have been encouraged by the capitalist class to form a new party, the SDP, in an attempt to stop Labour's return to power. Projected as a "new force" that will change the face of British society, it is in fact built on unstable middle-class support. It has no policies except the already-discredited ones of former Labour governments, and will

disintegrate over time.

Similar processes are at work in the Communist Parties, in the areas in southern Europe where these have mass support.

Because of the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, their leaders have become as reformist as the social-democrats. Nowhere do they pose the tasks of defeating capitalism.

The pressure of their supporters looking for alternative policies has resulted in recent waves of expulsions from the Communist Parties in France and Spain.

In France and in Greece the new governments of workers' parties have made extensive promises to remove unemployment, curb the effects of inflation, and restore cuts in social services.

Nationalisation of important industries is being carried through in France (though even these measures will bring only 16% of production under social ownership). PASOK in Greece has promised nationalisation of energy, public transport, utilities, steel, shipyards, cement, mining, fertilisers and pharmaceuticals.

Latent power

These governments are already under heavy pressure from the workers to keep their promises, or risk losing their support. Unless they move forward, mobilising the workers for a decisive break with capitalism, the bosses will in time be able to regroup the forces of reaction.

Reactionary developments are inevitable while the workers' leaders shrink from the struggle to overthrow the capitalist state and replace it with a **democratic workers' state**.

Today the workers' movement throughout Europe has a latent power unprecedented in history.

With a Marxist leadership of the trade unions and mass workers' parties, the capitalist state would collapse like a house of cards and a peaceful transition to socialism would be quite possible.

With the working class held back by timid leadership, however, the resolution of the present crisis is likely to be protracted. In Italy, the weakness of the capitalist class,

combined with the weakness of the workers' 'communist' and 'socialist' leaders, has produced a stalemate between the classes—a pre-revolutionary crisis existing for over twelve years. Similar crises have begun to develop in Portugal and Spain—where the workers' leaders have abandoned opportunities for a decisive break with capitalism—and could spread to France, Britain, and elsewhere.

The central task in the European labour movement now is to develop a steeled, fighting leadership in the mass organisations, capable of uniting working people around a programme to break the stranglehold of the capitalist class over the means of production, for the nationalisation of the big firms under workers' control and management.

A few incidents from 1981 reveal glimpses of the potential support the labour movement can draw on, by offering a bold lead.

...workers will learn enormously from their experience in the sharpening class struggle.

Even some of the notorious riot police in Paris celebrated the election victory of the socialists under Mitterand by driving around with the hooters of their vehicles blaring. In Greece, some PASOK activists were astonished on election night when three policemen flung their



Amsterdam Ford workers march to save their factory

arms around them in celebration of PASOK's victory, asking: "Is Papandreu (PASOK's leader-Ed) going to give us trade union rights at last?" And they added: "The new government must move fast while the generals and police chiefs are stunned."

In the European labour movement as a whole, short-term fluctuations and temporary setbacks cannot conceal the reality that a gradual but relentless turn to the left is taking place. The actions and demands of the masses show that they are just beginning to draw revolutionary conclusions under the pressure of world crisis.

Sections of the politically advanced workers are becoming convinced that the working class has no way out but the road of socialism. The forces of genuine Marxism in the workers' mass organisations are growing in strength and influence. Using correct strategies and tactics, an understanding can be built in the labour movement of the processes at work and the socialist tasks explained. The workers will learn enormously from their experience in the sharpening class struggle and inevitable social upheavals of the next one or two decades. Their mass organisations will be transformed and retransformed.

The decisive victory of the working class in any major European country would put the question of a socialist Europe and a socialist world very much on the agenda. An end to world poverty, and undreamt-of human development, would be brought within our reach.

This is not wishful thinking. It is a genuine possibility on the basis of the awakening strength of the big battalions of the world working class in Western Europe and America today—and the only alternative to capitalist anarchy and the threat of nuclear holocaust ●



French workers queue up at the employment bureau



Natal pension strike

PENSIONS:

The case for workers' control

Last year, the state tried to ram a "Preservation of Pensions Bill" down the workers' throats.

The workers greeted this attempted robbery with strikes throughout the country, drawing also plantation workers into the struggle. Mine workers, too, came out in protest at the attempt to introduce a similar death benefit scheme.

The strength of worker resistance has forced the government to postpone introduction of the Bill—a major political victory for the workers.

But this victory is far from settled. It is a partial victory because the Bill has not been scrapped altogether. This gives the bosses a breathing space to work out a better strategy. The labour movement should thus not be lulled into a false sense of security, but should now prepare to defeat the bosses decisively in the next battle.

"Shocked"

The capitalist press were "shocked" at the irresponsibility of those workers who struck against the Bill, claiming they were "throwing away their pension rights". But what is the reality?

In fact, the Pensions Bill was designed to take away a limited 'right' enjoyed by the workers. Instead of being able to withdraw their contributions to private pension funds when needed, they would have been prevented from doing so until reaching retirement age of 65. This Pensions Bill, and the strug-

**By Rocco Malgas
and Jake Wilson**

gle over it, in fact exposes the total inability of the SA profit system to satisfy basic needs of the working people.

In the first place, the private pension schemes which the Pensions Bill was meant to regulate have their hold over the workers only because the capitalist state refuses to provide an adequate pension scheme for all working people.

The South African capitalists have shirked the responsibility of providing for the needs of retired workers not only because of their rotten meanness and greed, but because of their worm-eaten inabil-

ity to do so: SA capitalism depends on cheap labour.

The migrant labour system has long served as the basis of cheap labour. The existence of the 'reserves' served as an excuse for the ruling class to disclaim any responsibility for the aged—as well as the sick, unemployed, etc. The 'reserves' are used as dumping grounds for unwanted workers.

Thus the state pension for African workers has always been set at a paltry level. The smallest of additional earnings, or even "notional" earnings, by the retired, disqualifies them from the pension. Only a fraction are receiving such pensions.

But even this is too much for the capitalists! The real vicious meanness of the 'liberal' bosses is blurted



Pensioners queue overnight for pittance.

out by the *Financial Mail*: "An essential element of a free-market economy is that all individuals who are able to do so must provide for their own retirement. The failure of many citizens to plan for the future results in increased pressures for welfarism."

In other words, in the view of the capitalists, the workers themselves must provide out of their starvation wages for their old age to avoid placing responsibility for welfare onto the bosses or the regime!

This, of course, (as the Registrar of Financial Institutions said recently) allows the bosses' government to "spend more money elsewhere", i.e. on the military and the police.

Robbers

Taking advantage of this situation, the insurance companies stepped in.

Until recently, it was mainly white, Coloured, and Indian workers—through their organisation in the registered unions—who were enrolled in private pension schemes. In 1976 only 5 or 6% of African workers were enrolled in these schemes.

This was just another of the many weapons for dividing different sections of workers.

But in the recent period the insurance companies with greedy enthusiasm have rushed the employers and the industrial councils into private pension schemes for African workers.

This was not because they wanted decent pensions and sick benefits for all workers, but in order to increase the wealth from which to reinvest for profit.

It is not only through exploiting our labour at the point of production (in the factories, etc) that the bosses rob us to make profits for themselves. Also the pension funds, invested with the insurance companies, provide a means for these capitalists to share in exploitation, by grabbing a share of the workers' wages and reinvesting it in company shares, Defence Bonds, etc.

Already squeezing all they could from the white workers' wages, the bosses of the insurance companies came to realise that the "African

market" could serve as a new source from which to grab money. As a result the number of African workers in pension schemes rose to between 30 and 40% in 1980. Now it must be even higher.



Whether these pensions fall under industrial councils or are provided by the company, they are under the control of the employers and insurance companies. At best the bosses allow a few trade union bureaucrats into the pension discussions on the industrial councils. No report backs are made to the workers.

Thus no workers contributing to pension schemes—not even the white union members—have a real say about what happens to their money or what the rules of the pension scheme should be. In the case of the African workers, the pension schemes were introduced, and deductions made from workers' pay packets, without even any negotiations with the independent unions.

Tricks

To squeeze the maximum from the workers, the bosses of the pension schemes use all sorts of tricks.

Even where workers and bosses contribute equal amounts to these funds, the workers' deductions are taken from their earnings without

any compensation, while the bosses' contributions are tax deductible.

Generally, the pension a worker can expect to get is a miserable 2% (for each year of continuous service) of the last annual wage earned before retirement. And even this amount will mean the worker forfeits the state pension!

So just by paying contributions to a private pension scheme, the worker is saving money for the regime.

Migrant workers have a worse deal. The bosses insist on a 'qualifying period'—up to 10 years—before the worker can receive employer pension contributions. Then they make it almost impossible for migrants to get their contributions back by making workers wait up to three months before being paid out their money. Who can afford a special trip from the Bantustans to get the money back?

Difficult

On top of it all, when a migrant dies the insurance companies make it very difficult for a widow to claim unless there is a marriage certificate, etc. Without the help of a trade union, the country woman is completely lost; and the money stays in the pockets of the capitalists.

But the biggest trick of all played by the capitalists is this. To squeeze the maximum funds out of the schemes, they have tried to withhold payouts until the worker reached a retirement age of 65. Yet their own research has shown that the average lifespan of black workers, sucked dry through daily slave labour, is 55.

Workers, in other words, are only to be allowed to retire after they are expected to have died!

Thus the ruthless bamba zonke methods of the employers, insurance companies, and the regime mean that the workers' money ends up simply guaranteeing the capitalists more profit—and providing the regime with more money to oppress them with the murderous police and army and vicious Bantustan regimes.

From the start, in fact, the workers have seen through these tricks and turned the pension schemes to their own ends. They

have withdrawn their contributions when they lost their jobs, wanted to change jobs, or went on strike—even if this meant they forfeited the bosses' part of the contributions to the funds.

These fighting demands can rally not only the organised workers, but also the unorganised and the unemployed.

This is the use to which workers have put the pension schemes because there is no adequate and comprehensive unemployment benefit scheme provided by the bosses' regime.

Until such a scheme can come into existence, and a realistic retirement age is established, it is clear that no pension scheme based on contributions from workers paid starvation-level wages can guarantee them adequate insurance for old age or just compensation for a life of work.

The Pensions Bill was introduced precisely to close off the loophole being used by the workers: it would have prohibited any payouts to workers until the age of 65.

This would have meant an enormous increase in forced savings from the workers, as the bosses could then have invested a worker's contribution during his or her entire lifetime—and often kept it permanently after death.

It was to protect access to this small fund that could be used in hard times that the workers went on strike.

Yet, to build up a 'stable' base of funds for profitable reinvestment, the insurance companies will continue to press for restrictions on withdrawals from the pension funds. To carry the struggle for-

ward, we need a carefully worked out and detailed programme able to unite in the struggle over pensions all sections of the working class across racial lines.

Out of the battles which have been, and are still being fought around pensions there can be put together the general outline of such a programme, much of which has already been raised by the independent trade unions:

- *a single state social fund (bringing together the existing workmens' compensation, unemployed insurance, pension and sick funds) to provide for workers in all cases of incapacity (accidents, sickness, old age, disablement, pregnancy and childbirth, benefits to widows) and unemployment;

- *all workers and their families must be included;

- *payouts should be at 100% of earnings, and not less than R100 a week;

- *no contributions from workers earning less than R100 a week.

- *monthly pension payouts;

- *adequate payout offices near workers' homes;

- *scrapping the means test of the existing state pension system;

- *reduction of the retirement age to 55.

Linked to the struggle for a national minimum wage of R100 a week indexed to the cost of living, these fighting demands can rally not only the organised workers, but also the unorganised and the unemployed.

These demands are also a basis

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for winning the support of the white workers. Despite their privileges, retired white workers also suffer deprivation under capitalism. The deep contempt the bosses have for the entire working class is shown by Minister Lapa Munnik who said that pensioners could live on R20 a month. An organisation for white pensioners has already been established to press for a living pension.

Other demands raised by the trade unions must also be supported: workers' control of all pension funds, and the redirection of pension fund investment into socially desirable areas.

Against the monstrous bureaucracy hostile to the interests of the workers, black and white, which now administers the state and private welfare funds we must struggle for the full management of all such funds by elected worker representatives from the trade unions.

Stranglehold

The funds can be brought together into a single socially owned fund through the nationalisation of the insurance monopolies, as called for in the Freedom Charter.

It is only on this basis that the stranglehold of the profit system over social benefits can be broken and the needs of the overwhelming majority of working people met.

But the capitalist class in SA depends completely on cheap labour and police dictatorship. It will never consent to giving up control over these vital areas of society.

This means that the reorganisation of social welfare in the interests of the working people can only be achieved when the existing state is replaced by the democratic rule of the working class: the trade union demands must be linked up to the political struggle for national liberation, democracy, and socialism.

At the same time every advance in the pension struggle will be a blow struck against the bosses and the regime, and a giant step forward for the entire workers' movement.

Ciskei "independence"



The ruling class in South Africa has again been proved to be desperate and confused. Deafened by the roar of the growing strength of the working class, it is attempting to put into effect what history has long sidekicked—"independence of the tribes".

Again, as was the case with Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, it was not necessary to run from place to place in search of an ally—Chief Lennox Sebe was there waiting with open hands.

Chief Sebe—greedy, dull-minded, trotting after the ruling class as after an older sister, carrying confusion wherever he is—chose to be indifferent to the opposition by the workers. He accepted without shame the "independence of the Ciskei."

Desperation

The bosses today are finding themselves in a very desperate position. There is no way in which they can solve the problem of unemployment. The future of the economy looks very bleak. They cannot afford higher wages.

As a result, the workers have grown more and more militant. Trade union membership is on the increase and strikes are part of everyday life.

In an attempt to fight against these developments, the ruling class bring "homeland independence". They hope that this move will divide

**By Headman Sasa
and D.Sikhakhane**

the workers and weaken their forces.

What reason would the Tswanas, Sothos, Vendas and others have to fight against the Ciskeian "government"? What about their own "states"? In this way the ruling class hope their South African state will be left free.

At the same time, the task of screening and victimizing the militant workers is made the task of the "homelands" rather than SA itself. Already the Sebe's are busy with the detention and the harassment of the trade union leaders.

Charles Sebe, the head of the police, has already threatened to take the work of recruiting away

from the bosses to the police stations. He has said that he will screen every worker before he is employed.

He will keep a list of all the "troublemakers" and recommend workers to the bosses.

This is the task that South Africa itself could have performed. But the capitalists feared that when the workers moved against such repression, there was no way in which the South African state could escape.

Now they are trying to create a situation in which the repression will be linked with the "homelands" rather than the regime itself. This would have forced the whole SA working class to move; now it would only be confined to particular "reserves".

Self-Deception

Of course this is self-deception on the part of the bourgeoisie. There is no way in which the struggles of the workers, anywhere in SA, cannot also be directed against the SA state.

The history of SA is inextricably linked with the state. All the struggles of the workers, also at the factory, are political.

The capitalists arrived in SA, set about destroying tribal society, and created their own bourgeois state. This was necessary for the development of capitalism. It rooted the workers out of tribal society and



Fight for the organisation of the migrant mineworkers!

plunged them into the industries where they got transformed from tribesmen into workers.

It is absolute lunacy to think that the workers can go back to tribalism. In fact, there is a whole tradition of struggle against tribal divisions and the rule of chiefs.

The Pondoland revolt of 1960 was a struggle led by migrant workers against the very same system that the ruling class is again trying to reintroduce. The workers came out vehemently against this system and tried to link it up with the country-wide struggles that were going on against the oppressive machinery of the SA state. Put to the test, the leadership of all the existing organisations failed to build the necessary unity between workers' struggles in the countryside and the cities.

Workers Struggle

These lessons of the 1960's should not be forgotten by the working class today.

Of course the struggles today have reached a higher level. Militant trade unions, now the weapons of hundreds of thousands of workers, have become far more powerful instruments of struggle than in 1960.

But the majority of migrant workers in the mines are not organized. The call has already gone out for mass trade union unity and the creation of a union for the unemployed. But it is equally important to fight for the organization of the migrant workers in the mines.

This will make the struggles of the SA working class far more effective. It is only when this issue is taken up by the whole labour movement that the Bantustan system can be successfully fought.

This is not the task of any particular trade union or particular workers. Every worker in SA is facing the threat of this brutal system. This means that the unity of both migrant and non-migrant is essential.

It is only with the mass force of the working class, united under a socialist programme, that the South African state and all its policies of "separate development" can be overthrown.

ECONOMY 1982:

'A tough, stormy year ahead'—that is the forecast of top bourgeois economists looking towards developments in the economy for 1982.

Following the record growth rate of 8% in 1980, they expect that growth in the economy in 1981 will turn out to have been 4-5% followed by 2-3% in 1982.

This slowing down in the economy will be accompanied by slower rates of investment and production. The rise of real fixed investment (that is, investment in buildings, machinery etc) will in all probability fall from 8-10% in 1981 to 4% in 1982.

It was these same knowledgeable gentlemen, we must remember, now so gloomy, who proclaimed the 1980s a 'golden decade' of unheard of health, wealth and happiness for 'all' South Africans.

Record Misery

But instead, as those in the townships and rural areas know, there has been record unemployment, record homelessness, record price increases, and record misery. And this **in spite of** the 8% growth rate in 1980—the highest since 1945.

By Florence Bosch

The increase of production and investment in 1980 was a spur to the black workers. Feeling the tempo of production quicken, they lost no time in pressing forward demands for better wages and working conditions.

Strikes have swept nearly every sector of the economy in the past 18 months. Trade unions have grown rapidly as weapons of the workers in this struggle.

Now that the economy is slowing down, the already high levels of unemployment and prices will become even worse. As the capitalist class feels the pinch, so it will try to draw the noose even tighter about the necks of the workers and their families, resisting ever more fiercely the struggles for higher wages.

Slackening economic growth in SA is linked to almost complete stagnation in the major capitalist economies such as the USA, West Germany, and Britain; upon whom SA depends for trade.

SA's ability to sell abroad minerals, metals, and agricultural products and to a much lesser extent manufactured items, is the lifeline of the whole economy. When world



Black housing outside Capetown: no release on the basis of capitalism in crisis.

'A tough, stormy year ahead' —



The bosses' attacks will only fire the determination of workers, such as these on strike at Gundle Plastic, East Rand.

markets shrink, South Africa, as a weak participant, is squeezed to one side.

This reduces the growth of export sales, and, in turn, the pace of economic growth as a whole. Expanding export sales are a vital necessity in paying for the raw materials, machinery, and equipment which SA imports from abroad.

mainly due to the fall in the gold price.

Imports, on the other hand, have grown nearly 30%, if the figures for the first nine months of 1981 are compared with the same period in 1980.

It is unlikely that there will be any significant improvement in the growth of the economies of the major capitalist countries and world

...rid society of these parasites, the boss class...

When exports grow more slowly than imports, the economy faces a shortfall on the balance of trade.

Gold exports, which make up nearly half of SA's exports, have served during the 1970s to prevent a shortfall, because the price of gold rose steeply. But in 1981, unlike previous years, the gold price sagged. In recent months it has dropped below \$400 an ounce (\$370 on January 15th), after averaging \$414 in 1980.

From January to September 1981, exports were 14% lower than the equivalent 1980 figure. This was

trade before the beginning of 1983. Any upturn will in any case be small and take some time to stimulate SA exports.

In the meantime the big gap between imports and exports will leave a huge deficit on the balance of trade—in the region of R1 000m alone for 1981 (compared with the previous highest deficit of R1 813m in 1975). The regime is going to find itself hard pressed to finance this debt.

Because exports are slowing down, capitalist economists are now hoping that growth can be

stimulated on the basis of domestic consumption (what can be sold within SA). By this they mean mainly selling to private customers—because the regime is following tight spending policies in everything except the military and the police.

But the rate of growth of consumption spending has been slowing down. Santam predicts that private consumption in real terms will increase by only 4% in 1981—and fall by 3% in 1982.

Squeeze

This shows the very slender basis for growth by means of expanded internal consumption—because of the constraints of the cheap labour economy.

Domestic consumption will be further eroded as the government is forced to impose tax and price increases to pay for the increased debt that it is running up.

The bosses, of course, are not feeling the squeeze like the workers. Profits remain enormous and are still growing but at a slower rate. The profits of 26 companies reporting their six-monthly figures at the end of August and September 1981 showed a drop in average earnings growth from 77% in 1980 to 26% in 1981.

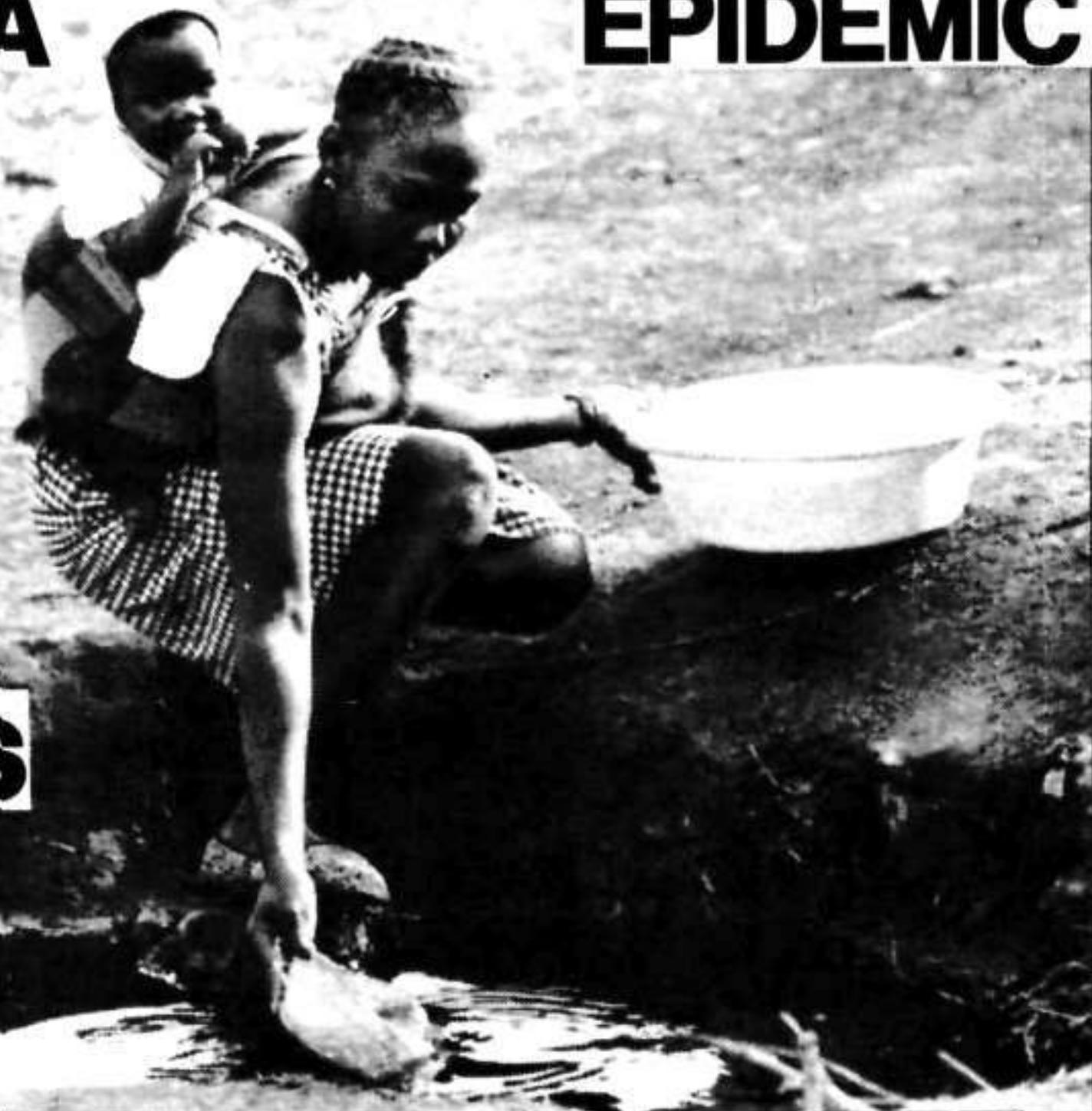
This means that the bosses will turn more viciously against the wage demands of the workers to boost these profits. The bosses have already announced their plan of attack in the press.

1982 will be a year demanding even greater determination and sacrifice from the workers to defend their gains. The going will become tougher as the economy slows down—but the need will become even greater to strengthen the forces opposing the boss class.

We must build the trade unions and community organisations, swelling the ranks of the organised workers to rid society of these parasites and manage the economy in the interests of all the people ●

CHOLERA

EPIDEMIC



Bosses to blame

The SA capitalists boast that South Africa is the best equipped country in the continent to deal with medical emergencies.

Yet a raging epidemic of cholera—unprecedented in modern SA—has been sweeping through the rural parts of Natal, North-Eastern Transvaal, the Eastern Cape and Bophuthatswana. At least 80 people have died of the disease so far, and thousands are suffering its agonies. Worse is to come. "Cholera is here to stay", predicts a medical expert.

Living conditions in most rural areas are just breeding grounds for diseases. In KwaZulu most people have infected river water as their only water supply, and open pit latrines, so the water supply is continually reinfected.

The KwaZulu Secretary of Health admits that boreholes would help, making people less dependent on river water. But only 100 boreholes have been sunk, while an estimated 1 000 to 2 000 are required!

By Lesley Reed

The scourge of cholera is a direct result of wretched living conditions—too little food, no purified pipe water, overcrowding and bad sanitation. Together with migrant labour and forced removals, these are the harsh payments the capitalists give the workers.

The callousness of the capitalists and their indifference to workers' lives can be seen in the death rate of rural black children—who face seven times more danger of death in their first year than white children.

In the Inanda-Ndwedwe area of KwaZulu, 134 children per 1 000 die before the age of one, and in Mawela 111 per 1 000, while for white children the figure is only 20.

In 1981, 45% of all children admitted to Durban's King Edward Hospital suffered from severe malnutrition, and 74% had a

respiratory infection or gastroenteritis.

Tuberculosis is the most common disease among blacks while the so-called 'diseases of affluence' are most common among whites. Between January and September 1981, 40 000 TB cases were reported in South Africa, as well as thousands of cases of typhoid and malaria.

All these diseases could be eradicated world-wide for as little as one four-hundredth of the world's military spending, which could pay for the immunisation of every child on earth.

In South Africa the capitalists spend lavishly on medical technology for themselves. 98 cents in every Rand of the medical budget is spent on curative medicine for the rich.

As their system is based on cheap, expendable labour, they pour money into already sophisticated prestige hospitals. At Groote Schuur, Cape Town, R140 million is being spent on expansion alone—while not even one hundredth of that is spent on clinics in

Kwazulu.

In the resettlement camps and labour reserves, thousands are forced to live in hell. The Tsetse camp is called "a legacy of despair" even by a capitalist paper. 80% of the people are unemployed. The nearest clinic is 6 km away. Two thirds of the people seen there have chest ailments, mainly TB, because of the appalling conditions.

Malnutrition is rife, with children fainting at school because they are starving.

Over 3 million blacks have been 'resettled' under the apartheid policy. That means one in every seven African people has been uprooted. But the government doesn't intend to stop there. They have enormous plans under way for the removal of hundreds of thousands more.

There are plans to "relocate"

750 000 'Ciskeians' who are not where the gangster Sebe brothers and the government want them to be. In Natal, 200 000-300 000 face deportation from 19 different areas.

In the face of impending mass removals, a united front has been called by representatives from 13 threatened areas in Natal. As one person facing removal, Mr Mgathi, explained: "If we move to that place (Ntambanana), we and our children will die."

The lessons are clear. So far in Natal it is only where the people have stood united, as at Bergville and St Wendolin's, that the government's efforts have failed.

The trade unions must take up the struggle against forced removals and the horrifying conditions in the resettlement camps. It is working-class people—who are being thrown onto the scrapheap by the

bosses—who face this hell on earth. It is the workers' organisations who must lead their fight back.

The horror of capitalism is that it can now only condemn the people to an even worse hell. According to the capitalists, all working people must now suffer a further cutback in their living standards!

There is only one way to fight against this system which offers nothing but disease, misery and worsening conditions—the workers, employed and unemployed, migrant and non-migrant, must organise to smash it.

- *An end to forced removals!
- *For a comprehensive state health service guaranteeing full medical facilities for all!
- *For democratic control and management of health care by the workers' organisations!



Letter from a student activist

Comrades,

The new wave of rising militancy of the dominated classes in South Africa since 1976 has deepened and gathered momentum of its own.

Increasingly here at the moment the oppressed are organising themselves, whether it is in their sports organisations, their churches, schools, universities, factories and townships. Everywhere civic organisations, youth groups, cultural groups, discussion groups, trade unions are emerging out of the popular struggles as they attempt to organise themselves and lay the necessary basis for their fight against the ruling class.

The task of working class militants is to fight for the revolutionary programme of the working class in the mass movement. The

working class in its struggle against wage slavery is the only class that can consistently fight for the liberation of the whole of society from class domination.

Working class militants must consolidate the gains of the working class in order to counter the incessant onslaught of the ruling class to disorganise them and prevent the disarming and betrayal of the workers by elements not prepared to fight for the full implementing of its revolutionary demands.

Working class militants must immediately begin to build, slowly but surely, an army of cadres within the mass movement (where the working class is engaged in struggle) that would play an essential part in organising the working class. It must fight sectarianism in all its guises to achieve the greatest unity

of the working class.

Only on this basis can the conditions be laid for independent organisation of the working class that can lead the struggles of the oppressed and exploited towards smashing the capitalist state and establishing workers' democracy, a necessary pre-condition for the elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation.

Larry Jooste

Readers in South Africa who have access to copying facilities, and who can do so without too great a risk, are urged to reproduce this journal and circulate it.

Ghana after the coup

The military coup in Ghana on 31 December, latest of several since 1966 and the second led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, marks a new stage in the convulsive decline of Ghanaian capitalism.

The government of President Limann and the People's National Party, elected in 1979 under the banner of 'Nkrumahism', had been utterly discredited.

Under the PNP government, economic crisis went from bad to worse. Corruption and mismanagement flourished, and the problems resulting from the world recession of capitalism were turned into disaster for Ghana.

Inflation soared to 102% while the government postponed a rise in workers' wages for a year. Yet it quickly put up ministers' salaries.

Last year the transport system virtually collapsed, halting cocoa exports. Crops rotted in the fields while in the capital, Accra, 4 out of 5 children were suffering malnutrition.

By the end of 1981 Ghana had foreign debt arrears of some \$500 million. With the economic shambles inflicting intolerable conditions on the masses, there was no basis for stability or political democracy.

No credible alternative to the PNP existed. With the collapse of PNP support, Ghana was heading for a new period of right-wing government.

Under these conditions Lt. Rawlings stepped forward once again as the "redeemer", promising to sweep up corruption. Many workers and youth now look to him to clear up the mess left behind by the previous regime.

What policies are being proposed by this new regime to solve Ghana's enormous problems?

Rawlings is a great admirer of Colonel Ghaddafi's Libya and will get support from there. But the

reforms in Libya were only made possible by an astronomical oil income and its relatively small population.

The Ghanaian economy, dependent on cocoa for 70% of its export earnings, is completely at the mercy of the world market. Poverty, corruption and inflation will continue as long as the parasitic capitalist class—itself a pawn of the imperialist multi-nationals—controls the economy.

Thus, as a condition for more loans to Ghana, the International Monetary Fund is demanding social spending cuts and a currency devaluation, which would further drive up the price of imports.

Rawlings believes that the necessary reforms can be carried through without breaking with capitalism. On 2 January he declared: "The business community has nothing to fear so long as it is honest and law-abiding."

But enormous mass pressures will build up to carry through sweeping policies that would threaten the capitalists' position. Left pressure is

also directly exerted on Rawlings through the "4th of June" movement, based among intellectuals, which sprang up in support of his first coup on 4/6/79.

In response, Rawlings has made radical statements, praising the Ethiopian and Cuban revolutions and calling for committees of workers and soldiers. As in 1979, he is likely to eliminate the most corrupt officials and impose a price freeze.

This, however, does not attack the basic problem. To root out corruption and inflation completely, the commanding heights of the economy would have to be nationalised and its day-to-day running turned over to workers' and peasants' committees within the framework of a democratically drawn up plan of production. (Rawlings's committees, controlled from above, will serve only to mobilise support for his regime.)

But all anti-capitalist policies will be fiercely opposed by the conservative, British-trained tops of the army. Fundamental social change combined with genuine democracy would only be possible if the existing army and officialdom were dissolved and armed power placed



Workers demonstration in Accra, Ghana.

Notes

in the hands of the working people.

Rawlings, attempting to balance between the classes—to cooperate with the capitalists while maintaining mass support—is incapable of taking this course. In the last resort, the army is capitalism's only weapon of resisting determined left pressure or controlling the masses if they move independently into action.

So long as Rawlings keeps to the capitalist road, the misery suffered by the people will continue and support for the coup will eventually ebb away. The military regime, or any civilian regime to which it might transfer power, would degenerate

into a new right-wing dictatorship—or lose control over an increasingly volatile situation.

It is possible that Rawlings, faced with a tidal wave of mass struggle and the further collapse of capitalism, may be forced to nationalise key industries in order to stave off economic chaos. But democratic control over a state-owned economy is vital to ensure production in the interests of the people.

Ghana's crisis can only be resolved by ending the rotten capitalist system and establishing workers' democracy. This task can only be carried out by Ghana's militant

working class, organised on a socialist programme, drawing behind them the mass of the peasants and the youth.

The capitalists internationally would take savage measures to isolate and strangle the Ghanaian revolution. The Ghanaian workers and peasants need to link their struggle to the movement of the working class in West Africa, in Africa and internationally.

In turn they must be given our unqualified support. A democratic socialist Ghana would be a beacon to the masses of the entire continent and a cornerstone of a future Socialist Federation of Africa.

Britain - Labour's ranks oppose witch-hunt

On 17 December *The Star* reprinted a catalogue of lies, distortions, slanders and abuse from the right-wing *Daily Express* in London, directed against the Marxist left of the British Labour Party and its weekly paper *Militant*.

This outburst, echoing an intensive anti-Marxist witch-hunt in the British bosses' press, reflects the world-wide capitalist fear of the working class as it moves into struggle against the ravages of capitalist crisis.

As Marxism has always explained, it is to their traditional organisations—the trade unions and the Labour Party—that the workers turn as they move into action. The reformist policies of Labour's right-wing leaders, proved bankrupt through 17 years of post-war Labour governments, are now being massively rejected by the active layers.

The capitalists have always regarded the right-wing Labour leaders as their 'Second Team', to be put into government when the Conservatives lose an election. Now they rage and panic because the working class have begun to reclaim the Labour Party as an instrument of struggle.

The capitalists have encouraged

the right-wing split-off from Labour, the Social-Democratic Party, as a 'safety net' for disillusioned Tory voters in the hope of preventing a left-wing Labour victory at the next election. The *Economist*, a leading capitalist organ, has declared: "No government constitutionally or politically dependent on organised labour must again be allowed to rule Britain" (26 September 1981).

At the same time the right wing is putting up a ferocious rearguard action inside the Labour Party.

Militant's 'crime' has been to put forward clear socialist policies—for a 35-hour week without loss of pay; an end to the cuts; a massive programme of useful public works; Labour to power on a socialist programme—which are gaining growing support among Labour's rank and file. Seven Constituency Labour Parties so far have selected *Militant* supporters as their parliamentary candidates for the next general election.

Almost daily the capitalist press pours out detailed instructions to the right wing, telling them to abolish all rank-and-file control over Labour MPs and expel the Marxists.

Labour leader Michael Foot has

yielded to right-wing pressure and supported an "investigation" of *Militant*. This is clearly intended by the right as the prelude to a general purge of the Marxists, of Tony Benn's supporters, and the left as a whole.

are meeting with a rock wall of rank-and-file resistance; the right wing have been forced to agree to a 'truce'. But the growing strength of the left is intolerable to them. New attacks, and more defections by middle-class careerists to the SDP, are inevitable.

It is because the right are unable to win support for their pro-capitalist policies through democratic discussion and debate, that they try to use bureaucratic methods to stifle their opponents and impose their ideas.

But these attempts will fail. The right wing have nothing to offer the workers except the prospect of a coalition with the SDP to continue the policies of 'watered-down Thatcherism' which failed so miserably in 1974-1979.

The growing radicalisation of the Labour and trade union rank and file will strengthen the demand for bold socialist policies, which can lay the basis for a mass turn to the ideas of Marxism in the coming period.

POLAND: Military jackboot cannot resolve crisis

The take-over by the Polish generals in December, and the clamp-down of martial law, has brutally crushed the workers' gains of the previous 18 months.

Spontaneous resistance was defeated within a few weeks. An unknown number of workers were killed and many thousands imprisoned.

Solidarity, the independent trade union movement, was smashed. In the workplace the iron control of the managers has been reassured.

The capitalists internationally, while propping up savage police states in Asia, Africa and Latin America, have shed rivers of crocodile tears over the events in Poland. This, they claim, shows the repressive nature of 'socialism' compared with 'Western democracy'.

Even the apartheid regime has been able to get in on the act. It has managed to recruit a few hundred skilled Polish workers from among the desperate thousands packing the refugee camps in Austria.

These misguided individuals, who will be used to strengthen the apar-

theid regime, have been paraded by the media in SA and world-wide as 'victims of Communist persecution'. Naturally, this has helped the Polish regime to claim that the workers' struggles had been inspired by reactionaries trying to overturn 'socialism' and restore capitalism.

These allegations are a vile slander on the Polish working class. In fact, what the recent events have shown most clearly is that the regime in Poland, despite the gains of the planned economy, is not socialist. As Marxism has always explained, a socialist society can only arise on the foundations of workers' democracy.

It is precisely the struggles in this direction that Jaruzelski, in the interests of the privileged bureaucratic rulers, moved to crush.

Contrary to the lies of the capitalists as well as the Polish regime, at no stage did the Polish

workers call for a return to capitalism. Their demands pointed unmistakably towards workers' democracy on the basis of the planned economy, as in the Soviet Union before the bureaucratic counter-revolution of the 1920s.

Tragically, the leadership of Solidarity failed to rise to the tasks and the brilliant opportunities thrust on them by the struggle.

By Daniel Hugo

The mighty working-class upsurge of July-August 1980, in which power began to pass from the regime to the workers' councils, rapidly gave rise to the ten million strong trade union movement, Solidarity. In the absence of a workers' party, Solidarity took on the role of a mass political movement representing the hopes of all the people for an end to the dictatorship of the 'Communist' bureaucracy.

For a whole period the regime no longer had full control of the country. Terrified by the workers' power, it retreated for a time and the workers and farmers won major reforms. Again and again, opportunities arose to topple the regime and transfer power to the workers.

But Solidarity's leaders, instead of seizing these opportunities, retreated into a fatal policy of compromise with the bureaucracy. Guided by the Catholic hierarchy, which coexisted cosily with the regime, and by 'dissident' advisors overawed by the threat of Russian invasion, they left power in the bureaucrats' hands and sought to avoid a confrontation at all costs.

For more than a year, the militancy of the workers held the bureaucracy at bay. But even the mightiest movement, if it is consistently held back by its leaders and



Workers stand against military.

prevented from reaching its goals, must sooner or later ebb.

With the economy sliding deeper into crisis, the workers' gains were soon eroded and living conditions worsened. New struggles, diverted and emasculated by Solidarity's leaders, led nowhere except to new hardships.

Increasingly, Solidarity became divided between the 'moderate' leadership around Walesa and the militant rank and file becoming more bitter and frustrated. Among the inactive layers, demoralisation produced a growing flight into exile.

The fact that some backward refugees have even been willing to flee to South Africa is a measure of their desperation, of the cynicism with 'socialism' created by the

soldiers had become as demoralised as the workers at Solidarity's failure to provide an alternative. Effective power, including the power to shoot mutineers, was left with the regime. When the order came to move against the workers, they had no option but to obey.

The bureaucracy's deep-rooted fear of the workers is reflected in Jaruzelski's bogus promise to continue 'the process of socialist renewal'. It hopes to pacify the workers and eventually revive a sham 'trade union', using the name 'Solidarity', but run by the bureaucracy, like the state-controlled 'unions' which had collapsed in 1980.

Further 'purges' will be launched against some corrupt state officials,



Workers occupy Gdansk shipyard in opposition to military coup.

Stalinist regime, and the failure of Solidarity's leadership to show a way forward to workers' democracy and genuine socialism.

The bureaucracy, while cynically encouraging Walesa's illusions in lasting reform, was biding its time until it could safely unleash the counter-revolution.

At the height of the workers' upsurge, the bureaucracy did not dare use the army against Solidarity. The conscript soldiers—workers and farmers in uniform—would have turned massively against it. This would have meant the collapse of the regime and the onset of the workers' political revolution in Poland ... and potentially throughout Eastern Europe.

By December, however, the

who will be made scapegoats for the crimes of the whole bureaucracy.

Not only the Soviet bureaucracy but also the Western capitalists will back up the regime with material support. Reagan's crusade for sanctions against Poland is a crude, reactionary attempt to squeeze cheap political advantage out of the disasters suffered by the Polish people. In fact, the capitalists have a vested interest in the restoration of Stalinist 'stability' in Poland.

Political revolution in Poland would rally workers the world over and powerfully escalate the class struggle in the West. More immediately, the capitalists have a stake of \$27 000 million in loans to the Polish bureaucracy, which they cannot afford to lose.

The capitalists' true attitude was spelled out by a banker: "If a few people are shot (in Poland) in the cause of getting the economy going again, then it would be a small price to pay" (*Sunday Times*, London, 20/12/81).

But the return to traditional Stalinist repression, in the form of a military junta which is unique for Eastern Europe, reflects the desperate weakness and not the strength of the regime. There can be no return to the 1950s when the bureaucracy presided over rapid economic growth and was able to win some mass support.

With aid from both East and West, the bureaucracy will most likely succeed in forcing up production for a time and restoring the appearance of 'normality'. But this will only be at terrible cost to the working people in the form of vicious dictatorship and further attacks on their living standards.

Thus, while price rises of up to 400% are being imposed, wage rises to 'compensate' are in the region of—15-40%!

The development of the political revolution against bureaucratic misrule in Eastern Europe has only been delayed, not halted, by the defeat of the Polish workers. The bureaucracy's harsh and blundering rule will reinforce mistrust and resentment, which will eventually flare up into new militancy.

Fresh layers of young workers will come to the fore who will have learned the basic lesson of 1980-81: there can be no compromise with the bureaucracy. The credibility of Church and the 'dissidents', preaching conciliation with the regime, will be destroyed among the active layers.

When the Polish working class moves into action again, the only way forward will lie through the overthrow of the bureaucracy and the establishment of workers' democracy, accompanied by a class appeal to the workers of Russia, Eastern Europe and the West. This course would be the way to arouse the response necessary to paralyse any invasion attempt by the Soviet bureaucracy.

It would give a mighty impulse to the political revolution throughout Eastern Europe and the social revolution in the West.



MONONO'A BONA — MASAPO A RONA

Police Colonel Chris Coetzee recently warned the bosses to be on their guard against the "silent terrorist".

What is this sinister new breed? Do their bombs and rockets explode without a sound?

No! According to Coetzee, "the best weapon of the silent terrorist is the spreading of rumours of better pay, more time off and better benefits. If you hear of these rumours in your organisation, you could have a dangerous terrorist on your hands".

Indeed, SA's underpaid and slave-driven workers—fighting for better pay, more time off etc.—are the biggest threat to the bosses and their system. As Marx wrote, capitalism has produced its own grave-digger, the working class.

Should all these millions of workers decide to take over the running of production, with the necessary organised force, no precautions in the world by the bosses could stop them.

The Russian bureaucracy prohibits workers from seeing many Western films on the grounds that they are "anti-Soviet" and "decadent". But this, it appears, does not stop them from enjoying these films themselves.

Two ex-employees of the state film corporation (Goskino) revealed that Goskino regularly supplies Western films for private shows to high state officials. These include super profit making blockbusters like *Airport* and *Towering Inferno*, James Bond and karate films, and pornography.

Delegates at the 26th 'Communist' Party Congress in February 1980 were apparently entertained with *Natural Size*, a film about a dentist who takes a life-sized rubber doll as his mistress.

Goskino had no reply to this. It will be left to the Russian working class to supply the answer—smashing the dictatorship of the decadent bureaucracy and creating workers' democracy, where art and culture will express the aspirations of the people as a whole.

As usual, the bosses' press is full of talk about the "skills shortage". Two employment surveys show that SA has one of the highest staff turnover rates in the world because of "competition for scarce human skills and resources".

The same week, it was reported that Sigma Motor Co. at Rosslyn (Pretoria) fired 507 workers and laid off another 348. A Sigma spokesman explained that one major reason was their stepped-up training and development programmes and the introduction of new engineering techniques.

Funny thing, capitalism. Employers, in their search for profits, introduce new machinery and techniques requiring trained labour. Workers who do not get the necessary training are then thrown onto the streets to share the misery of their 2-3 million jobless brothers and sisters.

And at the same time, the bosses carry on about "scarce human skills and resources"!

US Foreign Minister Haig has cried buckets of crocodile tears over the suppression of Solidarity by the Polish military regime. But, when asked by a journalist if he didn't think that his credibility was damaged by US aid to right-wing dictatorships in Turkey and Latin America, Haig's face contorted with righteous anger.

"Your question itself reflects a double standard that boggles my mind", he screamed. Yet what are the facts?

Since overthrowing the elected government in September 1980, the Turkish military have stamped on the labour movement with a jackboot of iron. The generals have imprisoned over 30 000 political opponents, tortured thousands and shot over 200 people while 'resisting arrest'.

Amnesty International has a list of over 60 people who 'died' in custody.

In El Salvador, the US-backed regime's reign of terror has claimed thousands of lives, with many being slaughtered in the most horrifying ways imaginable.

The hypocrite Haig finds these crimes quite justifiable because they were committed in defence of capitalism. He and his class live not just by 'double standards', but on the blood and sweat of hundreds of millions of the oppressed and exploited.

N.IRELAND:



For Workers' Unity and Socialism !

For workers in Northern Ireland, poverty and the threat of violence have become a way of life.

This is by far the most poverty-stricken region of the United Kingdom. Almost half the children are being brought up in families with incomes below the bread line. Housing is the worst in Western Europe, with 15% of homes unfit for habitation, and about 20% lacking basic amenities. The official unemployment figure is 19%. The true figure is much higher.

These conditions are shared more or less equally by Catholic and Protestant workers. The impression often given of a wide gap between the living standards of Protestant and Catholic workers is false through and through.

Of the 1.7 million people living in this province two-thirds are Protestants. The vast majority are workers who suffer the same deprivation as Catholic workers. Different areas may have different political slogans on the walls. The overcrowding, the lack of amenities, and the poverty are the same.

On top of poverty, workers for more than a decade have had to endure the effects of turmoil and sectarian violence. Over 2 000 people have been killed in this period. 25 000 (one person in 60) have been injured. Translated, for example, onto the scale of South Africa the equivalent figures would be almost 40 000 dead and almost half a million injured.

This conflict is presented by the capitalist media, both in Ireland and internationally, as simply a feud between the two communities, with religious and cultural differences at its base. Such an explanation explains nothing. Only when examin-

**By Peter Hadden
(Northern Ireland
Labour and Trade
Union Group)**

ed in a class manner can the apparent mysteries of Northern Ireland be unravelled.

The real roots of the violence are found in the worsening poverty. It is in the working class areas that the violence has occurred. Working class people have been the ones to suffer while life in the middle class areas has gone on virtually unaffected. Those now in prison serving long sentences arising from these 'troubles' are almost exclusively working class.

Recent riots in the most deprived inner city areas of Britain have shown that mass unemployment goes hand in hand with petrol bombs in areas other than Northern Ireland.

But the particular form which the disorder has taken in Northern Ireland has been due in the first place to the lack of any class alternative presented by the workers' leaders, and, secondly, to the past policies of British imperialism in Ireland.

Ireland was Britain's oldest and closest colony. There, she perfected the bloody methods of subjugation which were practiced on the peoples of Africa, Asia and other continents. Among the weapons of conquest developed against the Irish was the tactic of 'divide and rule'.

The Protestant population of Ireland originates from settlers encouraged by the British centuries ago to go to Ireland from places like Scotland and to take lands confiscated from some of the native Catholics. This they did, especially in the north east of the country. But these "planters", as they were known, soon became assimilated into the local population and eventually joined in opposing British rule.

At the end of the 18th century, for example, a rising took place which united Protestant and Catholic against colonial exploitation and was eventually put down in blood.

Then and since, the British ruling class have resorted to the weapon of religious or sectarian division to maintain their rule.

With the development of industry a strong labour movement emerged



Bad housing, few jobs, and sectarian violence are what capitalist rule holds for N.Ireland youth, Catholic and Protestant.

which brought together Catholic and Protestant workers. Among the leaders of this movement were such figures as the revolutionary Marxist, James Connolly.

British imperialism responded to this danger by whipping up sectarianism with a vengeance. They went to the lengths, in 1920, of partitioning the country in order to divide and control the movement of the working class.

Partition, resulting in the creation of an artificial state with an in-built Protestant majority in the north, gave a powerful injection of sectarian bitterness which has helped fuel and shape the current troubles. For generations, Catholics have suffered discrimination in employment, housing, and civil rights.

On a capitalist basis, there are no solutions to the problems of sectarianism and economic deprivation.

The economy is set for further decline. This area has suffered worse than any other region of the British isles from the current world recession. Its old, largely uncompetitive shipbuilding, engineering and textile industries are in terminal decline and there are few sources of new investment to replace lost jobs.

The weakness of the manufacturing base of the economy is shown by the fact that 75% of the workforce are employed in service industries, particularly public administration. With Tory government inspired cut-

backs in public spending this sector is now also losing jobs.

An unemployment rate of 20-25% is just one ingredient which will cut to shreds all efforts to resolve the conflict on the basis of capitalism. Over the past ten years every attempt at a political settlement, involving some liberalisation of the regime or the sharing of political power between Catholics and Protestants, has been blown apart by the seething discontent and violence.

The only consistent answer of the ruling class has been that of repression. Nothing better demonstrated this than the attitude of the Tory government to the recent prison hunger strike. Rather than give way and grant basic concessions on prison conditions, the Tories preferred to sit out the deaths of ten hunger strikers.

Incapable

While the representatives of capital would now prefer to see Ireland united—in order to continue with their profitable domination of both parts of the country—they are incapable of achieving this objective. Although the northern state was an artificial creation, it has now existed for sixty years. Its Protestant majority would not be prepared to enter an all-Ireland state unless they could see that to do so would be in their interests.

At present there are 110 000 unemployed in the north and about 130 000 in the south. Capitalist reunification would simply mean joining together the dole queues. It would mean the merger of two poverty-ridden states. As such it holds no attraction, particularly for the million northern Protestants.

They fear that in an all-Ireland state ruled by the capitalist parties, they would end up as a repressed minority, much as Catholics are discriminated against in the north.

Such an outcome the Protestants would resist. Should the issue be forced, the result, almost certainly, would be a civil war situation.

From the ashes of such a conflict there would emerge, not a united Ireland, but a smaller, wholly Protestant statelet in a part of the present territory of Northern Ireland. The Catholic population of this area would be expelled. A Palestine situation, with the nightmare of refugee camps, perpetual guerilla struggle, and a deeper division than ever between workers, would be the result.

Neither the southern Irish, nor the British governments are capable of taking any concrete steps to reunification. The Southern government, representing the weak Irish capitalist class, are not and have never been prepared to lead a struggle against partition. They dread the prospect of ruling over the explosive north, with its inevitable destabilising effects on the rest of the country.

Likewise the British ruling class, faced with the reaction of the Protestants, would be forced to drop such schemes. A small forewarning has already been seen in the mobilisation of Protestant paramilitary armies.

In Ireland partition is a burning aspect of the national question which remains to be solved. As in the semi- and under-developed countries, the national question is insoluble except through the action of the working class as part of the overall socialist transformation of society. Even the simple task of bringing peace and stability to northern Ireland, let alone the unity of the country, is inseparable from the development of the working class movement and the struggle for socialism.

Those socialists who deny this in-

stead apply the completely false theory of stages of the revolution. Some argue that it is impossible to fight for socialism until there is 'peace' or until the national issue is removed through reunification. Instead of independent class action they advocate 'all-class alliances' to win these more 'immediate' objectives.

Such theories merely bind the workers' movement and lead it into alliances with class enemies. There are no such stages to the struggle. Rather the immediate task is the mobilisation of the working class, drawing behind its independent banner all other oppressed sections of society.

A particular twist to this 'stages' theory is given by the republican (Catholic) para-military groups, especially the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA). Not only do they argue that Ireland must be united before workers can be brought together in struggle, they also believe that their methods of individual terrorism will bring this about.

If the campaign of bombings and shootings practiced for more than ten years by the Provisionals has served one purpose, this has been to demonstrate the futility of such methods.

In the early 1970's the Provisionals, chiefly in response to British army repression, gained a mass base of support in Catholic areas, particularly among the youth. They directed this support into an intensive campaign of individual



Demagogues like Protestant reactionary Ian Paisley offer no way forward.

terror, arguing that they would thereby force withdrawal of the troops and bring about a united Ireland.

The result has been to push further into the background both these objectives. Their campaign, far from weakening the state, has provided the excuse for a vast increase of repression. The youth who flock ed with enthusiasm into their ranks have had their revolutionary energies squandered. Many are dead, imprisoned, or demoralised.

Capitalism can only be overthrown by a conscious movement of the working class, not by small

fighting detachments who take upon themselves this task. Invariably individual terrorism is the road to isolation and decline.

Not only has the Provisionals' campaign paved the way to terrible repression, but their methods have proven incapable of resisting this repression. The Tory government was able to defeat the recent prison strike by Republican prisoners precisely because of the isolation of the Provisionals and other similar groups.

Futile

In any capitalist country the methods of individual terrorism, as a substitute for mass action, are to be spurned. Based on the **minority** section of the working class in northern Ireland it has been doubly futile. It has totally alienated the mass of Protestant workers, driving many towards right wing clerics and bigots such as Paisley. Deepening the sectarian divide, it has made more difficult the struggle for socialism.

The solution lies in the hands of the working class movement. There can be no answer except through the unity of Catholic and Protestant workers in struggle against their common exploitation.

From the picture of unending, religion-based conflict projected by the world's capitalist press, such a solution would seem impossible. But the bosses' press does not tell the truth about northern Ireland, any more than it does elsewhere.

The truth is that on many issues workers are already united. In northern Ireland there are 300 000 trade union members, both Catholic and Protestant. The number and percentage of workers in the unions actually increased in the 1970s, despite both the economic recession and sectarian violence.

Almost daily there are economic struggles—on wages, conditions, redundancies. Catholics and Protestants share common picket lines in the disputes. **Not one such struggle has been defeated because of sectarianism.**

The history of northern Ireland is in fact rich with occasions when the working class united against the bosses and the state. During the



The militant energies of the ghetto youth must be channelled into a movement of organised labour.

1930s, such a joint movement on the issue of unemployment led to united demonstrations (some more than 100 000 strong) and barricades erected jointly in Catholic and Protestant districts, shaking the very foundations of the state.

Why then, if the working class are potentially so strong, and if they have such revolutionary traditions, have the divisions not been overcome?

The answer is that the many opportunities to consolidate class unity have been missed—mainly as a consequence of the mistakes or failures of the top leaders of the trade union and labour movement.

In the trade union struggle and the fight for a Labour Party, the working class can become united.



Towards the end of the 1960s a movement of workers and youth developed against the northern state. Beginning on the issue of anti-Catholic discrimination this aroused class anger and gained the sympathy of many Protestant workers. An opportunity existed to unite workers, through struggle not only on the question of discrimination, but also for decent houses, jobs, and better wages for all.

Yet the leaders of the labour movement, which alone can unite workers, refused to intervene. They adopted a policy of silence. As a result the energies of the youth were not tapped by the class organisa-

tions, but eventually found a sectarian expression. **From this missed opportunity for the labour movement stemmed the turn by many young people to the methods of the Provisionals.**

More recently there have been movements through the trade unions of opposition to the assassination of workers by sectarian killer gangs. In 1976 the union leaders were forced by the pressure of their ranks to organise protest marches against these atrocities. Thousands of workers joined in.

More recently still there have been movements of Catholic and Protestant workers against the attacks on living standards by the Tory government in Britain. On April 2nd 1980 the province was virtually paralysed by a half day general strike called by the unions against Tory policies.

Yet on each occasion the momentum of class struggle was not maintained. The union leaders called off the 1976 campaign against sectarianism. No serious attempt has been made since April 2nd 1980 to build on the class anger demonstrated that day.

On issues such as the prison hunger strike and the wave of sectarian killings now taking place, the union leaders have failed to act. Thus the hunger strike issue became dominated by sectarians. While ten prisoners died the union leaders did not even issue a press statement on the question.

Class action

Within the labour movement, however, the demand for class action on all these questions is receiving ever greater support. The Labour and Trade Union Group are a body of socialists and trade unionists who have fought within the unions for a campaign to end sectarianism, oppose repression and unite the working class around socialist policies.

In particular the Group are fighting for political action to be taken by the unions. No mass political party of Labour exists in Northern Ireland. The trade unions maintain the fiction that their organisations can be 'non-political'. They argue that party politics would

be divisive. As a result they leave workers as open prey to political bigots and reactionaries.

What is needed is the building of the industrial unity of the working class into a political unity, through the creation of a political party of Labour based on the trade unions.

The Labour and Trade Union Group are fighting for a conference of the labour movement to establish such a party and to work out a socialist programme on which it could fight. Around such a programme workers could be united in action to end sectarianism, to resist repression and overthrow capitalism.

Specifically this means the mobilisation of the trade unions to defend workers against attack by sectarian assassins. The working class can only rely on its own strength, not that of the state, to protect itself.

Throughout the troubles the army has been responsible for repression and has failed to stop the killings. The labour movement should campaign for the withdrawal of the troops and their replacement by a trade union defence force.

Fighting for the withdrawal of the

army means an appeal to the rank and file soldiers, with demands for trade union rights for soldiers, the election of officers, etc. Class action by the labour movement, as opposed to the methods of the Provisionals, is the only means of forcing the withdrawal of the troops.

Alongside such action must be placed a campaign around demands for a minimum wage tied to the cost of living, a 35 hour week, an end to unemployment, and the nationalisation of the top monopolies, the banks and insurance companies under democratic workers' management, as the only answer to the collapse of living standards.

Common struggle

Were the labour movement in Ireland, north and south, to be armed with such demands it could join together in struggle, despite the border imposed by capitalism.

Already the structures to allow for such a struggle exist. The trade union movement is united across the border. In the future the southern Labour Party could be linked to its

sister party when this is built in the north.

From such unity in action the country could be reunited on the only basis possible—a socialist basis.

It would be impossible to construct a socialist society in Ireland in isolation from the movements taking place in Britain. Workers have the same enemies whether they happen to live in England, Scotland, Wales or Ireland. Against common exploiters there must be a unified resistance and a common struggle for a socialist federation of the British Isles.

The alternative must be set out starkly as well. If the labour movement fails, over the next few years, to challenge the thugs and bigots, workers will again be left to the mercies of these people. The bloodshed of the 1970s would be as nothing compared to what would follow.

But the working class have the power ten times over to prevent such an outcome. What is required, and what the forces of Marxism in Northern Ireland are fighting for, is to ensure that the working class is armed with a programme and a leadership with the will to smash sectarianism.

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.

inQaba

YA BASEBENZI

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Introduction

A year ago, in the first issue of INQABA, we pointed out that the Stalinist regime in Poland could not co-exist with genuine workers' organisation. The rise of Solidarity, in which 10 million workers were organised, threatened the continued existence of the bureaucratic dictatorship. If the working class did not take power, abolish the bureaucracy, and establish its own democratic rule, counter-revolution would inevitably follow.

Now the military repression of Solidarity, the mass detention of worker activists, the shootings and beatings, provide the tragic confirmation of this analysis. They refute in the starker way the false idea that the Polish regime, or any other totalitarian bureaucracy, is socialist.

Without democratic workers' rule, there can be no socialism.

The vicious anti-working-class measures taken in Poland have the whole-hearted support of the rulers of the Soviet Union and are in fact welcomed by every other Stalinist regime. Yet all these regimes call themselves "socialist" and are hailed as such by 'Communist' Parties around the world.

This is the standpoint also of those who have criticised so-called "errors" and "shortcomings" of the Polish "communist" leadership of the past.

Well before Jaruzelski's declaration of martial law, the South African Communist Party published such commentaries on Poland, which endorsed in advance any measures by the Polish, or indeed the Russian, bureaucracy to "save socialism"—i.e. crush the movement of the Polish working class!

How should workers in South Africa regard the regimes which exist in Poland, Russia, and similar states? What lessons can our movement draw from the temporary defeat now being suffered by our Polish brothers and sisters?

In Poland and Russia, as throughout the Stalinist world, the power of the capitalist bosses has been destroyed. Their economies are based on nationalised production and economic planning—the

economic framework of workers' states. How is it that the rulers of these states have come to be enemies of workers' democracy? What is the way forward to the re-establishment of workers' democracy and to the real construction of socialism?

These are vital questions for all those involved in the struggle which is unfolding in our country for national liberation, democracy, and socialism. By its position on the Polish events, the SACP leadership gives notice that "socialism", so far as it is concerned, includes the forcible suppression of the movement of the working class.

Russian Revolution

To assist in the discussion of these questions in the ranks of the trade unions and the ANC, among the workers and the youth, INQABA republishes here two chapters from **The Revolution Betrayed**, by Leon Trotsky, first published in 1936.

In the historic Russian Revolution in 1917, the working class took state power for the first time in history and established its own democratic rule. The 1917 Revolution was a first giant step in the world socialist revolution.

In 1917 Leon Trotsky stood shoulder to shoulder with Lenin in the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the instrument through which the working class organised its capture of state power. Trotsky organised and headed the Red Army, which held off and defeated the counter-revolutionary invasion of the infant workers' state by twenty-one imperialist armies.

Through the establishment of workers' rule, the 1917 Revolution provided the basis for the abolition of capitalism, the nationalisation of industry, and economic planning. At the same time the conditions in which the Soviet workers' state came to exist produced, from the first years, tendencies towards the bureaucratisation of the regime.

Both Lenin and Trotsky became aware of these dangers. In fact Lenin's last political struggle, while on his sick-bed, was launched together with Trotsky against the bureaucratic deformation which was affecting the state and the Bolshevik Party.

Following the Marxist method, Lenin looked for an explanation of this not in terms of patterns of individual behaviour, mistakes, excesses, etc, but as a **social phenomenon** with definite causes. He explained the rise of bureaucracy as a parasitic growth on the organism of the workers' state, arising out of the isolation of the Russian revolution and the exhaustion of the working class in a backward, largely illiterate, peasant country.

It is this method, and this explanation, which Trotsky develops systematically in **The Revolution Betrayed**. For reasons of space, it is possible to publish only two chapters of this work here, though comrades who have access to it will find the whole text full of vital lessons.

The Revolution Betrayed is, on the one hand, an uncompromising defence of nationalised production and economic planning, the gains of the October Revolution, against the criticism of capitalists and their apologists. On the other hand, it is an uncompromising defence of the interests of the working class, and the method of Marxism, against the falsifications of the bureaucracy that had come to power in the Soviet Union.

Deformation

For by 1936, as Trotsky explains, the question was no longer that of a **danger** of deformation. In fact, a **political counter-revolution** had already occurred. While this left intact the economic framework established after 1917, it meant the usurpation of power in the state by a bureaucratic caste, which had

decisively crushed all organs of workers' democracy, and consolidated its own position of privilege.

In this process the Bolshevik Left Opposition, which fought within the degenerating Communist Party for the maintenance of workers' democratic rule, for an economic programme in the interests of the workers and poor peasants, and for internationalism, was smashed by the bureaucracy. Tens of thousands of worker activists were imprisoned and murdered. Trotsky himself was jailed, forcibly deported from the Soviet Union, and, four years after publication of **The Revolution Betrayed**, murdered by Stalin's secret police.

Yet, as Trotsky himself explained, even under bureaucratic rule the framework of nationalised production and planning in Russia has shown its superiority to the anarchy of the capitalist profit system. Growth rates of 20-30% in the 1930s, and 8-10% in the 1950s, meant that the backward economy of 1917 developed into the second most powerful industrial economy on earth.

This has brought huge advances in the living standards of the Russian working people, and the absorption into the working class of the peasantry who formed nine-tenths of the population in 1917.

E.Europe

After World War II, capitalism was abolished throughout Eastern Europe. But the conditions in which this occurred resulted not in workers' democracy (as in the Soviet Union between 1917 and 1923), but the establishment of bureaucratic workers' states modelled on the Stalinist dictatorship of 1945.

World War II in Europe unfolded as a struggle to the death between Nazi Germany and Russia. Fighting to defend the remaining gains of 1917 against Hitler's invasion, the Russian working class, organised in the Red Army, was the decisive force in the defeat of German Fascism. The Red Army swept the Nazi occupation forces and their

puppets out of Eastern Europe—forcing into flight the capitalists who had overwhelmingly collaborated with the Nazis.

Conditions were ripe in E.Europe (and Western Europe too) for the working class to take state power. But this, encouraging the Russian workers to re-establish workers' democracy, would have been a mortal threat to the rulers in the Kremlin. Stalin, at conferences with the Western imperialist leaders, reached secret agreements which gave him a free hand in the East in exchange for renouncing any attempt to dislodge capitalism in the West.

In Eastern Europe, the capitalist collapse meant that production could be revived only on the basis of state ownership and planning. But, through the guns of the Red Army, the Moscow bureaucracy held back the advance of the working class and ensured the installation of bureaucratic regimes, modelled in their own image and exercising totalitarian control over the workers.

As in Russia, the abolition of capitalism in E.Europe brought rapid economic growth and rising living standards for the masses.

Yet, as anticipated by Trotsky in **The Revolution Betrayed**, the development of production within nationally-bounded economies (even those with as vast an internal market as Russia) comes up against its limits.

Through the 1960s and 70s growth rates in Russia and Eastern Europe have tended to slow: the mismanagement, waste and corruption inherent in the bureaucratic organisation of production are turning the regimes into an absolute fetter on the development of the forces of production.

In an attempt to overcome the limits of national isolation, the bureaucracies have turned to the capitalist world market for supplies of modern machinery and technique. Thus is hammered home the lesson—stressed by all the great teachers of Marxism—that the world economy becomes necessarily integrated into a single whole by the development of the productive forces under capitalism; and that the socialist revolution can be completed only on a world scale,

through the working class taking control of the commanding heights of **world** production.

Today the world capitalist economy, with which the nationalised economies of the deformed workers' states are interlinked, is an economy in crisis. Inflation and unemployment are exported to Eastern Europe and Russia; through bank loans the Western economy becomes dependent on that of the East.

In the West the burden of the capitalist crisis is loaded onto the back of the working class which, stronger than ever before, moves increasingly into struggle to defend its gains. Meanwhile in Eastern Europe the explosive rise of Solidarity showed the response of the workers to the impasse of the Polish economy. In Yugoslavia, Rumania, and even in the Soviet Union itself, there is a growing restlessness among the working class.

World Revolution

In the 1980s are re-emerging all the conditions for the overthrow of capitalism by the Western workers, and at the same time for the overthrow of the bureaucracy by the workers in the East. Together with the social revolution unfolding in the former colonial world, these form the components of an unfolding **world** revolution. The unfolding SA revolution is a part of this process.

By absorbing the lessons of Poland and the analysis offered in **The Revolution Betrayed** the activists of our movement will be better equipped to draw together the explosive ferment of the SA mass struggle into a united and unstoppable force led by the workers for the establishment of workers' rule in the interests of all the oppressed.

Linked with the struggle for social revolution in the West and political revolution in the East, this would mark a huge step forward in the world socialist revolution whose first breakthrough was in Russia in 1917.

Socialism and the State

I. THE TRANSITIONAL REGIME. Is it true, as the official authorities assert, that socialism is already realized in the Soviet Union? And if not, have the achieved successes at least made sure of its realization within the national boundaries, regardless of the course of events in the rest of the world? The preceding critical appraisal of the chief indices of the Soviet economy ought to give us the point of departure for a correct answer to this question, but we shall require also certain preliminary theoretical points of reference.

Marxism sets out from the development of technique as the fundamental spring of progress, and constructs the communist program upon the dynamic of the productive forces. If you conceive that some cosmic catastrophe is going to destroy our planet in the fairly near future, then you must, of course, reject the communist perspective along with much else. Except for this as yet problematic danger, however, there is not the slightest scientific ground for setting any limit in advance to our technical productive and cultural possibilities. Marxism is saturated with the optimism of progress, and that alone, by the way, makes it irreconcilably opposed to religion.

The material premise of communism should be so high a development of the economic powers of man that productive labor, having ceased to be a burden, will not require any goad, and the distribution of life's goods, existing in continual abundance, will not demand—as it does not now in any well-off family or "decent" boardinghouse—any control except that of education, habit and social opinion. Speaking frankly, I think it would be pretty dull-witted to consider such a really modest perspective "utopian."

Capitalism prepared the conditions and forces for a social revolution: technique, science and the proletariat. The communist structure cannot, however, immediately replace the bourgeois society. The material and cultural inheritance from the past is wholly inadequate for that. In its first steps the workers' state cannot yet permit everyone to work "according to his abilities"—that is, as much as he can and wishes to—nor can it reward everyone "according to his needs," regardless of the work he does. In order to increase the productive forces, it is necessary to resort to the customary norms of wage payment—that is, to the distribution of life's goods in proportion to the quantity and quality of individual labor.

Marx named this first stage of the new society "the lowest stage of communism," in distinction from the highest, where together with the last phantoms of want material inequality will disappear. In this sense socialism and communism are frequently contrasted as the lower and higher stages of the new society. "We have not yet, of course, complete communism," reads the present official Soviet doctrine, "but we have already achieved socialism—that is, the lowest stage of communism." In proof of this, they adduce the dominance of the state trusts in industry, the collective farms in agriculture, the state and co-operative enterprises in commerce. At first glance this gives a complete correspondence with the *a priori*—and therefore hypothetical—scheme of Marx. But it is exactly for the Marxist that this question is not exhausted by a

consideration of forms of property regardless of the achieved productivity of labor. By the lowest stage of communism Marx meant, at any rate, a society which from the very beginning stands higher in its economic development than the most advanced capitalism. Theoretically such a conception is flawless, for taken on a *world scale* communism, even in its first incipient stage, means a higher level of development than that of bourgeois society. Moreover, Marx expected that the Frenchman would begin the social revolution, the German continue it, the Englishman finish it; and as to the Russian, Marx left him far in the rear. But this conceptual order was upset by the facts. Whoever tries now mechanically to apply the universal historic conception of Marx to the particular case of the Soviet Union at the given stage of its development, will be entangled at once in hopeless contradictions.

Russia was not the strongest, but the weakest link in the chain of capitalism. The present Soviet Union does not stand above the world level of economy, but is only trying to catch up to the capitalist countries. If Marx called that society which was to be formed upon the basis of a socialization of the productive forces of the most advanced capitalism of its epoch, the lowest stage of communism, then this designation obviously does not apply to the Soviet Union, which is still today considerably poorer in technique, culture and the good things of life than the capitalist countries. It would be truer, therefore, to name the present Soviet regime in all its contradictoriness, not a socialist regime, but a *preparatory regime transitional from capitalism to socialism*.

There is not an ounce of pedantry in this concern for terminological accuracy. The strength and stability of regimes are determined in the long run by the relative productivity of their labor. A socialist economy possessing a technique superior to that of capitalism would really be guaranteed in its socialist development for sure—so to speak, automatically—a thing which unfortunately it is still quite impossible to say about the Soviet economy.

A majority of the vulgar defenders of the Soviet Union as it is are inclined to reason approximately thus: Even though you concede that the present Soviet regime is not yet socialistic, a further development of the productive forces on the present foundations must sooner or later lead to the complete triumph of socialism. Hence only the factor of time is uncertain. And is it worth while making a fuss about that? However triumphant such an argument seems at first glance, it is in fact extremely superficial. Time is by no means a secondary factor when historic processes are in question. It is far more dangerous to confuse the present and the future tenses in politics than in grammar. Evolution is far from consisting, as vulgar evolutionists of the Webb type imagine, in a steady accumulation and continual "improvement" of that which exists. It has its transitions of quantity into quality, its crises, leaps and backward lapses. It is exactly because the Soviet Union is as yet far from having attained the first stage of socialism, as a balanced system of production and distribution, that its development does not proceed harmoniously, but in contradictions. Economic contradictions produce social antagonisms, which in turn develop their own logic, not awaiting the further growth of the productive forces. We have just seen how true this was in the case of the kulak who did not wish to "grow" evolutionarily into socialism, and who, to the surprise of the bureaucracy and its ideologues, demanded a new and supplementary revolution. Will the bureaucracy itself, in whose hands the power and wealth are concentrated, wish

to grow peacefully into socialism? As to this doubts are certainly permissible. In any case, it would be imprudent to take the word of the bureaucracy for it. It is impossible at present to answer finally and irrevocably the question in what direction the economic contradictions and social antagonisms of Soviet society will develop in the course of the next three, five or ten years. The outcome depends upon a struggle of living social forces—not on a national scale, either, but on an international scale. At every new stage, therefore, a concrete analysis is necessary of actual relations and tendencies in their connection and continual interaction. We shall now see the importance of such an analysis in the case of the state.

2. PROGRAM AND REALITY. Lenin, following Marx and Engels, saw the first distinguishing feature of the proletarian revolution in the fact that, having expropriated the exploiters, it would abolish the necessity of a bureaucratic apparatus raised above society—and above all, a police and standing army. "The proletariat needs a state—this all the opportunists can tell you," wrote Lenin in 1917, two months before the seizure of power, "but they, the opportunists, forget to add that the proletariat needs only a dying state—that is, a state constructed in such a way that it immediately begins to die away and cannot help dying away." (*State and Revolution*.) This criticism was directed at the time against reformist socialists of the type of the Russian Mensheviks, British Fabians, etc. It now attacks with redoubled force the Soviet idolators with their cult of a bureaucratic state which has not the slightest intention of "dying away."

The social demand for a bureaucracy arises in all those situations where sharp antagonisms require to be "softened", "adjusted", "regulated" (always in the interests of the privileged, the possessors, and always to the advantage of the bureaucracy itself). Throughout all bourgeois revolutions, therefore, no matter how democratic, there has occurred a reinforcement and perfecting of the bureaucratic apparatus. "Officialdom and the standing army—" writes Lenin, "that is a 'parasite' on the body of bourgeois society, a parasite created by the inner contradictions which tear this society, yet nothing but a parasite stopping up the living pores."

Beginning with 1917—that is, from the moment when the conquest of power confronted the party as a practical problem—Lenin was continually occupied with the thought of liquidating this "parasite." After the overthrow of the exploiting classes—he repeats and explains in every chapter of *State and Revolution*—the proletariat will shatter the old bureaucratic machine and create its own apparatus out of employees and workers. And it will take measures against their turning into bureaucrats—"measures analyzed in detail by Marx and Engels: (1) not only election but recall at any time; (2) payment no higher than the wages of a worker; (3) immediate transition to a regime in which *all* will fulfill the functions of control and supervision so that *all* may for a time become 'bureaucrats', and therefore *nobody* can become a bureaucrat." You must not think that Lenin was talking about the problems of a decade. No, this was the first step with which "we should and must begin upon achieving a proletarian revolution."

This same bold view of the state in a proletarian dictatorship found finished expression a year and a half after the conquest of power in the program of the Bolshevik party, including its section on the army. A strong state, but without mandarins; armed power, but without

the Samurai! It is not the tasks of defense which create a military and state bureaucracy, but the class structure of society carried over into the organization of defense. The army is only a copy of the social relations. The struggle against foreign danger necessitates, of course, in the workers' state as in others, a specialized military technical organization, but in no case a privileged officer caste. The party program demands a replacement of the standing army by an armed people.

The regime of proletarian dictatorship from its very beginning thus ceases to be a "state" in the old sense of the word—a special apparatus, that is, for holding in subjection the majority of the people. The material power, together with the weapons, goes over directly and immediately into the hands of workers' organizations such as the soviets. The state as a bureaucratic apparatus begins to die away the first day of the proletarian dictatorship. Such is the voice of the party program—not voided to this day. Strange: it sounds like a spectral voice from the mausoleum.

However you may interpret the nature of the present Soviet state, one thing is indubitable: at the end of its second decade of existence, it has not only not died away, but not begun to "die away." Worse than that, it has grown into a hitherto unheard of apparatus of compulsion. The bureaucracy not only has not disappeared, yielding its place to the masses, but has turned into an uncontrolled force dominating the masses. The army not only has not been replaced by an armed people, but has given birth to a privileged officers' caste, crowned with marshals, while the people, "the armed bearers of the dictatorship," are now forbidden in the Soviet Union to carry even nonexplosive weapons. With the utmost stretch of fancy it would be difficult to imagine a contrast more striking than that which exists between the schema of the workers' state according to Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the actual state now headed by Stalin. While continuing to publish the works of Lenin (to be sure, with excerpts and distortions by the censor), the present leaders of the Soviet Union and their ideological representatives do not even raise the question of the causes of such a crying divergence between program and reality. We will try to do this for them.

3. THE DUAL CHARACTER OF THE WORKERS' STATE. The proletarian dictatorship is a bridge between the bourgeois and the socialist society. In its very essence, therefore, it bears a temporary character. An incidental but very essential task of the state which realizes the dictatorship consists in preparing for its own dissolution. The degree of realization of this "incidental" task is, to some extent, a measure of its success in the fulfillment of its fundamental mission: the construction of a society without classes and without material contradictions. Bureaucracy and social harmony are inversely proportional to each other.

In his famous polemic against Dühring, Engels wrote: "When, together with class domination and the struggle for individual existence created by the present anarchy in production, those conflicts and excesses which result from this struggle disappear, from that time on there will be nothing to suppress, and there will be no need for a special instrument of suppression, the state." The philistine considers the gendarme an eternal institution. In reality the gendarme will bridle mankind only until man shall thoroughly bridle nature. In order that the state shall disappear, "class domination and the struggle for individual existence" must disappear. Engels joins these two

conditions together, for in the perspective of changing social regimes a few decades amount to nothing. But the thing looks different to those generations who bear the weight of a revolution. It is true that capitalist anarchy creates the struggle of each against all, but the trouble is that a socialization of the means of production does not yet automatically remove the "struggle for individual existence." That is the nub of the question!

A socialist state even in America, on the basis of the most advanced capitalism, could not immediately provide everyone with as much as he needs, and would therefore be compelled to spur everyone to produce as much as possible. The duty of *stimulator* in these circumstances naturally falls to the state, which in its turn cannot but resort, with various changes and mitigations, to the method of labor payment worked out by capitalism. It was in this sense that Marx wrote in 1875: "Bourgeois law . . . is inevitable in the first phase of the communist society, in that form in which it issues after long labor pains from capitalist society. *Law can never be higher than the economic structure and the cultural development of society conditioned by that structure.*"

In explaining these remarkable lines, Lenin adds: "Bourgeois law in relation to the distribution of the objects of consumption assumes, of course, inevitably a bourgeois state, for law is nothing without an apparatus capable of compelling observance of its norms. It follows (we are still quoting Lenin) that under Communism not only will bourgeois law survive for a certain time, but also even a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie!" This highly significant conclusion, completely ignored by the present official theoreticians, has a decisive significance for the understanding of the nature of the Soviet state—or more accurately, for a first approach to such understanding. Insofar as the state which assumes the task of socialist transformation is compelled to defend inequality—that is, the material privileges of a minority—by methods of compulsion, insofar does it also remain a "bourgeois" state, even though without a bourgeoisie. These words contain neither praise nor blame; they merely name things with their real names.

The bourgeois norms of distribution, by hastening the growth of material power, ought to serve socialist aims—but only in the last analysis. The state assumes directly and from the very beginning a dual character: socialistic, insofar as it defends social property in the means of production; bourgeois, insofar as the distribution of life's goods is carried out with a capitalistic measure of value and all the consequences ensuing therefrom. Such a contradictory characterization may horrify the dogmatists and scholastics; we can only offer them our condolences.

The final physiognomy of the workers' state ought to be determined by the changing relations between its bourgeois and socialist tendencies. The triumph of the latter ought *ipso facto* to signify the final liquidation of the gendarme—that is, the dissolving of the state in a self-governing society. From this alone it is sufficiently clear how immeasurably significant is the problem of Soviet bureaucratism, both in itself and as a symptom!

It is because Lenin, in accord with his whole intellectual temper, gave an extremely sharpened expression to the conception of Marx, that he revealed the source of the future difficulties, his own among them, although he did not himself succeed in carrying his analysis through to the end. "A bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie" proved inconsistent with genuine Soviet democracy. The dual function of the state could not but affect its structure. Experience revealed what theory was unable clearly to fore-

see. If for the defense of socialized property against bourgeois counterrevolution a "state of armed workers" was fully adequate, it was a very different matter to regulate inequalities in the sphere of consumption. Those deprived of property are not inclined to create and defend it. The majority cannot concern itself with the privileges of the minority. For the defense of "bourgeois law" the workers' state was compelled to create a "bourgeois" type of instrument—that is, the same old gendarme, although in a new uniform.

We have thus taken the first step toward understanding the fundamental contradiction between Bolshevik program and Soviet reality. If the state does not die away, but grows more and more despotic, if the plenipotentiaries of the working class become bureaucratized, and the bureaucracy rises above the new society, this is not for some secondary reasons like the psychological relics of the past, etc., but is a result of the iron necessity to give birth to and support a privileged minority so long as it is impossible to guarantee genuine equality.

The tendencies of bureaucratism, which strangles the workers' movement in capitalist countries, would everywhere show themselves even after a proletarian revolution. But it is perfectly obvious that the poorer the society which issues from a revolution, the sterner and more naked would be the expression of this "law", the more crude would be the forms assumed by bureaucratism, and the more dangerous would it become for socialist development. The Soviet state is prevented not only from dying away, but even from freeing itself of the bureaucratic parasite, not by the "relics" of former ruling classes, as declares the naked police doctrine of Stalin, for these relics are powerless in themselves. It is prevented by immeasurably mightier factors, such as material want, cultural backwardness and the resulting dominance of "bourgeois law" in what most immediately and sharply touches every human being, the business of insuring his personal existence.

4. "GENERALIZED WANT" AND THE GENDARME. Two years before the Communist Manifesto, young Marx wrote: "A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise [of Communism], because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive." This thought Marx never directly developed, and for no accidental reason: he never foresaw a proletarian revolution in a backward country. Lenin also never dwelt upon it, and this too was not accidental. He did not foresee so prolonged an isolation of the Soviet state. Nevertheless, the citation, merely an abstract construction with Marx, an inference from the opposite, provides an indispensable theoretical key to the wholly concrete difficulties and sicknesses of the Soviet regime. On the historic basis of destitution, aggravated by the destructions of the imperialist and civil wars, the "struggle for individual existence" not only did not disappear the day after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and not only did not abate in the succeeding years, but, on the contrary, assumed at times an unheard-of ferocity. Need we recall that certain regions of the country have twice gone to the point of cannibalism?

The distance separating tsarist Russia from the West can really be appreciated only now. In the most favorable conditions—that is in the absence of inner disturbances and external catastrophes—it would require several more five-year periods before the Soviet Union could fully as-

simulate those economic and educative achievements upon which the first-born nations of capitalist civilization have expended centuries. The application of *socialist* methods for the solution of *pre-socialist* problems—that is the very essence of the present economic and cultural work in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, to be sure, even now excels in productive forces the most advanced countries of the epoch of Marx. But in the first place, in the historic rivalry of two regimes, it is not so much a question of absolute as of relative levels; the Soviet economy opposes the capitalism of Hitler, Baldwin and Roosevelt, not Bismarck, Palmerston or Abraham Lincoln. And in the second place, the very scope of human demands changes fundamentally with the growth of world technique. The contemporaries of Marx knew nothing of automobiles, radios, moving pictures, aeroplanes. A socialist society, however, is unthinkable without the free enjoyment of these goods.

"The lowest stage of Communism," to employ the term of Marx, begins at that level to which the most advanced capitalism has drawn near. The real program of the coming Soviet five-year plan, however, is to "catch up with Europe and America." The construction of a network of autoroads and asphalt highways in the measureless spaces of the Soviet Union will require much more time and material than to transplant automobile factories from America, or even to acquire their technique. How many years are needed in order to make it possible for every Soviet citizen to use an automobile in any direction he chooses, refilling his gas tank without difficulty en route? In barbarian society the rider and the pedestrian constituted two classes. The automobile differentiates society no less than the saddle horse. So long as even a modest "Ford" remains the privilege of a minority, there survive all the relations and customs proper to a bourgeois society. And together with them there remains the guardian of inequality, the state.

Basing himself wholly upon the Marxian theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin did not succeed, as we have said, either in his chief work dedicated to this question (*State and Revolution*), or in the program of the party, in drawing all the necessary conclusions as to the character of the state from the economic backwardness and isolatedness of the country. Explaining the revival of bureaucratism by the unfamiliarity of the masses with administration and by the special difficulties resulting from the war, the program prescribes merely political measures for the overcoming of "bureaucratic distortions": election and recall at any time of all plenipotentiaries, abolition of material privileges, active control by the masses, etc. It was assumed that along this road the bureaucrat, from being a boss, would turn into a simple and moreover temporary technical agent, and the state would gradually and imperceptibly disappear from the scene.

This obvious underestimation of impending difficulties is explained by the fact that the program was based wholly upon an international perspective. "The October revolution in Russia has realized the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . The era of world proletarian communist revolution has begun." These were the introductory lines of the program. Their authors not only did not set themselves the aim of constructing "socialism in a single country"—this idea had not entered anybody's head then, and least of all Stalin's—but they also did not touch the question as to what character the Soviet state would assume, if compelled for as long as two decades to solve in isolation those economic and cultural problems which advanced capitalism had solved so long ago.

The post-war revolutionary crisis did not lead to the victory of socialism in Europe. The social democrats rescued the bourgeoisie. That period, which to Lenin and his colleagues looked like a short "breathing spell", has stretched out to a whole historical epoch. The contradictory social structure of the Soviet Union, and the ultra-bureaucratic character of its state, are the direct consequences of this unique and "unforeseen" historical pause, which has at the same time led in the capitalist countries to fascism or the pre-fascist reaction.

While the first attempt to create a state cleansed of bureaucratism fell foul, in the first place, of the unfamiliarity of the masses with self-government, the lack of qualified workers devoted to socialism, etc., it very soon after these immediate difficulties encountered others more profound. That reduction of the state to functions of "accounting and control", with a continual narrowing of the function of compulsion, demanded by the party program, assumed at least a relative condition of general contentment. Just this necessary condition was lacking. No help came from the West. The power of the democratic Soviets proved cramping, even unendurable, when the task of the day was to accommodate those privileged groups whose existence was necessary for defense, for industry, for technique and science. In this decidedly not "socialistic" operation, taking from ten and giving to one, there crystallized out and developed a powerful caste of specialists in distribution.

How and why is it, however, that the enormous economic successes of the recent period have led not to a mitigation, but on the contrary to a sharpening, of inequalities, and at the same time to a further growth of bureaucratism, such that from being a "distortion", it has now become a system of administration? Before attempting to answer this question, let us hear how the authoritative leaders of the Soviet bureaucracy look upon their own regime.

5. THE "COMPLETE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM" AND THE "REINFORCEMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP." There have been several announcements during recent years of the "complete triumph" of socialism in the Soviet Union—taking especially categorical forms in connection with the "liquidation of the kulaks as a class." On January 30, 1931, *Pravda*, interpreting a speech of Stalin, said: "During the second five-year period, the *last relics* of capitalist elements in our economy will be liquidated." (Italics ours.) From the point of view of this perspective, the state ought conclusively to die away during the same period, for where the "*last relics*" of capitalism are liquidated the state has nothing to do. "The Soviet power," says the program of the Bolshevik party on this subject, "openly recognizes the inevitability of the class character of every state, so long as the division of society into classes, and *therewith* all state power, has not completely disappeared." However, when certain incautious Moscow theoreticians attempted, from this liquidation of the "*last relics*" of capitalism taken on faith, to infer the dying away of the state, the bureaucracy immediately declared such theories "counterrevolutionary."

Where lies the theoretical mistake of the bureaucracy—in the basic premise or the conclusion? In the one and the other. To the first announcements of "complete triumph", the Left Opposition answered: You must not limit yourself to the socio-juridical form of relations which are unripe, contradictory, in agriculture still very unstable, abstracting from the fundamental criterion: level of the productive forces. Juridical forms themselves have

an essentially different social content in dependence upon the height of the technical level. "Law can never be higher than the economic structure and the cultural level conditioned by it." (Marx) Soviet forms of property on a basis of the most modern achievements of American technique transplanted into all branches of economic life—that would indeed be the first stage of socialism. Soviet forms with a low productivity of labor mean only a transitional regime whose destiny history has not yet finally weighed.

"Is it not monstrous?"—we wrote in March 1932. "The country can not get out of a famine of goods. There is a stoppage of supplies at every step. Children lack milk. But the official oracles announce: 'The country has entered into the period of socialism?' Would it be possible more viciously to compromise the name of socialism?" Karl Radek, now a prominent publicist of the ruling Soviet circles, parried these remarks in the German liberal paper, *Berliner Tageblatt*, in a special issue devoted to the Soviet Union (May 1932), in the following words which deserve to be immortal: "Milk is a product of cows and not of socialism, and you would have actually to confuse socialism with the image of a country where rivers flow milk, in order not to understand that a country can rise for a time to a higher level of development without any considerable rise in the material situation of the popular masses." These lines were written when a horrible famine was raging in the country.

Socialism is a structure of planned production to the end of the best satisfaction of human needs; otherwise it does not deserve the name of socialism. If cows are socialized, but there are too few of them, or they have too meager udders, then conflicts arise out of the inadequate supply of milk—conflicts between city and country, between collectives and individual peasants, between different strata of the proletariat, between the whole toiling mass and the bureaucracy. It was in fact the socialization of the cows which led to their mass extermination by the peasants. Social conflicts created by want can in their turn lead to a resurrection of "all the old crap." Such was, in essence, our answer.

The 7th Congress of the Communist International, in a resolution of August 20, 1935, solemnly affirmed that in the sum total of the successes of the nationalized industries, the achievement of collectivization, the crowding out of capitalist elements and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, "the final and irrevocable triumph of socialism and the all-sided reinforcement of the state of the proletarian dictatorship, is achieved in the Soviet Union." With all its categorical tone, this testimony of the Communist International is wholly self-contradictory. If socialism has "finally and irrevocably" triumphed, not as a principle but as a living social regime, then a renewed "reinforcement" of the dictatorship is obvious nonsense. And on the contrary, if the reinforcement of the dictatorship is evoked by the real demands of the regime, that means that the triumph of socialism is still remote. Not only a Marxist, but any realistic political thinker, ought to understand that the very necessity of "reinforcing" the dictatorship—

that is, governmental repression—testifies not to the triumph of a classless harmony, but to the growth of new social antagonisms. What lies at the bottom of all this? Lack of the means of subsistence resulting from the low productivity of labor.

Lenin once characterized socialism as "the Soviet power plus electrification." That epigram, whose one-sidedness was due to the propaganda aims of the moment, assumed at least as a minimum starting point the capitalist level of electrification. At present in the Soviet Union there is one third as much electrical energy per head of the population as in the advanced countries. If you take into consideration that the soviets have given place in the meantime to a political machine that is independent of the masses, the Communist International has nothing left but to declare that socialism is *bureaucratic power plus one third of the capitalist electrification*. Such a definition would be photographically accurate, but for socialism it is not quite enough! In a speech to the Stakhanovists in November 1935, Stalin, obedient to the empirical aims of the conference, unexpectedly announced: "Why *can* and *should* and necessarily *will* socialism conquer the capitalist system of economy? Because it *can* give . . . a higher productivity of labor." Incidentally rejecting the resolution of the Communist International adopted three months before upon the same question, and also his own oft-repeated announcements, Stalin here speaks of the "triumph" of socialism in the *future tense*. Socialism will conquer the capitalist system, he says, when it surpasses it in the productivity of labor. Not only the tenses of the verbs but the social criteria change, as we see, from moment to moment. It is certainly not easy for the Soviet citizen to keep up with the "general line."

Finally, on March 1, 1936, in a conversation with Roy Howard, Stalin offered a new definition of the Soviet regime: "That social organization which we have created may be called a Soviet socialist organization, still not wholly completed, but at root a socialist organization of society." In this purposely vague definition there are almost as many contradictions as there are words. The social organization is called "Soviet socialist", but the Soviets are a form of state, and socialism is a social regime. These designations are not only not identical but, from the point of view of our interest, antagonistic. Insofar as the social organization has become socialistic, the soviets ought to drop away like the scaffolding after a building is finished. Stalin introduces a correction: Socialism is "still not wholly completed." What does "not wholly" mean? By 5 per cent, or by 75 per cent? This they do not tell us, just as they do not tell us what they mean by an organization of society that is "socialistic at root." Do they mean forms of property or technique? The very mistiness of the definition, however, implies a retreat from the immeasurably more categorical formula of 1931-35. A further step along the same road would be to acknowledge that the "root" of every social organization is the productive forces, and that the Soviet root is just what is not mighty enough for the socialist trunk and for its leafage: human welfare.

The Soviet Thermidor

1. WHY STALIN TRIUMPHED. The historian of the Soviet Union cannot fail to conclude that the policy of the ruling bureaucracy upon great questions has been a series of contradictory zigzags. The attempt to explain or justify them by "changing circumstances" obviously won't hold water. To guide means at least in some degree to exercise foresight. The Stalin faction have not in the slightest degree foreseen the inevitable results of the development; they have been caught napping every time. They have reacted with mere administrative reflexes. The theory of each successive turn has been created after the fact, and with small regard for what they were teaching yesterday. On the basis of the same irrefutable facts and documents, the historian will be compelled to conclude that the so-called "Left Opposition" offered an immeasurably more correct analysis of the processes taking place in the country, and far more truly foresaw their further development.

This assertion is contradicted at first glance by the simple fact that the faction which could not see ahead was steadily victorious, while the more penetrating group suffered defeat after defeat. That kind of objection, which *comes automatically to mind, is convincing, however, only for those who think rationalistically, and see in politics a logical argument or a chess match.* A political struggle is in its essence a struggle of interests and forces, not of arguments. The quality of the leadership is, of course, far from a matter of indifference for the outcome of the conflict, but it is not the only factor, and in the last analysis is not decisive. Each of the struggling camps moreover demands leaders in its own image.

The February revolution raised Kerensky and Tsere-telli to power, not because they were "cleverer" or "more astute" than the ruling tsarist clique, but because they represented, at least temporarily, the revolutionary masses of the people in their revolt against the old regime. Kerensky was able to drive Lenin underground and imprison other Bolshevik leaders, not because he excelled them in personal qualifications, but because the majority of the workers and soldiers in those days were still following the patriotic petty bourgeoisie. The personal "superiority" of Kerensky, if it is suitable to employ such a word in this connection, consisted in the fact that he did not see farther than the overwhelming majority. The Bolsheviks in their turn conquered the petty bourgeois democrats, not through the personal superiority of their leaders, but through a new correlation of social forces. The proletariat had succeeded at last in leading the discontented peasantry against the bourgeoisie.

The consecutive stages of the great French Revolution, during its rise and fall alike, demonstrate no less convincingly that the strength of the "leaders" and "heroes" that replaced each other consisted primarily in their correspondence to the character of those classes and strata which supported them. Only this correspondence, and not any irrelevant superiorities whatever, permitted each of them to place the impress of his personality upon a certain historic period. In the successive supremacy of Mirabeau, Brissot, Robespierre, Barras and Bonaparte, there is an obedience to objective law incomparably more effective than the special traits of the historic protagonists themselves.

It is sufficiently well known that every revolution up to this time has been followed by a reaction, or even a counter-revolution. This, to be sure, has never thrown the nation all the way back to its starting point, but it has always taken from the people the lion's share of their conquests. The victims of the first reactionary wave have been, as a general rule, those pioneers, initiators, and instigators who stood at the head of the masses in the period of the revolutionary offensive. In their stead people of the second line, in league with the former enemies of the revolution, have been advanced to the front. Beneath this dramatic duel of "coryphées" on the open political scene, shifts have taken place in the relations between classes, and, no less important, profound changes in the psychology of the recently revolutionary masses.

Answering the bewildered questions of many comrades as to what has become of the activity of the Bolshevik party and the working class—where is its revolutionary initiative, its spirit of self-sacrifice and plebeian pride—why, in place of all this, has appeared so much vileness, cowardice, pusillanimity and careerism—Rakovsky referred to the life story of the French revolution of the eighteenth century, and offered the example of Babeuf, who on emerging from the Abbaye prison likewise wondered what had become of the heroic people of the Parisian suburbs. A revolution is a mighty devourer of human energy, both individual and collective. The nerves give way. Consciousness is shaken and characters are worn out. *Events unfold too swiftly for the flow of fresh forces to* replace the loss. Hunger, unemployment, the death of the revolutionary cadres, the removal of the masses from administration, all this led to such a physical and moral impoverishment of the Parisian suburbs that they required three decades before they were ready for a new insurrection.

The axiomlike assertions of the Soviet literature, to the effect that the laws of bourgeois revolutions are "inapplicable" to a proletarian revolution, have no scientific content whatever. The proletarian character of the October revolution was determined by the world situation and by a special correlation of internal forces. But the classes themselves were formed in the barbarous circumstances of tsarism and backward capitalism, and were anything but made to order for the demands of a socialist revolution. The exact opposite is true. It is for the very reason that a proletariat still backward in many respects achieved in the space of a few months the unprecedented leap from a semifeastal monarchy to a socialist dictatorship, that the reaction in its ranks was inevitable. This reaction has developed in a series of consecutive waves. External conditions and events have vied with each other in nourishing it. Intervention followed intervention. The revolution got no direct help from the west. Instead of the expected prosperity of the country an ominous destitution reigned for long. Moreover, the outstanding representatives of the working class either died in the civil war, or rose a few steps higher and broke away from the masses. And thus after an unexampled tension of forces, hopes and illusions, there came a long period of weariness, decline and sheer disappointment in the results of the revolution. The ebb of the "plebeian pride" made room for a flood of pusillanimity and careerism. The new commanding caste rose to its place upon this wave.

The demobilization of the Red Army of five million played no small role in the formation of the bureaucracy. The victorious commanders assumed leading posts in the local Soviets, in economy, in education, and they persistently introduced everywhere that regime which had en-

sured success in the civil war. Thus on all sides the masses were pushed away gradually from actual participation in the leadership of the country.

The reaction within the proletariat caused an extraordinary flush of hope and confidence in the petty bourgeois strata of town and country, aroused as they were to new life by the NEP, and growing bolder and bolder. The young bureaucracy, which had arisen at first as an agent of the proletariat, began now to feel itself a court of arbitration between the classes. Its independence increased from month to month.

The international situation was pushing with mighty forces in the same direction. The Soviet bureaucracy became more self-confident, the heavier the blows dealt to the world working class. Between these two facts there was not only a chronological, but a causal connection, and one which worked in two directions. The leaders of the bureaucracy promoted the proletarian defeats; the defeats promoted the rise of the bureaucracy. The crushing of the Bulgarian insurrection and the inglorious retreat of the German workers' party in 1923, the collapse of the Estonian attempt at insurrection in 1924, the treacherous liquidation of the General Strike in England and the unworthy conduct of the Polish workers' party at the installation of Pilsudski in 1926, the terrible massacre of the Chinese revolution in 1927, and, finally, the still more ominous recent defeats in Germany and Austria—these are the historic catastrophes which killed the faith of the Soviet masses in world revolution, and permitted the bureaucracy to rise higher and higher as the sole light of salvation.

As to the causes of the defeat of the world proletariat during the last thirteen years, the author must refer to his other works, where he has tried to expose the ruinous part played by the leadership in the Kremlin, isolated from the masses and profoundly conservative as it is, in the revolutionary movement of all countries. Here we are concerned primarily with the irrefutable and instructive fact that the continual defeats of the revolution in Europe and Asia, while weakening the international position of the Soviet Union, have vastly strengthened the Soviet bureaucracy. Two dates are especially significant in this historic series. In the second half of 1923, the attention of the Soviet workers was passionately fixed upon Germany, where the proletariat, it seemed, had stretched out its hand to power. The panicky retreat of the German Communist Party was the heaviest possible disappointment to the working masses of the Soviet Union. The Soviet bureaucracy straightway opened a campaign against the theory of "permanent revolution," and dealt the Left Opposition its first cruel blow. During the years 1926 and 1927 the population of the Soviet Union experienced a new tide of hope. All eyes were now directed to the East where the drama of the Chinese revolution was unfolding. The Left Opposition had recovered from the previous blows and was recruiting a phalanx of new adherents. At the end of 1927 the Chinese revolution was massacred by the hangman, Chiang-kai-shek, into whose hands the Communist International had literally betrayed the Chinese workers and peasants. A cold wave of disappointment swept over the masses of the Soviet Union. After an unbridled baiting in the press and at meetings, the bureaucracy finally, in 1928, ventured upon mass arrests among the Left Opposition.

To be sure, tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters gathered around the banner of the Bolshevik-Leninists. The advanced workers were indubitably sympathetic to the Opposition, but that sympathy remained passive. The

masses lacked faith that the situation could be seriously changed by a new struggle. Meantime the bureaucracy asserted: "For the sake of an international revolution, the Opposition proposes to drag us into a revolutionary war. Enough of shake-ups! We have earned the right to rest. We will build the socialist society at home. Rely upon us, your leaders!" This gospel of repose firmly consolidated the *apparatchiki* and the military and state officials and indubitably found an echo among the weary workers, and still more the peasant masses. Can it be, they asked themselves, that the Opposition is actually ready to sacrifice the interests of the Soviet Union for the idea of "permanent revolution"? In reality, the struggle had been about the life interests of the Soviet state. The false policy of the International in Germany resulted ten years later in the victory of Hitler—that is, in a threatening war danger from the West. And the no less false policy in China reinforced Japanese imperialism and brought very much nearer the danger in the East. But periods of reaction are characterized above all by a lack of courageous thinking.

The Opposition was isolated. The bureaucracy struck while the iron was hot, exploiting the bewilderment and passivity of the workers, setting their more backward strata against the advanced, and relying more and more boldly upon the kulak and the petty bourgeois ally in general. In the course of a few years, the bureaucracy thus shattered the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat.

It would be naïve to imagine that Stalin, previously unknown to the masses, suddenly issued from the wings full armed with a complete strategical plan. No indeed. Before he felt out his own course, the bureaucracy felt out Stalin himself. He brought it all the necessary guarantees: the prestige of an old Bolshevik, a strong character, narrow vision, and close bonds with the political machine as the sole source of his influence. The success which fell upon him was a surprise at first to Stalin himself. It was the friendly welcome of the new ruling group, trying to free itself from the old principles and from the control of the masses, and having need of a reliable arbiter in its inner affairs. A secondary figure before the masses and in the events of the revolution, Stalin revealed himself as the indubitable leader of the Thermidorian bureaucracy, as first in its midst.

The new ruling caste soon revealed its own ideas, feelings and, more important, its interests. The overwhelming majority of the older generation of the present bureaucracy had stood on the other side of the barricades during the October revolution. (Take, for example, the Soviet ambassadors only: Troyanovsky, Maisky, Potemkin, Suritz, Khinchuk, etc.) Or at best they had stood aside from the struggle. Those of the present bureaucrats who were in the Bolshevik camp in the October days played in the majority of cases no considerable role. As for the young bureaucrats, they have been chosen and educated by the elders, frequently from among their own offspring. These people could not have achieved the October revolution, but they were perfectly suited to exploit it.

Personal incidents in the interval between these two historic chapters were not, of course, without influence. Thus the sickness and death of Lenin undoubtedly hastened the denouement. Had Lenin lived longer, the pressure of the bureaucratic power would have developed, at least during the first years, more slowly. But as early as 1926 Krupskaya said, in a circle of Left Oppositionists: "If Ilych were alive, he would probably already be in prison." The fears and alarming prophecies of Lenin

himself were then still fresh in her memory, and she cherished no illusions as to his personal omnipotence against opposing historic winds and currents.

The bureaucracy conquered something more than the Left Opposition. It conquered the Bolshevik party. It defeated the program of Lenin, who had seen the chief danger in the conversion of the organs of the state "from servants of society to lords over society." It defeated all these enemies, the Opposition, the party and Lenin, not with ideas and arguments, but with its own social weight. The leaden rump of the bureaucracy outweighed the head of the revolution. That is the secret of the Soviet's Thermidor.

2. THE DEGENERATION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY. The Bolshevik party prepared and insured the October victory. It also created the Soviet state, supplying it with a sturdy skeleton. The degeneration of the party became both cause and consequence of the bureaucratization of the state. It is necessary to show at least briefly how this happened.

The inner regime of the Bolshevik party was characterized by the method of *democratic centralism*. The combination of these two concepts, democracy and centralism, is not in the least contradictory. The party took watchful care not only that its boundaries should always be strictly defined, but also that all those who entered these boundaries should enjoy the actual right to define the direction of the party policy. Freedom of criticism and intellectual struggle was an irrevocable content of the party democracy. The present doctrine that Bolshevism does not tolerate factions is a myth of the epoch of decline. In reality the history of Bolshevism is a history of the struggle of factions. And, indeed, how could a genuinely revolutionary organization, setting itself the task of overthrowing the world and uniting under its banner the most audacious iconoclasts, fighters and insurgents, live and develop without intellectual conflicts, without groupings and temporary factional formations? The farsightedness of the Bolshevik leadership often made it possible to soften conflicts and shorten the duration of factional struggle, but no more than that. The Central Committee relied upon this seething democratic support. From this it derived the audacity to make decisions and give orders. The obvious correctness of the leadership at all critical stages gave it that high authority which is the priceless moral capital of centralism.

The regime of the Bolshevik party, especially before it came to power, stood thus in complete contradiction to the regime of the present sections of the Communist International, with their "leaders" appointed from above, making complete changes of policy at a word of command, with their uncontrolled apparatus, haughty in its attitude to the rank and file, servile in its attitude to the Kremlin. But in the first years after the conquest of power also, even when the administrative rust was already visible on the party, every Bolshevik, not excluding Stalin, would have denounced as a malicious slanderer anyone who should have shown him on a screen the image of the party ten or fifteen years later.

The very center of Lenin's attention and that of his colleagues was occupied by a continual concern to protect the Bolshevik ranks from the vices of those in power. However, the extraordinary closeness and at times actual merging of the party with the state apparatus had already in those first years done indubitable harm to the freedom and elasticity of the party regime. Democracy

had been narrowed in proportion as difficulties increased. In the beginning, the party had wished and hoped to preserve freedom of political struggle within the framework of the Soviets. The civil war introduced stern amendments into this calculation. The opposition parties were forbidden one after the other. This measure, obviously in conflict with the spirit of Soviet democracy, the leaders of Bolshevism regarded not as a principle, but as an episodic act of self-defense.

The swift growth of the ruling party, with the novelty and immensity of its tasks, inevitably gave rise to inner disagreements. The underground oppositional currents in the country exerted a pressure through various channels upon the sole legal political organization, increasing the acuteness of the factional struggle. At the moment of completion of the civil war, this struggle took such sharp forms as to threaten to unsettle the state power. In March 1921, in the days of the Kronstadt revolt, which attracted into its ranks no small number of Bolsheviks, the tenth congress of the party thought it necessary to resort to a prohibition of factions—that is, to transfer the political regime prevailing in the state to the inner life of the ruling party. This forbidding of factions was again regarded as an exceptional measure to be abandoned at the first serious improvement in the situation. At the same time, the Central Committee was extremely cautious in applying the new law, concerning itself most of all lest it lead to a strangling of the inner life of the party.

However, what was in its original design merely a necessary concession to a difficult situation, proved perfectly suited to the taste of the bureaucracy, which had then begun to approach the inner life of the party exclusively from the viewpoint of convenience in administration. Already in 1922, during a brief improvement in his health, Lenin, horrified at the threatening growth of bureaucratism, was preparing a struggle against the faction of Stalin, which had made itself the axis of the party machine as a first step toward capturing the machinery of state. A second stroke and then death prevented him from measuring forces with this internal reaction.

The entire effort of Stalin, with whom at that time Zinoviev and Kamenev were working hand in hand, was thenceforth directed to freeing the party machine from the control of the rank-and-file members of the party. In this struggle for "stability" of the Central Committee, Stalin proved the most consistent and reliable among his colleagues. He had no need to tear himself away from international problems; he had never been concerned with them. The petty bourgeois outlook of the new ruling stratum was his own outlook. He profoundly believed that the task of creating socialism was national and administrative in its nature. He looked upon the Communist International as a necessary evil which should be used so far as possible for the purposes of foreign policy. His own party kept a value in his eyes merely as a submissive support for the machine.

Together with the theory of socialism in one country, there was put into circulation by the bureaucracy a theory that in Bolshevism the Central Committee is everything and the party nothing. This second theory was in any case realized with more success than the first. Availing itself of the death of Lenin, the ruling group announced a "Leninist levy." The gates of the party, always carefully guarded, were now thrown wide open. Workers, clerks, petty officials, flocked through in crowds. The political aim of this maneuver was to dissolve the revolutionary vanguard in raw human material, without experience, without independence, and yet with the old habit of

submitting to the authorities. The scheme was successful. By freeing the bureaucracy from the control of the proletarian vanguard, the "Leninist levy" dealt a death blow to the party of Lenin. The machine had won the necessary independence. Democratic centralism gave place to bureaucratic centralism. In the party apparatus itself there now took place a radical reshuffling of personnel from top to bottom. The chief merit of a Bolshevik was declared to be obedience. Under the guise of a struggle with the Opposition, there occurred a sweeping replacement of revolutionists with *chinovniki*. The history of the Bolshevik party became a history of its rapid degeneration.

The political meaning of the developing struggle was darkened for many by the circumstance that the leaders of all three groupings, Left, Center and Right, belonged to one and the same staff in the Kremlin, the Politburo. To superficial minds it seemed to be a mere matter of personal rivalry, a struggle for the "heritage" of Lenin. But in the conditions of iron dictatorship social antagonisms could not show themselves at first except through the institutions of the ruling party. Many Thermidorians emerged in their day from the circle of the Jacobins. Bonaparte himself belonged to that circle in his early years, and subsequently it was from among former Jacobins that the First Consul and Emperor of France selected his most faithful servants. Times change and the Jacobins, with them, not excluding the Jacobins of the twentieth century.

Of the Politburo of Lenin's epoch there now remains only Stalin. Two of its members, Zinoviev and Kamenev, collaborators of Lenin throughout many years as émigrés, are enduring ten-year prison terms for a crime which they did not commit. Three other members, Rykov, Bukharin and Tomsky, are completely removed from the leadership, but as a reward for submission occupy secondary posts. And, finally, the author of these lines is in exile. The widow of Lenin, Krupskaya, is also under the ban, having proved unable with all her efforts to adjust herself completely to the Thermidor.

The members of the present Politburo occupied secondary posts throughout the history of the Bolshevik party. If anybody in the first years of the revolution had predicted their future elevation, they would have been the first in surprise, and there would have been no false modesty in their surprise. For this very reason, the rule is more stern at present that the Politburo is always right, and in any case that no man can be right against the Politburo. But, moreover, the Politburo cannot be right against Stalin, who is unable to make mistakes and consequently cannot be right against himself.

Demands for party democracy were through all this time the slogans of all the oppositional groups, as insistent as they were hopeless. The above-mentioned platform of the Left Opposition demanded in 1927 that a special law be written into the Criminal Code "punishing as a serious state crime every direct or indirect persecution of a worker for criticism." Instead of this, there was introduced into the Criminal Code an article against the Left Opposition itself.

Of party democracy there remained only recollections in the memory of the older generation. And together with it had disappeared the democracy of the soviets, the trade unions, the co-operatives, the cultural and athletic organizations. Above each and every one of them there reigns an unmitigated hierarchy of party secretaries. The regime had become "totalitarian" in character several years before this word arrived from Germany. "By means of

demoralizing methods, which convert thinking communists into machines, destroying will, character and human dignity," wrote Rakovsky in 1928, "the ruling circles have succeeded in converting themselves into an unremovable and inviolate oligarchy, which replaces the class and the party." Since those indignant lines were written, the degeneration of the regime has gone immeasurably farther. The G.P.U. has become the decisive factor in the *inner life of the party*. If Molotov in March 1936 was able to boast to a French journalist that the ruling party no longer contains any factional struggle, it is only because disagreements are now settled by the automatic intervention of the political police. The old Bolshevik party is dead, and no force will resurrect it.

Parallel with the political degeneration of the party, there occurred a moral decay of the uncontrolled apparatus. The word "sovbour"—soviet bourgeois—as applied to a privileged dignitary appeared very early in the workers' vocabulary. With the transfer to the NEP bourgeois tendencies received a more copious field of action. At the 11th Congress of the party, in March 1922, Lenin gave warning of the danger of a degeneration of the *ruling stratum*. It has occurred more than once in history, he said, that the conqueror took over the culture of the conquered, when the latter stood on a higher level. The culture of the Russian bourgeoisie and the old bureaucracy was, to be sure, miserable, but alas the new ruling stratum must often take off its hat to that culture. "Four thousand seven hundred responsible communists" in Moscow administer the state machine. "Who is leading whom? I doubt very much whether you can say that the communists are in the lead . . ." In subsequent congresses, Lenin could not speak. But all his thoughts in the last months of his active life were of warning and arming the workers against the oppression, caprice and decay of the bureaucracy. He, however, saw only the first symptoms of the disease.

Christian Rakovsky, former president of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, and later Soviet Ambassador in London and Paris, sent to his friends in 1928, when already in exile, a brief inquiry into the Soviet bureaucracy, which we have quoted above several times, for it still remains the best that has been written on this subject. "In the mind of Lenin, and in all our minds," says Rakovsky, "the task of the party leadership was to protect both the party and the working class from the corrupting action of privilege, place and patronage on the part of those in power, from *rapprochement* with the relics of the old nobility and burgherdom, from the corrupting influence of the NEP, from the temptation of bourgeois morals and ideologies. . . . We must say frankly, definitely and loudly that the party apparatus has not fulfilled this task, that it has revealed a complete incapacity for its double role of protector and educator. It has failed. It is bankrupt."

It is true that Rakovsky himself, broken by the bureaucratic repressions, subsequently repudiated his own critical judgments. But the seventy-year-old Galileo too, caught in the vise of the Holy Inquisition, found himself compelled to repudiate the system of Copernicus—which did not prevent the earth from continuing to revolve around the sun. We do not believe in the recantation of the sixty-year-old Rakovsky, for he himself has more than once made a withering analysis of such recantations. As to his political criticisms, they have found in the facts of the objective development a far more reliable support than in the subjective stout-heartedness of their author.

The conquest of power changes not only the relations of the proletariat to other classes, but also its own inner structure. The wielding of power becomes the specialty of a definite social group, which is the more impatient to solve its own "social problem", the higher its opinion of its own mission. "In a proletarian state, where capitalist accumulation is forbidden to the members of the ruling party, the differentiation is at first functional, but afterward becomes social. I do not say it becomes a class differentiation, but a social one . . ." Rakovsky further explains: "The social situation of the communist who has at his disposition an automobile, a good apartment, regular vacations, and receives the party maximum of salary, differs from the situation of the communist who works in the coal mines, where he receives from fifty to sixty rubles a month." Counting over the causes of the degeneration of the Jacobins when in power—the chase after wealth, participation in government contracts, supplies, etc., Rakovsky cites a curious remark of Babeuf to the effect that the degeneration of the new ruling stratum was helped along not a little by the former young ladies of the aristocracy toward whom the Jacobins were very friendly. "What are you doing, small-hearted plebeian?" cries Babeuf. "Today they are embracing you and tomorrow they will strangle you." A census of the wives of the ruling stratum in the Soviet Union would show a similar picture. The well-known Soviet journalist, Sosnovsky, pointed out the special role played by the "automobile-harem factor" in forming the morals of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is true that Sosnovsky, too, following Rakovsky, recanted and was returned from Siberia. But that did not improve the morals of the bureaucracy. On the contrary, that very recantation is proof of a progressing demoralization.

The old articles of Sosnovsky, passed about in manuscript from hand to hand, were sprinkled with unforgettable episodes from the life of the new ruling stratum, plainly showing to what vast degree the conquerors have assimilated the morals of the conquered. Not to return, however, to past years—for Sosnovsky finally exchanged his whip for a lyre in 1934—we will confine ourselves to wholly fresh examples from the Soviet press. And we will not select the abuses and so-called "excesses", either, but everyday phenomena legalized by official social opinion.

The director of a Moscow factory, a prominent communist, boasts in *Pravda* of the cultural growth of the enterprise directed by him. "A mechanic telephones: 'What is your order, sir, check the furnace immediately or wait?' I answer: 'Wait.'" The mechanic addresses the director with extreme respect, using the second person plural, while the director answers him in the second person singular. And this disgraceful dialogue, impossible in any cultured capitalist country, is related by the director himself on the pages of *Pravda* as something entirely normal! The editor does not object because he does not notice it. The readers do not object because they are accustomed to it. We also are not surprised, for at solemn sessions in the Kremlin, the "leaders" and People's Commissars address in the second person singular directors of factories subordinate to them, presidents of collective farms, shop foremen and working women, especially invited to receive decorations. How can they fail to remember that one of the most popular revolutionary slogans in tsarist Russia was the demand for the abolition of the use of the second person singular by bosses in addressing their subordinates!

These Kremlin dialogues of the authorities with "the

people", astonishing in their lordly ungraciousness, unmistakably testify that, in spite of the October revolution, the nationalization of the means of production, collectivization, and "the liquidation of the kulaks as a class," the relations among men, and that at the very heights of the Soviet pyramid, have not only not yet risen to socialism, but in many respects are still lagging behind a cultured capitalism. In recent years enormous backward steps have been taken in this very important sphere. And the source of this revival of genuine Russian barbarism is indubitably the Soviet Thermidor, which has given complete independence and freedom from control to a bureaucracy possessing little culture, and has given to the masses the well-known gospel of obedience and silence.

We are far from intending to contrast the abstraction of dictatorship with the abstraction of democracy, and weigh their merits on the scales of pure reason. Everything is relative in this world, where change alone endures. The dictatorship of the Bolshevik party proved one of the most powerful instruments of progress in history. But here too, in the words of the poet, "Reason becomes unreason, kindness a pest." The prohibition of oppositional parties brought after it the prohibition of factions. The prohibition of factions ended in a prohibition to think otherwise than the infallible leaders. The police-manufactured monolithism of the party resulted in a bureaucratic impunity which has become the source of all kinds of wantonness and corruption.

3. THE SOCIAL ROOTS OF THERMIDOR. We have defined the Soviet Thermidor as a triumph of the bureaucracy over the masses. We have tried to disclose the historic conditions of this triumph. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat was in part devoured by the administrative apparatus and gradually demoralized, in part annihilated in the civil war, and in part thrown out and crushed. The tired and disappointed masses were indifferent to what was happening on the summits. These conditions, however, important as they may have been in themselves, are inadequate to explain why the bureaucracy succeeded in raising itself above society and getting its fate firmly into its own hands. Its own will to this would in any case be inadequate; the arising of a new ruling stratum must have deep social causes.

The victory of the Thermidorian over the Jacobins in the eighteenth century was also aided by the weariness of the masses and the demoralization of the leading cadres, but beneath these essentially incidental phenomena a deep organic process was taking place. The Jacobins rested upon the lower petty bourgeoisie lifted by the great wave. The revolution of the eighteenth century, however, corresponding to the course of development of the productive forces, could not but bring the great bourgeoisie to political ascendancy in the long run. The Thermidor was only one of the stages in this inevitable process. What similar social necessity found expression in the Soviet Thermidor? We have tried already in one of the preceding chapters to make a preliminary answer to the question why the gendarme triumphed. We must now prolong our analysis of the conditions of the transition from capitalism to socialism, and the role of the state in this process. Let us again compare theoretic prophecy with reality. "It is still necessary to suppress the bourgeoisie and its resistance," wrote Lenin in 1917, speaking of the period which should begin immediately after the conquest of power, "but the organ of suppression here is now the majority of the population, and not the minority as has heretofore always been the case. . . . In that sense the state is beginning to die

"away." In what does this dying away express itself? Primarily in the fact that "in place of special institutions of a privileged minority (privileged officials, commanders of a standing army), the majority itself can directly carry out" the functions of suppression. Lenin follows this, with a statement axiomatic and unanswerable: "The more universal becomes the very fulfillment of the functions of the state power, the less need is there of this power." The annulment of private property in the means of production removes the principal task of the historic state—defense of the proprietary privileges of the minority against the overwhelming majority.

The dying away of the state begins, then, according to Lenin, on the very day after the expropriation of the expropriators—that is, before the new regime has had time to take up its economic and cultural problems. Every success in the solution of these problems means a further step in the liquidation of the state, its dissolution in the *socialist society*. The degree of this dissolution is the best index of the depth and efficacy of the socialist structure. We may lay down approximately this sociological theorem: The strength of the compulsion exercised by the masses in a workers' state is directly proportional to the strength of the exploitative tendencies, or the danger of a restoration of capitalism, and inversely proportional to the strength of the social solidarity and the general loyalty to the new regime. Thus the bureaucracy—that is, the "privileged officials and commanders of a standing army"—represents a special kind of compulsion which the masses cannot or do not wish to exercise, and which, one way or another, is directed against the masses themselves.

If the democratic soviets had preserved to this day their original strength and independence, and yet were compelled to resort to repressions and compulsions on the scale of the first years, this circumstance might of itself give rise to serious anxiety. How much greater must be the alarm in view of the fact that the mass soviets have entirely disappeared from the scene, having turned over the function of compulsion to Stalin, Yagoda and company. And what forms of compulsion! First of all we must ask ourselves: What social cause stands behind this stubborn virility of the state and especially behind its policification? The importance of this question is obvious. In dependence upon the answer, we must either radically revise our traditional views of the socialist society in general, or as radically reject the official estimates of the Soviet Union.

Let us now take from the latest number of a Moscow newspaper a stereotyped characterization of the present Soviet regime, one of those which are repeated throughout the country from day to day and which school children learn by heart: "In the Soviet Union the parasitical classes of capitalists, landlords and kulaks are completely liquidated, and thus is forever ended the exploitation of man by man. The whole national economy has become socialistic, and the growing Stakhanov movement is preparing the conditions for a transition from socialism to communism." (*Pravda*, April 4, 1936.) The world press of the Communist International, it goes without saying, has no other thing to say on this subject. But if exploitation is "ended forever", if the country is really now on the road from socialism, that is, the lowest stage of communism, to its higher stage, then there remains nothing for society to do but to throw off at last the straitjacket of the state. In place of this—it is hard even to grasp this contrast with the mind!—the Soviet state has acquired a totalitarian-bureaucratic character.

The same fatal contradiction finds illustration in the

fate of the party. Here the problem may be formulated approximately thus: Why, from 1917 to 1921, when the old ruling classes were still fighting with weapons in their hands, when they were actively supported by the imperialists of the whole world, when the kulaks in arms were sabotaging the army and food supplies of the country,—why was it possible to dispute openly and fearlessly in the party about the most critical questions of policy? Why now, after the cessation of intervention, after the shattering of the exploiting classes, after the indubitable successes of industrialization, after the collectivization of the overwhelming majority of the peasants, is it impossible to permit the slightest word of criticism of the unremovable leaders? Why is it that any Bolshevik who should demand a calling of the congress of the party in accordance with its constitution would be immediately expelled, any citizen who expressed out loud a doubt of the infallibility of Stalin would be tried and convicted almost as though a participant in a terrorist plot? Whence this terrible, monstrous and unbearable intensity of repression and of the police apparatus?

Theory is not a note which you can present at any moment to reality for payment. If a theory proves mistaken we must revise it or fill out its gaps. We must find out those real social forces which have given rise to the contrast between Soviet reality and the traditional Marxian conception. In any case we must not wander in the dark, repeating ritual phrases, useful for the prestige of the leaders, but which nevertheless slap the living reality in the face. We shall now see a convincing example of this.

In a speech at a session of the Central Executive Committee in January 1936, Molotov, the president of the Council of People's Commissars, declared: "The national economy of the country has become socialistic (applause). In that sense [?] we have solved the problem of the liquidation of classes (applause)." However, there still remain from the past "elements in their nature hostile to us," fragments of the former ruling classes. Moreover, among the collectivized farmers, state employees and sometimes also the workers, "petty speculators" are discovered, "grafters in relation to the collective and state wealth, anti-Soviet gossips, etc." And hence results the necessity of a further reinforcement of the dictatorship. In opposition to Engels, the workers' state must not "fall asleep", but on the contrary become more and more vigilant.

The picture drawn by the head of the Soviet government would be reassuring in the highest degree, were it not murderously self-contradictory. Socialism completely reigns in the country: "In that sense" classes are abolished. (If they are abolished in that sense, then they are in every other.) To be sure, the social harmony is broken here and there by fragments and remnants of the past, but it is impossible to think that scattered dreamers of a restoration of capitalism, deprived of power and property, together with "petty speculators" (not even *speculators!*) and "gossips" are capable of overthrowing the classless society. Everything is getting along, it seems, the *very best you can imagine*. But what is the use then of the iron dictatorship of the bureaucracy?

Those reactionary dreamers, we must believe, will gradually die out. The "petty speculators" and "gossips" might be disposed of with a laugh by the super-democratic Soviets. "We are not Utopians," responded Lenin in 1917 to the bourgeois and reformist theoreticians of the bureaucratic state, and "by no means deny the possibility and inevitability of excesses on the part of individual

persons, and likewise the necessity for suppressing such excesses. But . . . for this there is no need of a special machine, a special apparatus of repression. This will be done by the armed people themselves, with the same simplicity and ease with which any crowd of civilized people even in contemporary society separate a couple of fighters or stop an act of violence against a woman." Those words sound as though the author had especially foreseen the remarks of one of his successors at the head of the government. Lenin is taught in the public schools of the Soviet Union, but apparently not in the Council of People's Commissars. Otherwise it would be impossible to explain Molotov's daring to resort without reflection to the very construction against which Lenin directed his well-sharpened weapons. The flagrant contradiction between the founder and his epigones is before us! Whereas Lenin judged that even the liquidation of the exploiting classes might be accomplished without a bureaucratic apparatus, Molotov, in explaining why *after* the liquidation of classes the bureaucratic machine has strangled the independence of the people, finds no better pretext than a reference to the "remnants" of the liquidated classes.

To live on these "remnants" becomes, however, rather difficult since, according to the confession of authoritative representatives of the bureaucracy itself, yesterday's class enemies are being successfully assimilated by the Soviet society. Thus Postyshev, one of the secretaries of the Central Committee of the party, said in April 1936, at a congress of the League of Communist Youth: "Many of the saboteurs . . . have sincerely repented and joined the ranks of the Soviet people." In view of the successful carrying out of collectivization, "the children of kulaks are not to be held responsible for their parents." And yet more: "The kulak himself now hardly believes in the possibility of a return to his former position of exploiter in the village." Not without reason did the government annul the limitations connected with social origin! But if Postyshev's assertion, wholly agreed to by Molotov, makes any sense it is only this: Not only has the bureaucracy become a monstrous anachronism, but state compulsion in general has nothing whatever to do in the land of the Soviets. However, neither Molotov nor Postyshev agrees with that immutable inference. They prefer to hold the power even at the price of self-contradiction.

In reality, too, they cannot reject the power. Or, to translate this into objective language: The present Soviet society cannot get along without a state, nor even—within limits—without a bureaucracy. But the cause of this is by no means the pitiful remnants of the past, but the mighty forces and tendencies of the present. The justification for the existence of a Soviet state as an apparatus of compulsion lies in the fact that the present transitional structure is still full of social contradictions, which in the sphere of consumption—most close and sensitively felt by all—are extremely tense, and forever threaten to break over into the sphere of production. The triumph of socialism cannot be called either final or irrevocable.

The basis of bureaucratic rule is the poverty of society in objects of consumption, with the resulting struggle of each against all. When there is enough goods in a store, the purchasers can come whenever they want to. When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy. It "knows" who is to get something and who has to wait.

A raising of the material and cultural level ought, at first glance, to lessen the necessity of privileges, narrow

the sphere of application of "bourgeois law", and thereby undermine the standing ground of its defenders, the bureaucracy. In reality the opposite thing has happened: the growth of the productive forces has been so far accompanied by an extreme development of all forms of inequality, privilege and advantage, and therewith of bureaucratism. That too is not accidental.

In its first period, the Soviet regime was undoubtedly far more equalitarian and less bureaucratic than now. But that was an equality of general poverty. The resources of the country were so scant that there was no opportunity to separate out from the masses of the population any broad privileged strata. At the same time the "equalizing" character of wages, destroying personal interestedness, became a brake upon the development of the productive forces. Soviet economy had to lift itself from its poverty to a somewhat higher level before fat deposits of privilege became possible. The present state of production is still far from guaranteeing all necessities to everybody. But it is already adequate to give significant privileges to a minority, and convert inequality into a whip for the spurring on of the majority. That is the first reason why the growth of production has so far strengthened not the socialist, but the bourgeois features of the state.

But that is not the sole reason. Alongside the economic factor dictating capitalistic methods of payment at the present stage, there operates a parallel political factor in the person of the bureaucracy itself. In its very essence it is the planter and protector of inequality. It arose in the beginning as the bourgeois organ of a workers' state. In establishing and defending the advantages of a minority, it of course draws off the cream for its own use. Nobody who has wealth to distribute ever omits himself. Thus out of a social necessity there has developed an organ which has far outgrown its socially necessary function, and become an independent factor and therewith the source of great danger for the whole social organism.

The social meaning of the Soviet Thermidor now begins to take form before us. The poverty and cultural backwardness of the masses has again become incarnate in the malignant figure of the ruler with a great club in his hand. The deposed and abused bureaucracy, from being a servant of society, has again become its lord. On this road it has attained such a degree of social and moral alienation from the popular masses, that it cannot now permit any control over either its activities or its income.

The bureaucracy's seemingly mystic fear of "petty speculators, grafters, and gossips" thus finds a wholly natural explanation. Not yet able to satisfy the elementary needs of the population, the Soviet economy creates and resurfaces at every step tendencies to graft and speculation. On the other side, the privileges of the new aristocracy awaken in the masses of the population a tendency to listen to anti-Soviet "gossips"—that is, to anyone who, albeit in a whisper, criticizes the greedy and capricious bosses. It is a question, therefore, not of specters of the past, not of the remnants of what no longer exists, not, in short, of the snobs of yesteryear, but of new, mighty and continually reborn tendencies to personal accumulation. The first still very meager wave of prosperity in the country, just because of its meagerness, has not weakened, but strengthened, these centrifugal tendencies. On the other hand, there has developed simultaneously a desire of the unprivileged to slap the grasping hands of the new gentry. The social struggle again grows sharp. Such are the sources of the power of the bureaucracy. But from those same sources comes also a threat to its power.

Explanatory Notes

Page 4

Sidney and Beatrice Webb—Leading members of the middle-class Fabian Society, established round the turn of the century as a 'think-tank' for reformism in the labour movement. Open supporters of imperialism, the Webbs also became ardent admirers of Stalinist Russia in the 1930s.

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Samurai—Japanese feudal warriors, paid in land, money or kind by a feudal lord.

Gendarme—policeman (French).

Page 7

Stanley Baldwin—British Tory Prime Minister (1923, 1924-9, 1935-7) who crushed the General Strike of 1926; **F.D. Roosevelt**—US President, 1933-45, of the capitalist Democratic Party, forced by the pressure of the labour movement to introduce the reforms of the "New Deal".

Bismarck, Palmerston, Abraham Lincoln—Nineteenth century capitalist politicians in, respectively, Germany, Britain and the US.

"Liquidation of the kulaks as a class"—For the overwhelmingly peasant population of the Soviet Union, Lenin and Trotsky advocated a programme of gradual collectivisation of agriculture, by the example of voluntary model collectives established on the basis of industrial development and provision of tractors. From 1920-1 the Bolsheviks adopted the **New Economic Policy** (page 10), giving concessions to private peasants, because of extreme food shortages: this, Lenin conceded, was a "temporary retreat". The emerging Soviet bureaucracy perverted the NEP, against the warnings of the Left Opposition, and encouraged the kulaks to "enrich themselves". Then, panicking at the danger of creating a social base for the restoration of capitalism, Stalin and his henchmen switched overnight to an adventurist policy of enforced collectivisation of agriculture ("liquidation of the kulaks")—on the basis of the existing primitive plough. The peasants resisted, destroying livestock and crops: in the ensuing famine 10 million died.

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Stakhanovist—To increase productivity, the Stalinist bureaucracy not only massively increased wage differentials, but singled out especially 'productive' workers for publicity, medals, etc. These were the "Stakhanovists", named after one such coalface worker, Stakhanov. This policy divided the workers, and ignored the collective nature of large-scale production.

Karl Radek—"Written before the arrest of Karl Radek in August 1936 on charges of a terroristic conspiracy against the Soviet Union." (Note in original text).

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Thermidor—The French bourgeois Revolution of 1789 brought eventually to power **Robespierre's** government of Jacobins, radical petty bourgeois democrats, supported by the urban masses. Among other measures, this government abolished the old calendar in favour of one with different months. This government was overthrown, in the new month of Thermidor, by a political counter-revolution led by **Barras**, which nevertheless preserved the capitalist property relations established by the revolution. Trotsky used these events to explain the political counter-revolution in the Soviet Union which preserved the economic framework of the workers' state.

Kerensky, Tseretelli—Reformist leaders of the Provisional Government brought into being by the **February Revolution** which overthrew the Russian Tsar in 1917. Remaining on a capitalist basis, this government was impotent: it was overthrown by the workers led by the Bolsheviks in October.

Mirabeau, Brissot, Robespierre, Barras—Leading figures in successive governments of the French revolution, 1789-95.

Bonaparte—Napoleon I, who came to power in 1799 as the culmination of the political counter-revolution which followed the French revolution.

Babeuf—A revolutionary, and utopian communist, in the period of the French bourgeois revolution.

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German and Austrian defeats of

1933-4—In 1933 Hitler became German Chancellor and the Nazis consolidated their power. In 1934 Dolfuss led a Fascist coup in Austria, consolidated by Nazi invasion in 1936. The leaders of the workers' parties bore a huge responsibility for allowing these defeats. In 1933 the German Social Democrats and Communists polled 12 million votes between them, but were not mobilised in armed resistance to Hitler. The Communist leaders, rather than organising united action with rank and file Social Democratic workers, denounced them as "social fascists". These mistaken policies, leading to the most serious defeats ever suffered by the workers' movement, were a decisive indication of the degeneration of the Third International.

apparatchiki—bureaucrats.

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Kronstadt revolt—In March 1921 Kronstadt naval base sailors revolted against the Soviet government, because of the huge privations suffered during 1917-20 as a result of the defence of the 1917 Revolution against imperialist invasion. The revolt created a danger of renewed imperialist intervention to provoke counter-revolution. The Kronstadt sailors who had been in the forefront of the revolution in 1917 had largely died in the 1917-20 war and been replaced by peasants etc; the leadership of the 1921 revolt fell into the hands of anarchists (though some Bolsheviks sympathised). It was crushed, though in its wake economic policy was relaxed in the form of the NEP.

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Chinovniki—"Professional government functionaries" (Note in original text).

Rykov, Bukharin, and Tomsky—"Zinoviev and Kamenev were executed in August 1936 for alleged complicity in a 'terroristic plot' against Stalin; Tomsky committed suicide or was shot in connection with the same case; Rykov was removed from his post in connection with the plot; Bukharin, although suspected, is still at liberty." (Note in original text). In fact Bukharin also was tried and executed in 1938.

GPU—The secret police of the bureaucracy, headed for a while by **H.Yagoda**. Yagoda did not escape the purges which were the price of bureaucratic consolidation: he was executed in 1938.

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epigones—disciples who distort the teachings of their master.