

WORKERS' SOLIDARITY

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THE POOR MUST



TAKE BACK THE LAND

VOICE OF ANARCHIST-SYNDICALISM

EDITORIAL: Welcome to the latest issue of *Workers' Solidarity: Voice of Anarchist-Syndicalism*. This is the paper of the Workers Solidarity Federation. We stand for mass action and revolution by the workers and poor to smash capitalism, the State and all forms of oppression. We stand for Stateless Socialism (Anarchism).

The land question is a burning issue relevant to millions of poor and working-class Black people. We say: don't wait for the government ! The poor must seize the land!

July 19 marks the 60th anniversary of the Anarchist-inspired Spanish Revolution of 1936. This important event is discussed later in the paper. We also have articles on: fighting racism, the student movement, women's rights, and news of international struggles.

Subscriptions: R4 a year (including postage).
Write to us for further information on Anarchism and the Workers Solidarity Federation
WSF, PO Box 1717, Rosettenville, Johannesburg, 2130, Gauteng. South Africa.
WSF, PO Box 61853, Bishopsgate, Durban, 4008, KwaZulu-Natal. South Africa.
E-Mail: reficulsti@alpha.c2.org

MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS SOLIDARITY FEDERATION

DOWN WITH CAPITALISM, THE STATE AND ALL OPPRESSION!

Capitalism and the State are the main cause of all oppression. Racism and sexism divide the working class, and help the bosses rule and super-exploit us and nature.

All social wealth is produced by us- the workers and poor. But we, the majority of the people, suffer terrible poverty and have no real control over our own lives.

Instead, we are bossed around and exploited by the tiny ruling class: capitalists, military leaders, top State officials, professional politicians.

The State (courts, army, police, and government bureaucracy) is a centralised tool of the ruling class. It can never be used to create freedom for the majority.

MASS ACTION, REVOLUTION FOR STATELESS SOCIALISM (ANARCHISM)

In place of divisions among the workers and the poor, we want to transform the trade unions and civics into revolutionary bodies.

In place of the swindle of elections, we are for mass action and revolution against the capitalists, the State, and all oppression.

But we do not want the Soviet system that existed in Russia and China. This was not real socialism- it was Communist Party dictatorship and State- capitalism.

In place of exchanging one group of bosses for another, we want workers power through the unions and civics. Individuals should be free to act as they choose so long as they do not hinder the freedom of others.

In place of capitalism and the State, we want Stateless Socialism (Anarchism). A free, equal society based on grassroots democracy in the factories and the community, and defended by a democratic workers militia.

This society can only be created by the mass of the people fighting in their own interests.

THE ROLE OF OUR ORGANISATION!

The Workers Solidarity Federation supports all struggles against oppression and exploitation. We aim to educate and organise the workers and the poor to make the revolution in their own name. We work within existing trade unions. We do not want to rule the masses or change society from above.

We proudly stand in the mass tradition of Anarchism/ Syndicalism. Our movement has historically attracted millions worldwide, because it serves the needs of the workers and poor, not the power- seekers and exploiters.

If you agree with our aims, join us!

JOIN US

If you agree with our ideas, and would like to contribute to the development of Anarchist- Syndicalism in Africa, why not join us? You would be expected to do what you can build the Workers Solidarity Federation, and to understand and spread its ideas, including selling the paper. Just fill in the form below and post it to us.

NAME:
ADDRESS:

ARE YOU A WORKER STUDENT UNEMPLOYED
POST TO: WSF, PO BOX 1717, Rosettenville, Johannesburg, 2130. South Africa.

NO TO NEW PASS LAWS- *SOLIDARITY WITH IMMIGRANTS!*

For centuries bosses and rulers have set out to divide the workers and the poor. We are divided by racism, sexism, homophobia and ethnicity. More recently bosses have used xenophobia- the hate of foreigners and immigrants.

The bosses ' newspapers and TV tell us the so-called "illegal" immigrants or "aliens" are taking our jobs and causing crime. The government passes harsh laws to victimise the immigrants. Last year alone 157 084 people were deported from South Africa. These people lost their homes, their jobs, their belongings. Families were split up.

ANTI- WORKING CLASS LAWS

In mid- 1996, the parliament passed the new Aliens Control Amendment Act. One of the main forces behind this Act was Gatsha Buthelezi, Home Affairs Minister.

The new Act steps up police harassment and deportation of immigrants. It is a blatant attack on Black working-class people and we should mobilise to fight it.

All immigrants now have to apply to the South African Embassy for permits to enter the country. But the laws have been made to effectively keep working- class and poor people out.

Immigrants are expected to pay R 5 580 for a permit to get into the country and an extra R 360 for a work permit. People found living in South Africa illegally are fined R4000 or a year prison sentence, or both. Of course, these people can also be deported.

No working class or poor immigrant can afford to pay this. Therefore only the rich are allowed in our new country.

RACIST

In practice the police only raid black immigrants. This affects all black workers and poor. If you are black and found without your South African pass port or ID, the police will arrest you. The police never ask rich or white people if they are immigrants.

For more than 50 years Black South Africans were harassed, thrown in jail, and pushed around under the pass laws. Now Buthelezi wants the same thing to happen to black people from other countries. Immigration laws are no different from the pass laws. Black workers are still not able to choose to live or work where they like.

Immigrants who acquire permanent residence rights will not be able to move home from one province to another for a year after their application is approved. They will even have to pay the Home Affairs Department R360 to apply for permission to change jobs.

CRIME AND JOBS

The government has justified keeping poor and working class immigrants out by arguing that immigrants cause crimes and take jobs.

This is a lie! Crime and unemployment are the direct result of the bosses system. It is the bosses which throw people out of work. It is the bosses who do not invest money in job creation. It is the poverty caused by capitalism which forces people into crime.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD- UNITE!

Do not be fooled. Lets turn our anger on the real enemy: the bosses and rulers. We the working-class create all wealth. We make the factories, schools, houses, roads. The bosses live off our sweat, and we starve.

We should live better than we do now. Put aside the false divisions of immigrant versus South African. Unite all workers and poor people in mass trade unions and civics,. And fight back!



So-Called "Illegal" Immigrants in jail awaiting deportation (1995). New Aliens Control Act is an attack on the Black working class. We must bury the bosses' system and create a world with no masters, no slaves and no borders. Workers of Africa Unite!

DON'T WAIT FOR THE GOVERNMENT! THE POOR MUST TAKE BACK THE LAND

The land question will be the site of massive struggle in the future. Since 1652, the colonial and apartheid governments have dispossessed the indigenous people of the land in favour of rich White farmers.

WAR AGAINST THE POOR

Today 60,000 mainly White capitalist farmers own about 87% of all land. But 68% of the rural population (mainly African and Coloured working-class people) live in extreme poverty. Labour control is extremely violent and unions rare. Unemployment is very high, as machines are used to replace workers.

In the bantustans, the chiefs control access to the land, and use this power to extract labour and taxes from working and poor people. They use their connections with the government to enrich themselves and enforce their rule. Women are denied access to land on the grounds of so-called tradition.

Whatever the role of chiefs may have been in precolonial times, it is clear that they have spent the twentieth-century acting as allies of the racist-capitalist State. The actions of these so-called "Bantu Authorities" are well-known in the reserves.

Heavy use of chemicals on the "White" farms, and land shortages in the reserves, have led to massive

environmental degradation. This worsens the conditions of the workers and poor.

CAN THE RDP DELIVER?

The ANC-led government's land reform policy is totally inadequate for the tasks at hand.

LAND CLAIMS COURT

The land reform policy has three main elements. The first is the establishment of a Land Claims Court to allow people dispossessed by racist laws or "corrupt practices" AFTER 1913 to try claim their land back.

The problem with this plan is that about 90% of the land had already been stolen by this point. Also, many people dispossessed after 1913 are scattered across the country and lack documents to prove their claims.

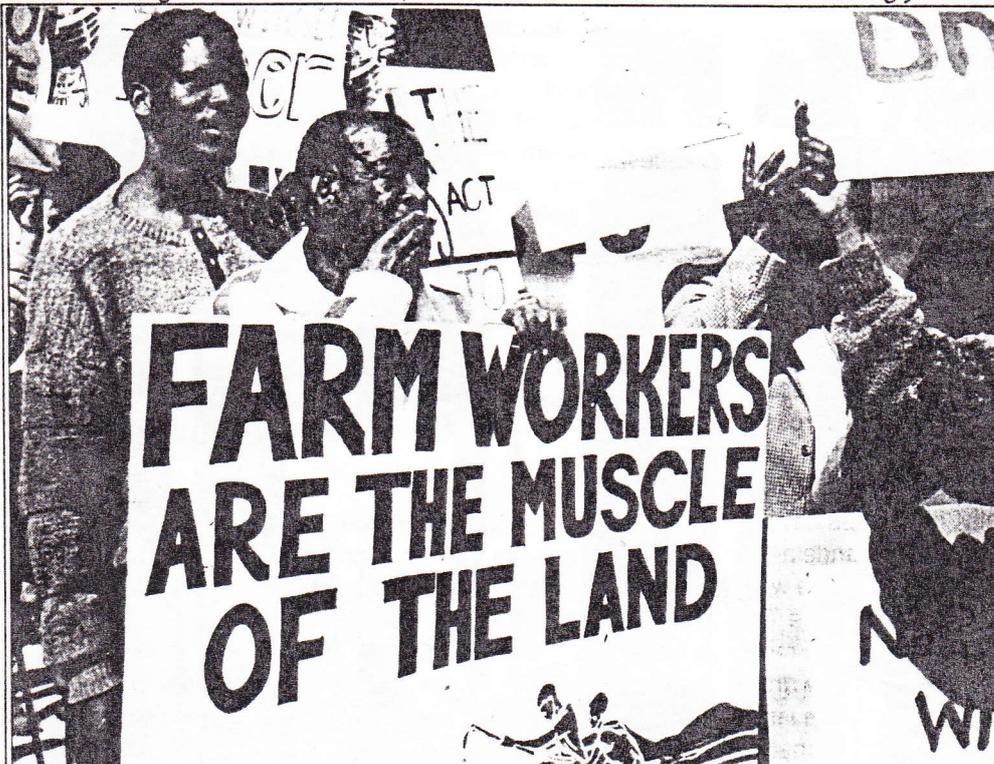
And the government has promised to buy-out the farmers who lose out in the Land Claims Court. Workers Solidarity says: the farmers do not deserve one cent payment- they stole the land. In any case the government, which refuses to increase taxes on the rich, lacks the money to carry out this scheme on a large-scale.

LAND THROUGH THE MARKET?

The second element of the reform program is misleadingly named "land redistribution". It is based on the so-called "willing-buyer-willing-seller" approach. This means land must be bought on the market when it is available. The State will provide households with a R15,000 subsidy to help buy land.

R15,000! What farm costs less than a million rand! What this means is that *only the small Black capitalist elite will get land, because only they have the money.* The working-class masses will not get land. But the *racist farmers* will get paid handsomely for their ill-gotten gains.

In any case, given limited government funds, it is certain that the only Blacks who will get the R15,000 subsidy will be the *elite*. This is because the elite is always thought to be better at farming!



Farmworkers on a march for their rights. Farmworkers are the most exploited and oppressed section of the working class. Instead of relying on the government's mild land reform measures, we must organise to fight for decent lives for ourselves and our children.

TENANTS RIGHTS

The third, and last, aspect of the land reform program is "tenure reform". Basically, what this means is that labour tenants and traditional communities will have more secure rights to stay on the land.

More protection for tenants against the constant threat of evictions is a good thing. But this kind of reform does nothing to deal with the basic problems of land redistribution, poverty and women's oppression.

FIGHT BACK! NO TO FAKE REFORMS!

Clearly, the land reform program of the ANC- led government will do little to redistribute land or change rural life. White capitalist farmers, chiefs, and the emerging Black capitalist elite all stand to benefit. The workers and the poor do not.

We should not be surprised. While it was a massive advance to replace the racist dictatorship with a parliament, the State is always the tool of the ruling class- the capitalists, generals, top politicians and bureaucrats. It will never act in the fundamental interests of the poor.

Therefore we need to rely on our own strength, on our own fighting spirit, to win. We must come together in our millions and force the bosses and rulers to return the land directly to the workers and the poor- without compensation!

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM

An immediate step must be to develop and strengthen the tiny farmworkers unions. These unions should

include all categories of the exploited: waged workers, labor tenants, and even the unemployed.

In the short run, the unions should fight for better conditions and wages, and against dismissals, evictions and violence against the poor. This fight should be extended throughout the countryside, on the farms and in the bantustans.

In the long- term, these unions can sweep aside the capitalist farmers and the chiefs and seize back the land. In this way, we can establish free agricultural collectives or communes, made up of working-class and poor people.

No new boss class, Black or White, would be permitted to emerge. Everyone would do their fair share of work, and everyone would receive what they need to live a decent life. The collectives would be mainly made up of African and Coloured workers, but obviously Indian and anti- racist White workers could join.

The agricultural collectives would be federated with each other, and with the city workers' organizations and unions. This would allow us to plan the economy from below in the interests of the masses, and to organize the military defence of the revolution. In this way, we could establish Stateless Socialism (Anarchism).

Don't Wait for the Government! The Poor Must Seize the Land!

REVOLUTIONARY BOOKS FOR SALE

Anarchist Society and Its Practical Realisation (Graham Purchase)- The society we aim at and how to get there. Includes trade unions, community organising, environmental issues. 16 pages. A5. R1.

The Spanish Revolution - A constructive and critical look at the anarchist Spanish Revolution of 1936-7 and its background and legacy. Section on women in the revolution, also worker and peasant collectives, workers army, fighting fascism. 48 pages. A5. R2.

No Justice, No Peace - The Los Angeles Riots of 1992: an eyewitness account and the lessons of this uprising. 16 pages. A5. R1.

The Organisational Platform of the Anarchist Communists (Makhno, Arshinov and others). An excellent introduction to Anarchism, theory and tactics. In many ways our manifesto. 34 pages. R1.

Basic Bakunin. A short look at the ideas of this great revolutionary, one of the founders of revolutionary Anarchism. 16 pages. A5. R1.

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Send to WSF, PO BOX 1717, Rosettenville, 2130.



TERTIARY EDUCATION: STRUGGLE FOR FREE AND DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION CONTINUES!

During the first 6 months of this year we have seen students from all over the country take up the battle against their administrations.

STUDENTS FIGHT-BACK

Students at Pretoria Technikon, University of Western Cape (UWC) and University of Durban-Westville (UDW) put up a spectacular fight against on going racism on campus, financial exclusions and increasing fees. At UDW students and workers also joined in protest against the unfair dismissal of workers. The highest point of the UDW struggle was when workers and students successfully expelled the university management and ran the university for 48 hours.

But every single one of these protests was met with the extreme force by reactionary administrations. Police violence against protesting students was wide spread at all three campuses; court interdicts were issued against students and workers at UWC and UDW. At UDW the administration went so far as to lock out the entire student body and workforce to undermine their protests.

ATTACK ON STRUGGLE FOR FREE EDUCATION

These heavy handed actions against students and workers by the university bosses and government are part of a broader attack on the struggle for free and equal education for all.

A central part of the anti-apartheid struggle was the fight for free and equal education. In 1976 students fought and died for the right to a decent education for the poor. But now the ANC education minister Sibusiso Bengu argues that tertiary education is a privilege and not a right! He also said that tertiary education was not free and would never be.

This means that working class, black and poor students are effectively excluded from higher education. These students can no longer keep up with ever increasing student and accommodation fees and either have to drop out or are excluded.

RACIST FUNDING

The government and the education minister say that there is no money for free education and students must settle for what they get. This is nonsense: there is

enough wealth in this country to give everyone a decent life.

Yet bursaries continue to be inadequate in term of both numbers available, and value. Meanwhile the racist funding structures remains: historically white universities continue to receive far higher subsidies than historically Black universities.

SASCO

Historically SASCO (the South African Students' Congress) has been in the forefront of student struggles. SASCO is the biggest student organisation.

But this year SASCO has been much less prominent. At Pretoria Technikon, the students struggles were spearheaded by the Azanain Front- a coalition of smaller Black Consciousness and Africanist groups. At UDW, a broad-based Students' Representative Council (SRC), and a militant staff association, played the leading role. In both cases SASCO was often uncomfortable with the direction that protest took. Wits SASCO even refused to endorse a solidarity meeting called to support UDW.

Why? SASCO's ability to consistently champion student demands is held back by its alliance with the ANC. SASCO has endorsed the government's arguments against free education. They have been openly hostile to critics of the ANC's policies. They have not taken a stand against the government's threatened clampdown on militant student protest.

Sasco president, David Makuru said "We won't toe the government line. Our duty as the student movement is



Mass meeting: Combined Staff Association member Ashwin Desai addresses UDW students after management was barred from the campus

to be critical of the government, including the one that we have elected." So far, this critical attitude still remains to be proven by Sasco.

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

However, this does not mean that students should rely instead on the official SRC's to fight for our demands. SRC's are not fighting bodies- they are bureaucratic structures integrated into the university administrations. They are unable to consistently challenge the university bosses.

Some say that we must wait for new administration to be appointed to replace the Apartheid- era managements. However, where this has already taken place (for example, University of Cape Town) it has brought little real change. Changing a few faces at the top will not give students and workers a real say in the running of the campuses. It will do nothing to challenge the structures of wealth distribution that determine how much funding is available for social spending.

BUILD A STUDENT UNION

Instead of waiting for new set of bosses to do things for us, we need to keep up struggle on the ground. Instead of rule by a managerial elite, we need real worker-student- staff control over the institutions. Instead of universities that train a set of privileged experts and managers to help run capitalism and the State, we need tertiary education that serves the needs of the workers and the poor.

It is time for a new strategy. In place of student bodies tied to political parties, and in place of bureaucratic SRC's we call on progressive student forces to form a real Student Union. This union should be based on the principles of direct democracy and be committed to winning free and democratic education for all. Obviously different political tendencies would exist within the Union. Any attempt to establish a bureaucracy of full-time paid officials must be opposed.

WORKERS UNIVERSITY

The Student Union would have to build alliances with workers and staff on campus. We, as students, cannot win our demands in isolation. We need allies in the working-class who have the power to change society from the bottom up. These alliances would only be possible if students are genuinely committed to the struggle of the working-class.

We must realise we cannot win if we do not challenge the broader structures of resource allocation in society which determine how much funding is available. So, the student struggle must be linked to the broader social struggle for a free and equal society. It must be linked to the struggle of the workers and the poor against the bosses and the rulers. In the long-run the Student Union and its worker allies would lay the basis for free, democratic education for all.

THE TWO FACES OF THE GOVERNMENT

At a June 16th rally President Mandela stated: "Never again shall state guns be turned on the youth and anyone else simply because they want a better education and a better life."

But three days before, after a meeting with all the universities and technikon principles, he announced that police will again be allowed on campuses to stop unrest. President Mandela also condemned legitimate forms of protests used by students. He said that occupations; class disruptions; and littering of campuses, would not be tolerated. "Student trouble- makers" were also condemned.

Is this the beginning of a government clamp down on student protests? Is there a chance that we might see another June 16th in the future ? Will students be shot down by the police for demanding free and democratic education for all ?

ANARCHIST STUDENTS JAILED IN GREECE

More than 100 Greek students, self-described Anarchists, have been given sentences ranging from 4-40 months by the courts. This followed a three day occupation of the Athens Polytechnic in November 1995. More than 2,000 protestors took refuge in the Polytechnic following clashes with police on November 17, the anniversary of a bloody student uprising against the 1967-74 military dictatorship.

The media attempted to portray the occupation as the work of a handful of teenage hooligans and went as far as using 'live' footage which was actually from riots last year. In actual fact of those arrested only 40 were under 18. This is the latest of an apparent wave of repression directed at Greek anarchists which has included bizarre accusations like blaming them for the forest fire that swept a suburb of Athens this year.

The Anarchists were convicted on various charges ranging from invading the Polytechnic, causing extensive damage and destroying a national symbol by burning Greek flags. They said they would appeal against their sentences.

From: Workers Solidarity (Ireland)

ANARCHIST STUDENTS WIN IN AUSTRALIAN NUS ELECTION

Reports from Australia indicate that an anarchist influenced student initiative called the Non-Aligned-Left has been elected to almost all the regional National Union of Students officer ships and is the largest faction on the national officer ships. The NUS represents some 450,000 students. It is the first time the Australian Labour Party has lost control of any state NUS branch and the first time non-Labour factions have had a majority on the national executive.

According to NAL activist Marcus Westbury the NAL has existed for only 2 years. They have grown from a handful of delegates to the second largest NUS faction primarily because of their commitment to participatory decision making, a non hierarchical structure, and their non binding nature.

From: Workers Solidarity (Ireland).

SWEDISH TRADE UNION STAYS ANARCHIST-SYNDICALIST

The anarchist-influenced SAC trade union has rejected attempts to play down the union's anarchist-syndicalist politics. Kieran Casey, the SAC's international secretary, explained "an internal crisis arose when due to economic constraints the union decided to lower the number of 'ombudsmen'¹ while continuing to support our weekly paper 'Arbetaren' (The Worker). It was also necessary to increase union dues which had remained still for the past few years. The following referendum resulted in a small majority voting for a relatively high increase."

Members who wanted to cut back on overtly political activities and concentrate on more conventional trade union work split away but only took 15 of the 120 local branches with them. About 1,400 members resigned. While this was happening five new SAC branches were set up, and these had recruited a few hundred new members by the end of 1995.

"Otherwise the SAC has enjoyed a steady, if slow, increase in members, mainly in large towns, with young people dominating. The ratio between men and women is about 60/40 and the gap is diminishing. This is a healthy sign and a source for optimism. To finish off let us remember on this anniversary of Joe Hill's execution, his focus on the word 'organise'. We organise ourselves not only in the struggle to change this rotten system of wage slavery but also to gain experience and learn how to build a future society based on self-management and mutual aid" said Casey. Joe Hill was an Anarchist-syndicalist activist framed and executed in the USA in 1914.

¹These are full-time experts in labour law and negotiation procedures whose services can be called on by local union branches

From Workers Solidarity (Ireland)



REPRESSION AGAINST GERMAN ANTI-FASCISTS

17 members of Autonome Antifa (M), a German anti-authoritarian left wing organisation which has consistently taken up the fight against fascists and racists, will go to trial on the 14 August 1996. What is their crime? They are being tried for being members of the Autonome Antifa (M), which the government is charging for being a criminal organisation. In reality this means that they are being tried for fighting fascism and racism!!

The charges are part of a wider attack on left wing organisations. This has included raids on the Berlin group K.O.M.M.I.T.E.E, and the banning of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) in 1993. Anyone who

speaks out for freedom for the colonised Kurdish people places themselves in danger of being banned. The fight against fascism and capitalism- the root of fascism, will be weakened if organisations such as the Autonome Antifa and the AA/BO are repressed. Fascists and racists, who have increased their attacks and terror on people of colour in Germany since 1992, need to be stopped. Join this campaign and help defend antifascist resistance!

Write to :
AUTONOME ANTIFA (M), c/o Buchladen,
Rote Strasse 10, D-37073 Goettingen,
Germany.

ANARCHIST REPORT FROM LEBANON

The following article is based on a report from Basina Bassan, a Lebanese anarchist, which originally appeared in the French journal *Alternative Libertaire*.

RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS

The second Lebanese Republic faces serious problems. Although the war was ended by the 1989 Taef agreements, the underlying cause of the war - the religious divide - has not really been addressed, and so the situation remains explosive.

For example, although the Taef agreements required that civil service recruitment must ignore religious denomination, we still find near-perfect segregation between, and within departments. This mirrors the division of the higher political functionaries - President of the Republic, President of the National Assembly, etc. - into Christian positions and Moslem positions. What is worse is that you cannot choose to remain beyond this division - if you want to marry, for example, you must have a religious service for it to be legally recognised. *You can be an atheist only in your thoughts, no more...*

SOCIAL SITUATION

The situation is charged by the continuing presence of Syrian and Israeli troops. What's more, civil liberties are coming under increased attack. In July of last year, the General Union of Workers (an umbrella organisation similar to COSATU) decided to organise a general strike to protest against the 40% increase in the price of petrol. The government replied with a ban on demonstrations, and called in the army to enforce it. *The Lebanese unions did not retreat, and held a huge demonstration in August to force the government to rethink their position.* Even this, though, falls far short of the changes that are needed.

Lebanon is a land of unrestrained capitalism, with a government in favour of economic liberalism and privatisation - this in a country with little electricity, few telephones, and little clean drinking water. The wages of the most impoverished continue to fall, while the rich avoid paying their taxes, and what money there is the government spends on luxuries for its ministers.

OPPOSITION-AGAINST WHO & WHAT

There is little to say about the Lebanese left - much of it is identical to the petite-bourgeois parties, more interested in getting a bigger slice of the cake than with real change. Its members actually support the liberal economic policies of the government - it is strange to sometimes hear the old Maoists quoting Marx to justify their 'provisional return' to capitalism.

THE NEW LEFT

Following the repression of the July demonstrations, the radical communist left is starting to regroup. It is made up of many political strands, *but it is noticeable*



that even the nationalists are becoming more influenced by libertarianism, even anarcho-syndicalism. There is, then, a glimmer of hope, providing everyone learns the bitter lessons of experience. If we can work together in our areas of agreement, we may be able to regain the good years of 1970-75, before the war overtook the radical left.

In conclusion, the Lebanese left will have no chance to progress if it is not open to all who agree with certain fundamental criteria: combating the Israeli occupation, fighting for secularisation, collectivisation of vital sectors (health, education...), the safeguarding of public liberties, equality between women and men, openness to the 'advanced west', openness to agreement on the left...

STRIKING BACK

The Lebanese General Union of Workers called a strike and demonstration for February 29th. Their claim was for increased wages to keep up with inflation, more freedom of expression and an end to bans on demonstrations. On February 27th the government and army declared a curfew for the 28th and 29th.

There was no demonstration but the strike took place all over the country. This is the first time we have seen a curfew used to stop a demonstration. The government is afraid of workers' anger, the minimum salary is \$150 but the cost of living is as high as in Europe. The government's 'justification' for the ban is the conflict with Israel!

UNDERSTANDING AND DEFEATING RACISM

We Anarchist- Syndicalists fight all domination and exploitation. We are for Stateless Socialism (Anarchism), grassroots democracy and individual freedom. The fight against racism is a central part of our program.

WHERE DOES RACISM COME FROM?

Racism is not natural or inevitable. It is rooted in class society.

Racism developed alongside capitalism and the modern State since these emerged 500 years ago. It justified the conquest, slaughter and enslavement of indigenous people in the Americas, Asia and Africa. Later racism was used to divide and rule the working class majority, and to super- exploit and repress sections of the working- class.

Racist arguments said colonialism, slavery and Black worker oppression were a "civilising mission". In truth, racism gave huge profits and power to the capitalist ruling- classes of Europe and Japan.

SOUTH AFRICAN CASE

Racism in South Africa developed from colonial conquest, genocide against Khoisan people, and slavery in the Cape.

The discovery of diamonds and gold in the 1870s strengthened racism. Why? The mine bosses and capitalist farmers needed ultra- cheap labor to make profits.

So the State forced Africans into wage labor through taxes and land dispossession. It imported Indian semi-slaves for the sugar farms. Repressive systems such as the compounds, and a lack of political and union rights was used to keep African, Indian and Coloured labor cheap and controlled.

Many Africans were *migrant labourers* based in the bantustans. This allowed the ruling class to keep their wages down as they only had to pay for the wages of a "single" man. It also slowed down the development of massive and volatile urban working- class ghettos by preventing Black people from settling in the cities..

White workers and poor whites were deliberately divided from their Black comrades through massive racial privileges such as high wages, political and union rights, and social services.

THE CRISIS OF RACIAL CAPITALISM

This system of racial capitalism worked well for the bosses up until the 1970s. It made huge profits and kept the masses down.

BLACK LIBERATION



THROUGH CLASS

But the system entered a crisis in the 1970s. The local market was restricted to Whites and was thus too small for further capitalist growth. Also, massive skills shortages developed. Only Whites got a decent education and were allowed to do skilled work.

More important, the Black workers and poor (joined by some middle- and upper- class elements) rose in revolt: the 1973 Durban strikes, the Soweto rising of 1976, the emergence of a mass trade union and civic

movement in the 1980s, the revolutionary uprisings of 1983-6, the mass protests of the late 1980s.

ARE ELECTIONS THE WAY FORWARD?

This crisis forced the racist ruling class to the negotiating table in 1990.

The 1994 elections were a massive victory. For the first time in 350 years Black people are not ruled by a racist dictatorship. We have the right to vote, to free speech, to trade unions, to equal social services. We must defend these rights with mass action if necessary.

But elections do not bring real freedom. The State always serves the ruling- class. Power does not lie in parliament but in the State bureaucracy, the military and the corporate boardrooms. The State centralises power in the hands of a tiny, privileged minority of both Blacks and Whites.

We should boycott elections and rely on mass struggle to win change.

ABOLITION OF CAPITALISM

The fight against racism is a fight against capitalism and the State. These structures have been built on racism, and always create new forms of racism.

Yesterday, it was Apartheid. Today it is the arrest and deportation of so- called "illegal immigrants" from Africa. The immigrants are blamed for crime and unemployment, both of which are really the bosses' fault. The immigrants must be defended!

Black workers and poor people still suffer the legacy of Apartheid: poverty, rotten schools, landlessness, unemployment etc. These problems cannot be solved by the market. They require wealth redistribution, and an economy planned from below by the working- class to meet people's needs, not profits. In other words, they require the establishment of a Stateless Socialist (Anarchist) society.

WORKING- CLASS REVOLUTION

All Black people are victims of racism. But the Black middle and upper class elite is shielded from the worst effects of racism by their privileged status in capitalism. They can live in the suburbs, go to private schools and earn big salaries- we can't.

We must fight racism wherever it exists. But we working and poor people must not build alliances with Black managers and capitalists, because they will always choose profits over socialism. They want to exploit us. But we, the workers and the poor, create all social wealth. Only we can build a free society because only we do not exploit.

A united multi-racial class- struggle of all the workers of the world is the only road to freedom. A united struggle on a principled anti- racist platform is vital.

STRAIGHT TO STATELESS SOCIALISM

We reject the so- called two- stage theory which says that workers must first fight for a parliament which will destroy racism ("national democracy") and only later struggle for socialism. Capitalism and the State cannot be made non- racial. Also, the "leaders" who get into parliament get many privileges and thus start to fight against any talk of a second struggle for socialism.

SPECIAL ORGANIZATIONS?

As we mentioned earlier, united class- struggle is the only way to defeat racism for once and for all. In particular, there is no substitute for working inside the trade unions to turn them into mass, integrated, revolutionary unions aiming at the seizure of the land, factories and mines.

However, where Black people form a doubly oppressed minority of the working- class we defend their right to form special Black- only organisations. The role of these organisations is to make sure that Black concerns are not marginalised by the left- wing or the broader working- class movement. However, these special organisations must be based on the principles of class- struggle, and must build alliances with other movements of the workers and the poor. Without such allies, the Black special organisations are too small and isolated to win out against capitalism and the State.

Special organizations are probably not needed in South Africa. The African workers and poor form the vast majority of the population. They have the most grievances against the racist- capitalist system. They are the most militant, combative and organised group in society. There is no large White- working class or left- wing which can ignore their demands. Clearly, the Black working- class will play the leading role in the struggle against capitalism and the State. The African working- class can draw other allies behind its struggle, from

amongst Coloured workers, Indian workers and even anti-racist Whites.

WHITE WORKERS AND RACISM

All races are fundamentally equal. There is as much difference within each "race" as there is between "races". This means that there is no such thing as an inferior or a superior race, or as an inherent racial characteristic like mathematical ability.

Obviously this also means we do not accept the bourgeois-nationalist argument that White people are always racist.

Another issue that always gets raised is the question of whether White workers benefit from racism. In examining this issue we need to distinguish between different circumstances.

In South Africa, which was historically a colony of White settlement, the small White working-class received massive and real gains from the racist system because of the bosses need to strengthen racial-capitalism. With the fall of Apartheid, these racist privileges are rapidly eroding, opening up the possibility of sections of

White workers joining with Black in large numbers as reliable allies.

In countries like Britain and Europe, where the White working-class forms the majority of the population. The situation is more complex.

While White workers in these countries may receive some limited short-term benefits from racism, such as slightly lower rate of unemployment, these benefits are limited. Whites still make up the majority of the poor and unemployed here. And racism has serious long-term effects which outweigh short-term gains- it seriously divides and weakens working-class struggles. In all these countries there is a strong anti-racist working-class tradition, evident from large-scale White participation in riots against racial oppression. Racism is therefore *not* in the real interests of the Euro-American working-class.

CONCLUSION

To win we need to extend the fight against racism into a fight against capitalism and the State. And we need to organise on a class-struggle and anti-racist basis. *Workers Solidarity says: Black Liberation through Class War! Forward to Stateless Socialism!*

ANARCHIST- SYNDICALIST HISTORY:

ANARCHIST ANTI-RACISM IN ACTION

We Anarchist- Syndicalists are sworn opponents of racism. Racism is a tool of the bosses and rulers and must be destroyed through a revolutionary international class-struggle for a free stateless socialist (Anarchist) society.

REVOLUTIONARY FOUNDERS

The theorist- activist founders of Anarchist- Syndicalism were anti-racist revolutionaries. Mikhail Bakunin was a lifelong opponent of colonialism and national oppression. He was imprisoned for his activities several times. Bakunin stated that there must be a "recognition of human right and dignity in every man, of whatever race or colour."

Other activists, like Elisee Reclus and Rudolph Rocker, also did important work demolishing racist theories and campaigning against the racists' lies.

CUBA

Anarchist- Syndicalists placed the fight against racism at the centre of their struggles. For example, in the Anarchists won over the Cuban labour movement from the mid- 1880s onwards. They led massive strikes and were active in the anti-colonial struggle against Spain. *The Anarchists united people of African, European and mixed descent in struggles against the*

legacy of slavery, such as racial discrimination and the physical punishment of apprentices.

THE IWW IN THE USA

From the beginning, Anarchists were in the forefront of the fight against racism in the USA. The (Anarchist) International Working People's Association, founded in the 1880s, had as one of the central points of its programme equality for all, regardless of race or sex.

Members of the International Working Peoples Association were central to the general strike for an 8-hour day in 1886. This brought out tens of thousands of workers on strike- both Black and White. In Chicago, the predominantly Anarchist Central Labour Union brought out 65,000 workers on strike. One of the main activists here was Lucy Parsons, a woman of colour and a working-class revolutionary. Her husband Albert Parsons was among 8 Anarchist union militants sentenced to death on false charges, as the bosses sought to crush the struggle. *May Day, the workers' day, began as an anniversary of this frame-up and legal murder.*

In 1905 militants founded the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) founded in the USA. The IWW was a Anarchist- Syndicalist trade union. It believed unions

should both fight the bosses in the daily struggle and organise the workers to seize the land, mines and farms.

Unlike the racist reformist unions, the IWW organised all workers including African- Americans, European immigrants, Chinese and Mexicans. The IWW combated racist barbarism like lynching, segregation, and unequal wages. It recruited tens of thousands of Africans, particularly in the timber industry and the waterfront. Many of its activists were people of colour, like Lucy Parsons and Ben Fletcher.

By 1917, the IWW had issued membership cards to more than half a million workers. However, it was crushed by the State in the USA's biggest internal counter- insurgency programme ever. 101 militants, including Ben Fletcher, received more than 10,000 years in total sentences.

REVOLUTIONARY UKRAINE

The Russian Revolution of 1917 began as genuine mass uprising but was soon destroyed by the Communist Party who built a one- party State and State- Capitalism on the bones of the masses.

But in the Ukraine, the second biggest country in the Russian empire, the Anarchists were the most popular political force. Between 1918 and 1921 they organised a mass revolutionary peasant- worker movement which redistributed the land, and set up anti-authoritarian peasant communes and workers councils. The region was defended against Communist and other counterrevolutionary forces by a democratic Revolutionary Insurgent Army. The movement came to be known as Makhnovschina (it was named after Nestor Makhno, one of its founders).

The Makhnovist movement struggled tirelessly against anti- Jewish racism in the area. Extensive propaganda work was done. From the start, the movement included poor peasants of all nationalities, including Ukrainians, Greeks and Jews. Guns and ammunition were given to Jewish communities for self- defence against attack. Any Makhnovist who took part in acts against Jews was promptly and severely punished.

ANARCHISTS AND PANTHERS

Anarchist- Syndicalists also played a role in the US Black liberation movement of the 1950s and 1960s. For example, Martin Sostre, an Anarchist of Black Puerto Rican descent, organised the Buffalo, New York Black ghetto rising of 1967 against police brutality. AS a result he was then framed for "drug dealing" and only released after an international defence campaign in the 1970s.

The Black Panther Party was the most advanced wing of the Black movement. It criticised cultural nationalists and Black capitalist frauds, stating that it fought on the basis of "proletarian internationalism born of socialist realism".

Anarchist- Syndicalism had some influence on the Panthers. Huey Newton once called for a "communist world in which statehood no longer exists" and called the Anarchists the revolutionary wing of the First International (Marxists were the other!!). However, Marxist- Leninism's was more important, resulting in a highly centralised leadership and limited inner- party democracy. This authoritarianism (along with a lack of allies in the rest of the working class, and also massive FBI repression) contributed to the Panther's collapse.

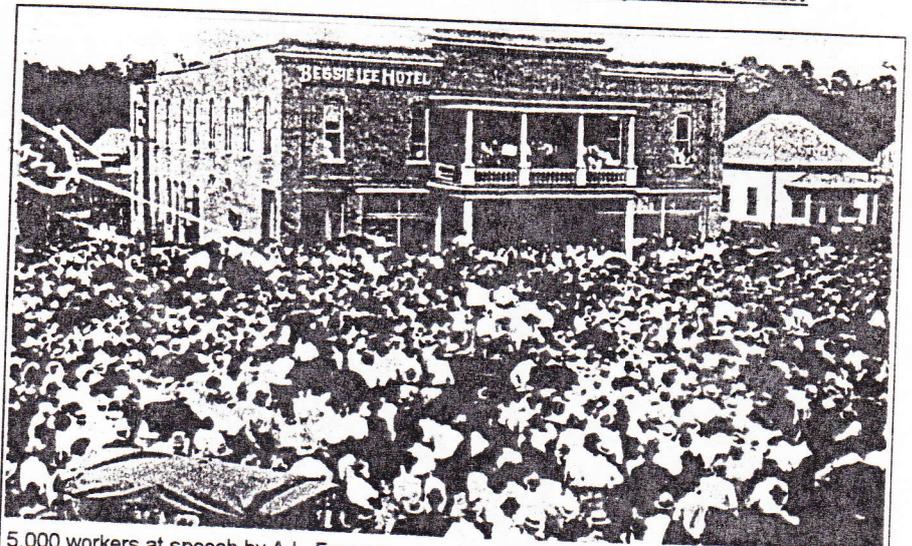
Several ex- Panthers also converted to Anarchism in jail, such as Kuwasi Balagoon and Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin. Balagoon converted Anarchism as a result of his negative experiences with the Marxist- inspired bureaucracy and authoritarian leadership of the Panthers. He died in prison in 1986 of AIDS- related pneumonia. Ervin is currently active in the (Anarchist) Federation of Black Community Partisans.

Ojore Lutalo, who was imprisoned for his activities in the Black Liberation Army, also became an Anarchist in jail. He has been kept in solitary since 1986 after being framed for non-existent escape plot. The comrade appeals for letters and communications. Please write to him directly at :

Ojore Lutalo CN-861-59860, Trenton, NJ 08625
United States of America

Or send your letter to us and we will make sure he receives it.

This is our tradition: revolutionary anti-racism!



5,000 workers at speech by A.L. Emerson, organiser for Brotherhood of Timber Workers (BTW) in Louisiana, 1911. The BTW joined the revolutionary Anarchist- Syndicalist union the IWW in 1912. The BTW organised thousands of both Black and White workers in common struggle against racist- capitalist bosses and faced fierce repression.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION (1936-7): A NEW WORLD IN THEIR HEARTS

REMEMBER THE REVOLUTION

The 19th July 1996 marked the 60th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution. For a brief time, capitalism and the State was replaced by solidarity, mutual aid, and respect for others. Workers and peasants, who were deeply influenced by anarchist ideas, ran society collectively and gained control over their own lives, industry and land. A central part of the revolution was the struggle against a fascist attempt to take over Spain.

We must remember both the magnificent triumphs and tragedies of the Spanish Revolution and attempt to learn from our comrades mistakes.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS ORGANISE

Anarchist- Syndicalist ideas had deep roots among Spanish peasants and workers. In 1911, a massive revolutionary trade union federation, the CNT (National Confederation of Labour), was formed. It had two aims: first, to fight the bosses with mass action in the daily struggle. Second, to make the Anarchist revolution by organising the workers and the poor to seize back the land, factories and mines.

The CNT led many militant and successful struggles against the bosses and the government. By 1936 it was the biggest union in Spain, with nearly two million members. *But the CNT was always democratic. Despite its giant size, the CNT never had more than one paid official.*

The Anarchists did not restrict themselves to the workplace. They also organised an Anarchist political group to work in the unions (the FAI), rent boycotts in poor areas, youth, and women. *The CNT itself*

included working peasants, farmworkers and the unemployed. It even organised workers schools!

FASCIST COUP ATTEMPT

In July 1936, fascists led by General Franco, and backed by the rich and the Church tried to seize power in Spain. *Fascists believe in an extreme right-wing dictatorship, and are used by the bosses to violently repress the masses' struggle for a better life.*

The elected government (the Popular Front coalition of left- wing parties) was unable and unwilling to deal with the fascists. It even tried to strike a deal by appointing a right-winger as Prime Minister. Why? Because they would rather compromise with the right-wing and protect their wealth and power than arm the workers and the poor for self-defence.

THE REVOLUTION BEGINS

Fortunately, the workers and the peasants did not wait around for the government to act. The CNT declared a general strike and organised armed resistance to the attempted take-over. Other unions and left-wing forces followed the CNT's lead.

In this way the people in arms were able to stop the fascists in two-thirds of Spain. *It soon became apparent that to these workers and peasants that this was not just a war against the fascists, but the beginning of a revolution!* Anarchist influence was everywhere- workers militias were set up independently from the state, workers sized control of their workplaces, and peasants sized the land.

There are many triumphs of the revolution. In this article we are only able to consider a few of the Spanish workers and peasants victories. These included the general take- over of the land and factories. Women also made many important gains (see separate article on page 15).

TAKING BACK THE LAND

Small peasants and farm workers faced extremely harsh conditions in Spain. Starvation and repression was a part of their daily lives. Therefore, it was no surprise that anarchism was particularly strong in the countryside.

During the revolution, as many 7 million peasants and farmworkers set up voluntary collectives in the anti-fascist region. After the major landowners fled, a village assembly was held. If a decision to collectivise was taken, all the land, tools and animals were pooled together for the use of the entire collective. Teams were formed to look after various areas of work and each team elected accountable delegates to a village assembly. A committee was elected to co-ordinate the overall running of the collective and each collective



Adolf Hitler with General Franco.. Franco's attempted fascist coup of 1936 sparked far- reaching worker- peasant revolution under direct influence of Anarchist-Syndicalist ideas and organisations.

had regular general meetings in which all members participated.

Individuals who did not want to join the collectives were *NOT forced to*. They were given enough land to farm on, but they were *forbidden to hire labourers to work this land*. Most "individualists" eventually joined the collectives when they saw how successful the collectives were.

SEIZING THE FACTORIES

Anarchism inspired massive transformations in industry. Workers seized control over their workplaces and directly controlled production by themselves and for the benefit of the Spanish workers and peasants.

TRAM WORKERS

The tram system provides a shining example of just how much better we can run things under direct workers control. On July 24th the tram crews got together and decided to run the whole system themselves. Within another 5 days 700 trams were in service, instead of the usual 600.

Wages were equalised and working conditions improved. Free medical care was created.

Everyone benefited from the trams being under workers control. Fares were reduced and an extra 50 million passengers were transported. Yet more money was made, and used to improve transport services and produce weapons. *With the capitalist profit motive gone, safety became much more important and the number of accidents was reduced.*

WORKERS ARMY

In the early stage of the revolution, the armed forces of the State had effectively collapsed. *In their place, the trade unions and left-wing organisations set about organising the armed workers and peasants into democratic workers militias. Overall, there were 150,000 volunteers willing to fight where they were needed.* The vast majority were members of the CNT. All officers were elected by the rank-and-file and had no special privileges.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The revolution showed that workers, peasants and the poor can create a new world without bosses or a government.. It showed that Anarchist ideas and methods (such as building revolutionary unions) can work. And it showed that imperialism is the enemy of



ANARCHISM IN ACTION: Anarchist militia women and men leave Spanish capital, Barcelona, for the front. Inspired by Anarchist-Syndicalism, Spanish workers and peasants seized and democratically managed the land and factories, and fought fascists through 150,000 strong democratic workers militia.

all workers: the fascists used the colonial army from North Africa to launch their attack

THE REVOLUTION DEFEATED

Yet despite all this, the revolution was defeated. In 1939, the fascists won the civil war and crushed the working-class and peasants with a brutal dictatorship.

Why did this happen? The revolution was defeated partly because of the strength of the fascists. They were backed by the rich, by fascist Italy and by Nazi Germany.

The CNT also made mistakes. It aimed for maximum anti-fascist unity, and joined the Popular Front alliance which included political parties from the government, and pro-capitalist forces. This required the CNT to make many compromises in its revolutionary programme.

It also gave the Popular Front government an opportunity to undermine and destroy the revolution, the collectives, and the workers' militias. The Communist Party played a leading role in this attack. The Communists organised among small employers and conservatives, and was only interested in expanding Russia's power.

NO COMPROMISE!

Instead of joining the Popular Front, the CNT should have stuck to its original programme: Revolution against the bosses, the State and their fascist friends. Alliances only with worker and peasant structures. Defence by a democratic workers/peasant army. And the immediate decolonisation of all Spanish colonies.

NOTES: 1. E.Conlon, *Spanish Civil War: Anarchism in Action.*; 2. NA, *Spanish Revolution: Anarchism in Action.*; 3. C. McLoughlin, "The Spanish Revolution: A New World In Their Hearts." *Workers Solidarity* (Ireland) Spring 1996.

AUGUST 9 IS NATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY. IF THIS DAY HAS ANY MEANING, ITS THAT
WOMEN HAVE A LONG ROAD TO WALK TO FULL FREEDOM!

WOMEN IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION 1936-7

Before the revolution women faced very oppressive and repressive conditions. Women had no independence; they were paid far less than men; single women were not allowed to go out at night without a chaperone.

During the revolution many men and women changed their old conservative beliefs about women. Women fought as equals in the workers militias and were involved in all levels of collectivisation of the land and industry. But change does not always occur over night and many sexist practices and ideas remained.

In May 1936 anarchist women formed a workers women's movement Mujeres Libres ("Free Women"). They aimed to empower women by giving women confidence to participate in the revolution and fight for their own liberation. They also combated the sexist ideas of male workers and peasants. Mujeres Libres worked in close alliance with the Anarchist-Syndicalist CNT unions, with the Anarchist youth organisations, and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (FAI).

Mujeres Libres believed that the fight against women's oppression was part of the larger struggle to end all forms of oppression. This meant that the fight for women's liberation was part of the fight against the bosses and the state.

Mujeres Libres won many achievements for women during the revolution. They organised democratic schools for women and won legalised abortion and contraception, divorce rights, child care facilities, and equal wages to men.

The Spanish revolution shows us that women liberation cannot be ignored or side-lined. We can not wait until after the revolution to combat women oppression or leave it to the "women's section". We all, all of us men and women, need to be part of the fight against women's oppression. A struggle that does not aim, from the beginning for equality for all, does not deserve the name of a revolution.

From *Workers Solidarity* (Ireland)

A Comrade Comments:

Women's Liberation and Anarchism: A Complementary Partnership.

There is a mistaken view that women's issues are no longer relevant. Yet they are more relevant than ever.

It is unrealistic to claim that women's oppression is no longer relevant in South Africa. If we are not concerned with women's oppression, we are ignoring 50% of all workers and peasants.

It cannot be denied that there has been an improvement in the status of women this century. For example, women have won political rights, educational opportunities; and some non-sexist laws have been implemented. But these gains are not enough! The violence against women has skyrocketed and women workers still earn a lot less than men.

The basis of this inequality between men and women is not just about men disrespecting women, but it is rooted in the capitalist system. The oppression of women divides the working class and ensures that the bosses have an abundant supply of cheap labour. Women also have to cook and clean and raise the new generation of workers at no extra cost to the state and the bosses.

Women are also generally less educated than men, and because they are paid less they are also financially dependent on men. Men are paid more than women because many people argue that they are the bread winners. But many working class women work and are the main breadwinners of their families.

Nothing will change by waiting for the bosses to do things for us. The bosses are not working class women so they obviously don't know what it feels like. Don't expect them to sympathise with us.

We must fight our own battles. We can only stop discrimination in the workplace and violence against us by organising ourselves and engaging in a united class-struggle against the capitalist system which oppresses us and our daughters.



WORKING AND POOR WOMEN: UNITE AGAINST OPPRESSION!

Every day thousands of women are beaten, raped, killed. We are treated like dirt by sexist men. Workers Solidarity Says: No To Violence Against Women!

All women suffer abuse. But we working-class and poor women suffer the most. When we are abused we can't hire fancy lawyers, or psychologists, or go stay at private clinics. Often we are financially dependent on the very same thugs that give us hell.

We Say: There is no excuse for women's oppression. It is to say that women are inferior to men and their natural slaves.
Down with All Oppression.

Why Is There This Oppression?

The bosses newspapers and T.V. promote derogatory views of women. They say that women are there to be used and abused.

And some of our men believe these lies. They take out their frustrations from their oppression at work, or unemployment, out on their families. They want to be "big boss" in the home.

We Say: No More Bosses Forward to the Democracy Of The Masses!

How The Bosses Exploit The Women

The businessmen and the managers exploit women. They give us the worst work with no job security. They pay us low wages. This exploits us and divides the workers. When we get pregnant we are fired because

the bosses do not want to pay extra for maternity benefits or leave. Even if our children get ill, they will not give us time off. And some bosses sexually harass and abuse us.

And when we get home from our jobs we have to start a second shift as unpaid domestics servants. We have to do all the house work with no help from our men. And this work is made harder by the fact that many townships and squatter camps have no proper electricity or plumbing.

The Way Forward!

Workers Solidarity Says: Working and poor women must unite to fight their oppression. All progressive male comrades must support this struggle. Women's oppression must be smashed in the community and the workplace by a class-struggle against the bosses and the sexist. We must therefore raise this in our civics, youth organisations and unions.

Fight For:

- Free 24 hour childcare funded by the bosses and the state.
- Men to share the housework
- Equal wages for men and women.
- Job security for women
- Paid maternity leave and guaranteed re-employment
- End to violence against women
- No to sexism in civics, youth structures and unions.



CALL FOR SOLIDARITY:

WRITER, UNIONIST IN NIGERIAN PRISON

The following appeal has been sent by Vicki Richman on the 18 July 1996. Vicki is linked to the National Writers Unions, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labour- Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO- the USA equivalent of COSATU). [Vicki Richman can be contacted by e-mail at vicric@panix.com].

Workers internationally are asked to step up the protests against the brutal repression in Nigeria by the military dictatorship backed by Shell Oil.

Femi Aborisade, former editor of Nigeria's *Militant* newspaper and currently director of organisation for the opposition National Conscience Party, has been held in solitary confinement for 3 months. He has not even been allowed to attend church services which would be the only chance of contact with other people. He has not been allowed a change of clothes in the whole of that time, and is being held 2,000 kilometres from his home and not even informed if anyone is trying to visit him. He is charged with treason and faces the death penalty if found guilty.

Last week, the former vice-president of the dissolved Nigerian Labour Congress, currently General Secretary of the National Union of Textile and Garment Workers was arrested for criticising the erosion of trade union independence. There are reports that other labour activists in detention have been castrated!

Biodun Olamosu, another supporter of Nigerian *Militant*, was hunted down like an animal. Unable to arrest him, the state forces arrested and held four of his close friends for months as bait to catch him. Biodun has now been arrested as he made contact with lawyers for the release of his friends. He is being held in atrocious conditions and is being routinely beaten and denied food.

A spokesperson for the Nigerian *Militant* in Lagos explained that from his own recent experience, the usual diet is a cupful of beans in a bowl of water dished out to about 50 prisoners. "Many prisoners simply die", he said.

The Campaign for Independent Unions in Nigeria (CIU) is stepping up its actions against Shell. Some of Shell's despicable activities have been exposed recently in ITV's *World in Action* and the CIU is preparing a video to tell the world what's happening.

Appeal sheets are available from CIU (Britain) PO Box 256, London SE11 5th, or *Militant Labour*.

Resolutions through trade unions etc. for the

boycott of Shell are also called for by every citizen of Nigeria who hate this giant monopoly for the murderous exploitation of their country.

Send your condemnation of the barbaric treatment of labour movement activists, support for the right of trade unions to organise without interference from the State and demands for the immediate release of all political prisoners in Nigeria to:

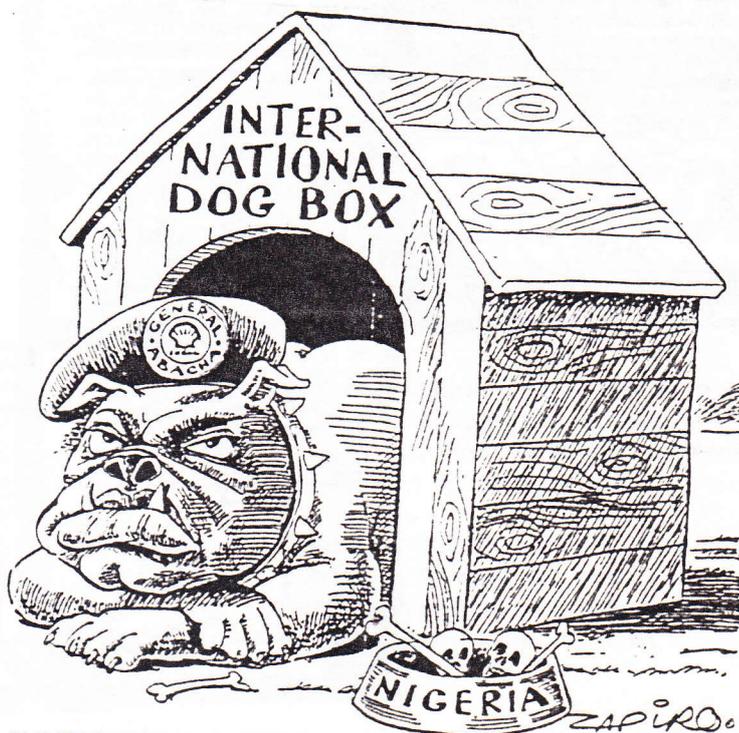
General Abacha, State House, Abuja, Nigeria, Fax 00 234 523 2138.

Copies to : NCP, PO Box 1114 Surulere, Lagos State, Nigeria and CIU, PO Box 496, Agege, Lagos, Nigeria.

Let Shell know what you think. Write to John Drake, boss of Shell's South African branch at: Shell, PO Box 2231 TA Shell, Cape Town; TEL: (021) 408-4911; FAX: (021) 419-2864.

Send your membership applications and copies of your resolutions to Campaign for Democracy in Nigeria, PO Box 176, Observatory 7935 (TEL: (021) 650-3018).

Workers Solidarity Federation urges all comrades to take a stand on this serious issue. Shell and the dictatorial Nigerian State are two sides of the same oppressive coin. They are the enemies of the workers and peasants and must be swept aside by mass struggle.



ARE EMPLOYED WORKERS AND UNIONS AN "ELITE"?

Whenever workers go on strike the bosses and the National Party accuse the strikers of standing for the interests of an "elite". Even some ANC leaders have made such claims. They say that these workers are selfish. They say that these workers are privileged compared to the unemployed. They say that these workers are causing poverty by "harming the economy".

These arguments are lies!!! The majority of workers do not even receive a living wage. We work in terrible conditions and still face racism. Yet the bosses and politicians who call the employed an "elite" earn tens of thousands of rands a month and drive BMWs!

The employed and the unemployed do not live in separate "group areas"! Employed workers' wages help support unemployed family members and neighbours. This creates pressures on incomes which forces workers to strike for better wages.

Strikers are not responsible for the crisis of the economy. The bosses are. Their factories only produce for a tiny majority of the population. They do not train the workers. They do not spend their money on creating jobs but on buying up existing companies.

We must and will take mass action against these exploiters. They are the real elite whose greed and powerlust causes poverty and suffering. Forward to a free Stateless Socialist (Anarchist) society through the unions and the democratic civics!

THE INTERNATIONAL WAR AGAINST THE POOR



The gap between the rich minority (the ruling class of bosses, professional politicians, top State officials and military leaders) and the poor majority of workers and peasants (workers of all grades, their families, the unemployed, soldiers up to NCO level, labour tenants, sharecroppers, and small family farmers employing no wage-labour) continues to widen across the globe.

According to the recent Human Development Report (1996) released by the United Nations:

- 358 billionaires have more assets than the combined incomes of countries home to 45% of world's people
- 1,6 billion people in 89 countries are now poorer than they were 10 years ago.
- the richest 20% of the world's population gets 85% of the world's income (up from about 70% thirty years ago)

Lets not be fooled into thinking this inequality is between different "nations": it is between the rich and the poor within each country. For example, in Britain, one of the richest countries in the world, the richest 20% of the population earn ten times more than the poorest 20%. It to the extent that their growth is stunted. The top 1% of

is estimated that nearly 30% of children are malnourished the population owned 80% of all stocks and shares.

Meanwhile in the Third World, the living conditions of the wealthy ruling elite contrast sharply with the living standards of the poor. In South Africa:

- 60,000 farmers own 87% of the land
- 5% of the population owns 88% of al personal wealth
- In 1991, Whites, who are about 13% of the population earned 61% of total income. Africans earned only 28%.
- But inequality is also distributed on class lines: the richest 20% of African households increased their real incomes by almost 40% between 1975-1991, while the incomes of the poorest 40% of African households decreased by almost 40% of the same period. A similar decline in real income took place for the poorest 40% of Whites.

The bosses and rulers, and the workers and the poor, have nothing in common. A struggle must go on until the masses overthrow the exploiters and create a free Stateless Socialist (Anarchist) society.

References: *United Nations Human Development Report (1996), Umsebenzi 6 (4), Weekly Mail 11/03/1994, R. Lekachman, (1981). Capitalism for Beginners*

WHY I AM AN ANARCHIST

I am an anarchist because contemporary society is divided into two opposing classes: the impoverished and dispossessed workers and peasants who have created with their own hands and their own enormous toil all the riches of the earth; and the rich men, kings and presidents who have confiscated all these riches for themselves. Towards these parasitic capitalists and ruling kings and presidents there rose in me a feeling of outrage, indignation, and loathing, while at the same time I felt sorrow and compassion for the labouring proletariat who have been eternal slaves in the vice- like grip of the world- wide bourgeoisie.

I am an anarchist because I scorn and detest all authority, since all authority is founded on injustice, exploitation and compulsion over the human personality. Authority dehumanises the individual and makes him a slave.

I am an opponent of private property when it is held by individual capitalist parasites, for private property is theft.

I am an anarchist because I subject to unstinting criticism and censure bourgeois morality as well as false and distorted bourgeois science and religion, which shroud the human personality in darkness and prevent its independent development.

I am an anarchist because I believe in the truth of the anarchist ideal, which seeks to liberate mankind from the authority of capitalism and religion.

I am an anarchist because I believe only in the creative powers and independence of a united proletariat and not of the leaders of political parties of various kinds.

I am an anarchist because I believe that the present struggle between the classes will end only when the toiling masses, organised as a class, gain their true interests and conquer, by means of a violent social revolution, all the riches of the earth. Having accomplished such an overthrow and having abolished all institutions of government and authority, the oppressed class must proclaim a society of free producers which will endeavour to satisfy the needs of each individual, who must in turn give society his/her labour and his/her concern for the welfare of all mankind.

I am not deluded by the loud and vulgar "socialist" phrase of "dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". Dictatorship is a synonym for authority, and authority is something alien to the masses. Authority always and everywhere corrupts the rulers, who play the role of flies on the horns of an ox in pasture, poisonous flies which from time to time bite the ox and contaminate its blood, draining its energy and killing its independent initiative.

I firmly believe that the authority will disappear with the disappearance of capitalism. The popular masses themselves will conduct their affairs on equal and communal lines in free communities.

I am an anarchist because I strive by my own personal initiative to impress upon the masses the idea of anarchist communism. I interpret communism in the full sense of the word, for I shall find my own happiness in the common happiness of free and autonomous men and women like myself.

By. N. Petrov,
October 1917 (Written during the Russian Revolution)

SPREAD THE REVOLUTION!

- **Take copies to sell : 5 for R3, 10 for R5, 20 for R10**
- **Donate money to the Workers Solidarity Propaganda Fund. We depend on your support to spread our ideas, to do solidarity work with working class struggles.**
- **Send orders for paper bundles and/or donations in form of well-concealed cash or postal orders made out to WSF.**
- **Send to WSF, PO Box 1717, Rosettenville, 2130, Johannesburg**