

# Wildcat

No 7

RIOT  
SPECIAL



HANDSWORTH

TOTTENHAM

BRIXTON

S. AFRICA

TOXTETH



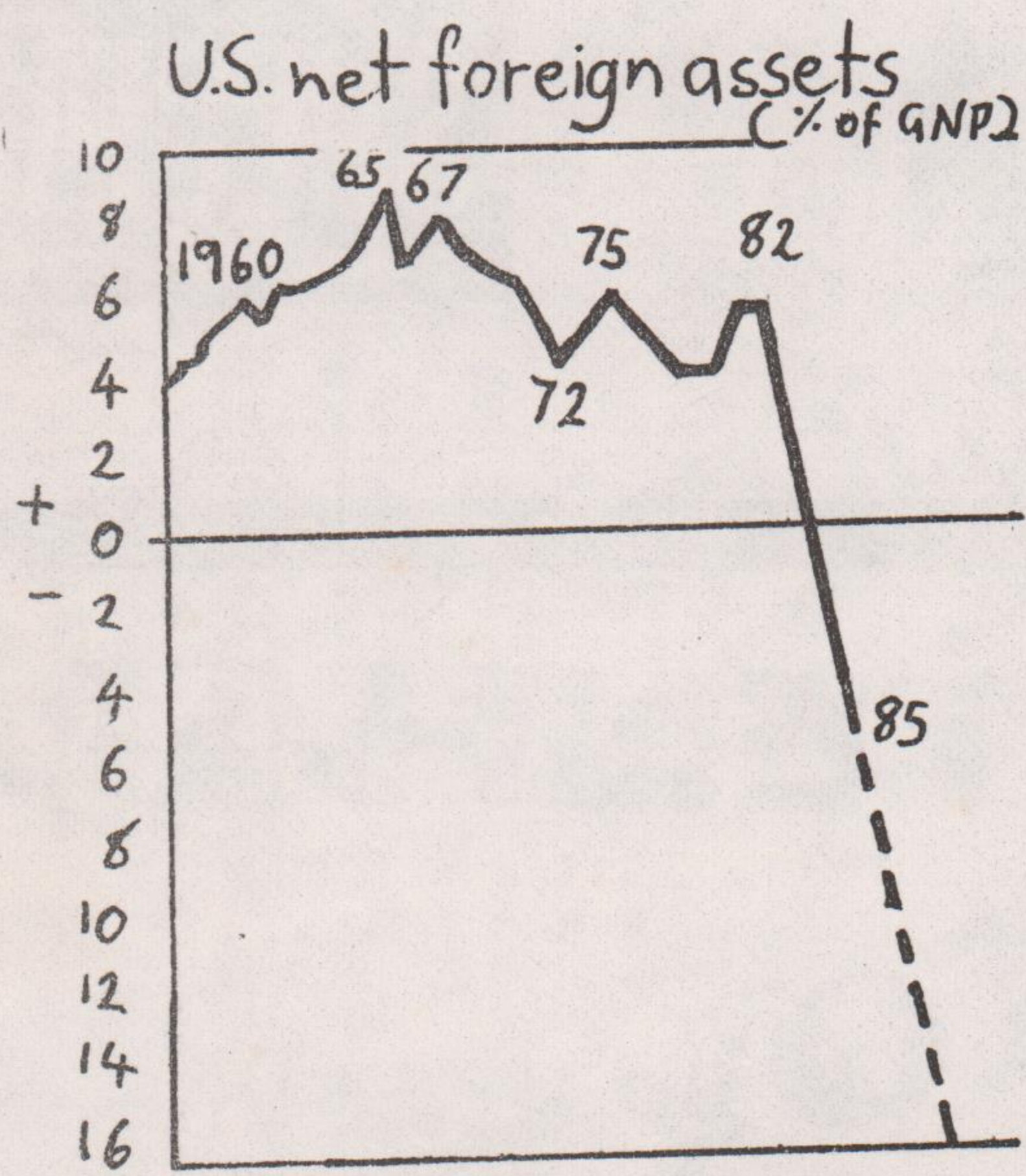
A rioter hurls a brick at police in blazing Lozells Road

# THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION!

# PASSING THE BUCK

## THE DOLLAR CRISIS

Sometime between April and June 1985 the United States went into debt for the first time since 1914. As the chart shows, this wasn't a temporary aberration involving a few million dollars, but a massive sustained, unprecedented and almost unimaginable transfer of resources to America from the rest of the world.



figures from the FINANCIAL TIMES

In the 50's and 60's American overseas investment helped to stimulate the world economy. Now the position is reversed. During 1985 \$120 billion of the world's investment capital will flow into the U.S. This figure is almost twice the total investment going to all the world's under-developed countries put together.

The lynchpin of the US economic policy is high interest rates. Because of the world recession, currency speculation appeals to investors as a much easier way of making money than by investing in industry. Every day more than \$150 billion - enough to repay the entire debt of Sub-Saharan Africa twice over - changes hands on the foreign exchange markets. The world is awash with money looking for the easiest way to make a quick buck, and high US interest rates mean that the quickest buck of all is to be made by buying dollars.

Speculative demand for the dollar has pushed its value up by 65% since 1981. As a result, the dollar price of imported raw materials has fallen dramatically - causing devastation in 3rd world economies dependant on raw materials exports. But cheap imports - and dear US exports - have lead to a growing US trade deficit, now \$150 billion per year. This causes problems for US business. But from the point of view of the world

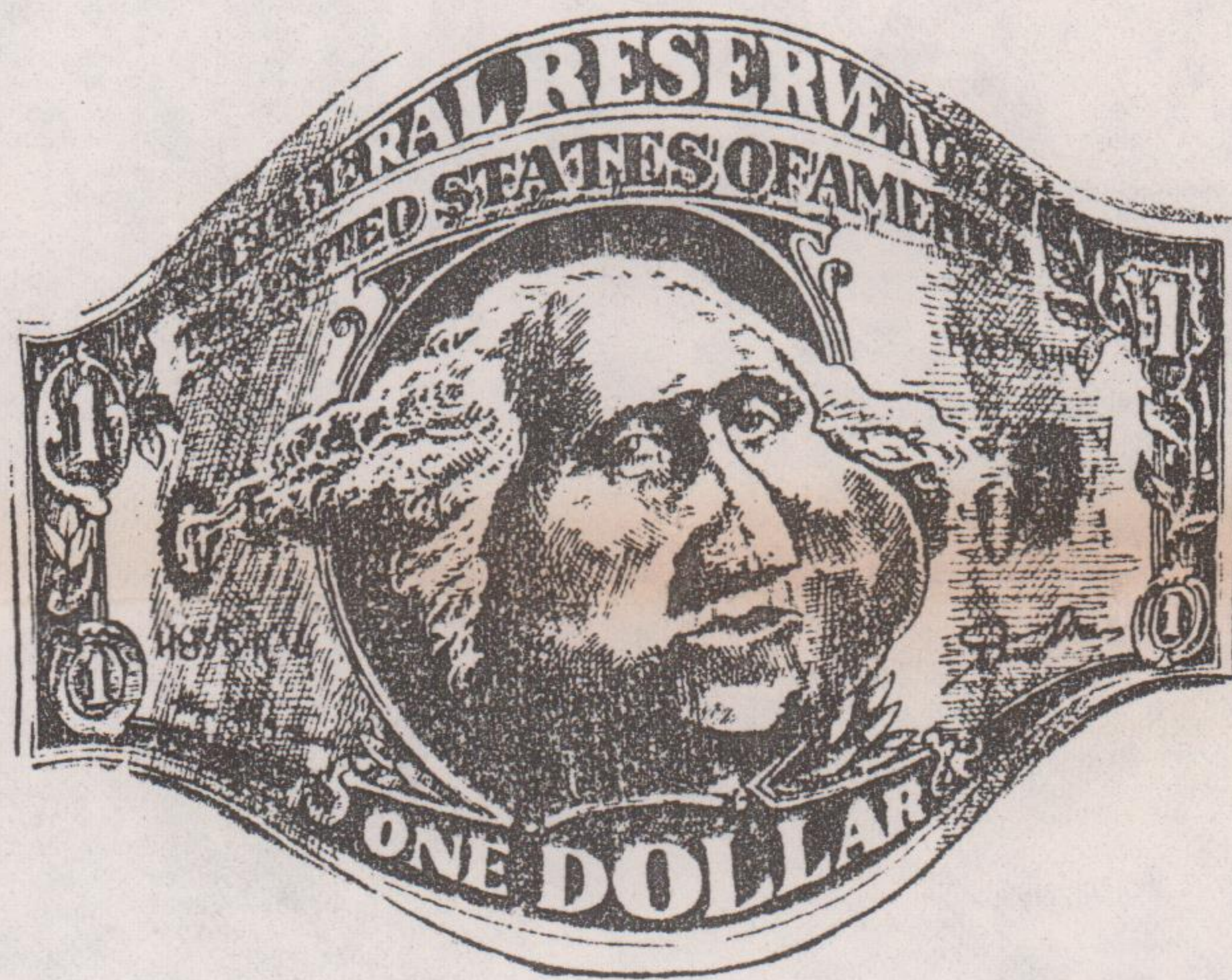
## EXPLOITING THE THIRD WORLD

economy the deficit represents a transfer of cheap goods and services to the world's richest economy.

Much of the money and the products flowing into the US comes from the under-developed world. Brazil had a trade surplus of \$12.1 billion

last year, thanks largely to trade with the US. But interest payments on loans - most of which eventually find its way to America - amounted to \$11.2 billion. America's getting Brazilian goods and Brazilian money. International loans to

Latin America have virtually dried up over the past two years. Debt repayments mean that an estimated \$150 billion will leave Latin America during 1983-87. Income per capita in the region has already fallen by 10% since 1980 and living standards are plummeting. In Africa, foreign aid will need to double for there to be even a chance of halting the decline in production and living standards. Foreign aid to Africa is declining.



What's happening to all the money flooding into America? It's certainly not going to American workers. Their real wages have declined by 9% since 1967 and by a further 1% last year. It is not being invested in US industry. It is being used to help fund the US government's \$200 billion budget deficit - and especially to pay for the 'star wars' programme and the rest of the US arms build-up.

The deficit is vital for US business, since it is used to buy the products of US industry - particularly the arms industry. Without the deficit there would be a slump. But US business has to help fund the deficit. High interest rates encourage investors to buy US government bonds and discourage investment in industry. With low investment, industrial productivity has hardly grown over the past four years. This makes worse the loss of competitiveness already being suffered by US industry as a result of the strong dollar. Several industries are on the verge of extinction. The growth rate of the US economy has fallen dramatically in the past year to only 2%.

Many businessmen, union leaders, and their supporters in Congress see protectionism as the answer. There are currently 300 protectionist bills waiting to go through Congress. But US leaders know that if these bills are passed they will lead to the collapse of the world economic order based (more or less) on free trade. Hence the latest well-publicised

moves to reduce the value of the dollar to reduce pressure on US industry.

As long as the budget deficit remains at present levels, the US needs high interest rates to attract the funds it needs to avoid going bankrupt. As long as interest rates remain high, speculators will carry on buying dollars and pushing up its value.

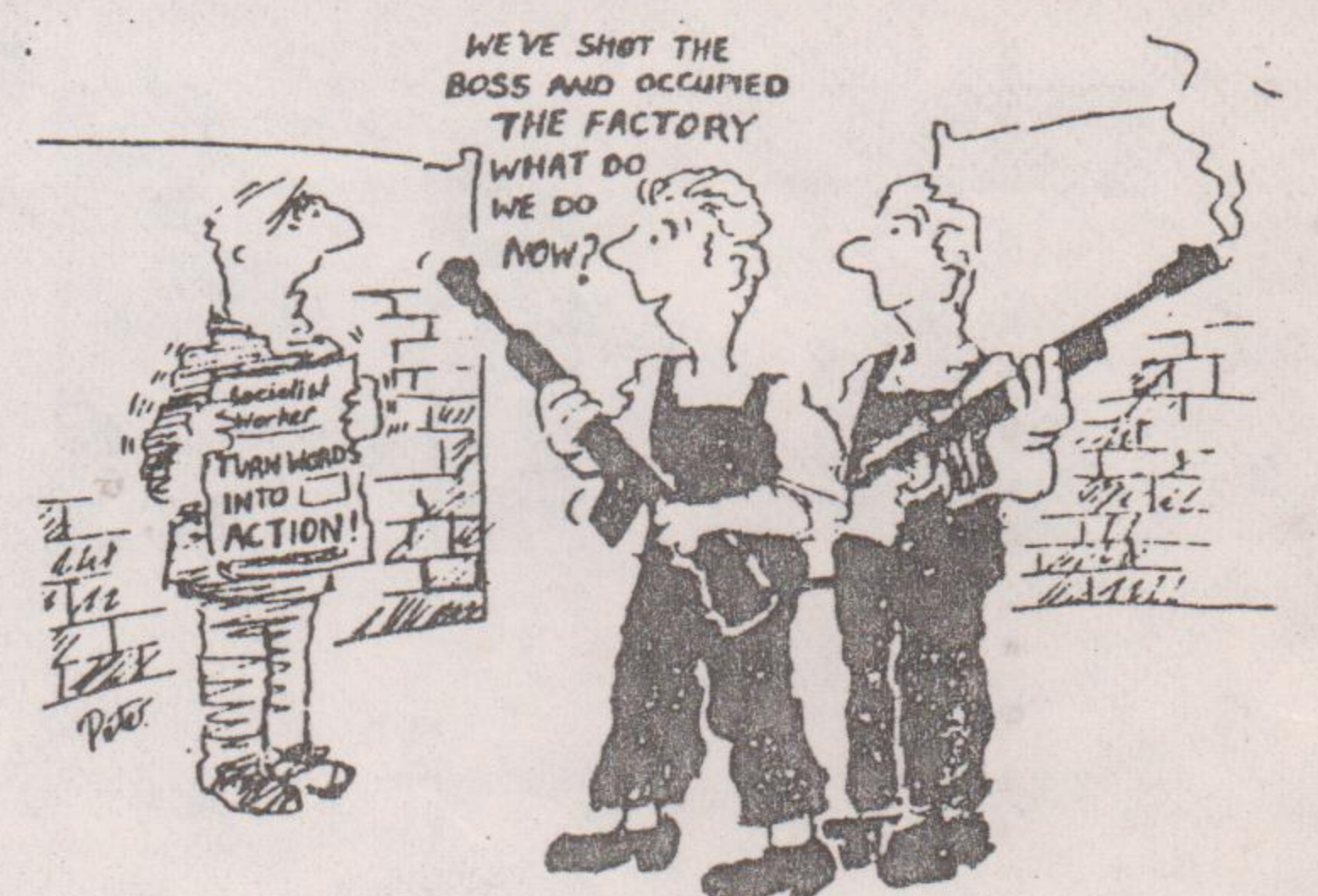
The US government has announced plans to lend an extra \$20 billion to the third world over the next three years. \$7 billion is peanuts. But even this will only be lent on the strict understanding that none of it is used to produce goods for the working class or the poor. It has to be used to produce exports to generate funds to pay off existing debts.

Where will it all end ?

By attempting to depress the value of the dollar, US authorities are playing a dangerous game. If even a small proportion of overseas holders of US dollars decided to cash them in, American reserves (currently little more than \$30 billion) would last a matter of seconds.

The American economy could collapse at any minute, bringing the world economy down with it. But for the moment this is unlikely. World leaders are prepared to prop up the US economy because in the end it's not them that have to pay for it, but us - the working class and poor of the world. Are we going to stand for it? Of course not. Riots and rebellions are sweeping the world. The most likely outcome of American foreign policy is worldwide revolution.

### HOW SOCIALIST IS THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY ?



NEW PAMPHLET!

Wildcat

30p Postfree  
from the Wildcat address  
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# LABOUR: the shocking truth.

Kinnock's performance at the Labour Party conference caused uproar among the left but delighted press and TV commentators. In the past, Labour Party Conferences have been the scene for token victories for the left-wing activists in the constituency parties. This time Kinnock and the party bosses decided that more votes were to be won by being seen to defeat them.

The defeat of the miners' strike made this year's conference a good time to attack the left by calling for 'realism'. In addition Kinnock knew he could rely on the support of the ex-lefts in the local councils who needed backing for their policy of capitulation to Thatcher over the rates issue.

Press and TV support for Kinnock was sincere. It reflected growing unease within the ruling class about the effects of Tory policies. These policies are designed to concentrate all the effects of the crisis on the unemployed and lowest paid workers. The rich have got richer. Management salaries rose by 12% last year. Top bosses' pay rose by a spectacular 22%.

Tory policies got the response they deserved from the poor in the cities: the riots. Now the ruling class is on the look-out for less divisive policies to avert more riots in the future. Labour offers an alternative in the form of even-handed pay cuts for all workers - not just the lowest paid 10% of employed workers who have suffered pay cuts under the Tories. This is why we are now told that the crucial issue is whether Labour under Kinnock can make a deal with the unions over pay. Such an agreement is a precondition for relieving the pressure on the inner cities by launching a broad based attack on the working class as a whole.

## not so **Militant**

There might appear to be a risk for Kinnock in all this that he will alienate the Militant supporters and other leftists who make up the majority of active members of the Labour Party. But despite their protests all the leftists will knuckle under and work for a Labour victory at the next election anyway.

In fact the leftists will support the Labour Party whoever leads it, and whatever its policies. Because they say, the Labour Party is 'the party of the working class'. This is a sick joke.

Labour has always followed capitalist policies. It is part of the capitalist state at national and local level, whether in power or in opposition. It is run by members of the ruling class: MPs, union and local council bureaucrats. As for the leftists themselves, they are nothing but aspiring bureaucrats. When they do get to power in the local councils they act like any other bosses - witness the many bitter strikes by local council workers in Liverpool, Sheff-

ield and other cities controlled by the Labour left. In Liverpool the Militant-led council is laying off 30,000 workers and blaming it on the Tories. But capitalists always blame 'factors outside their control' when they attack the working class.

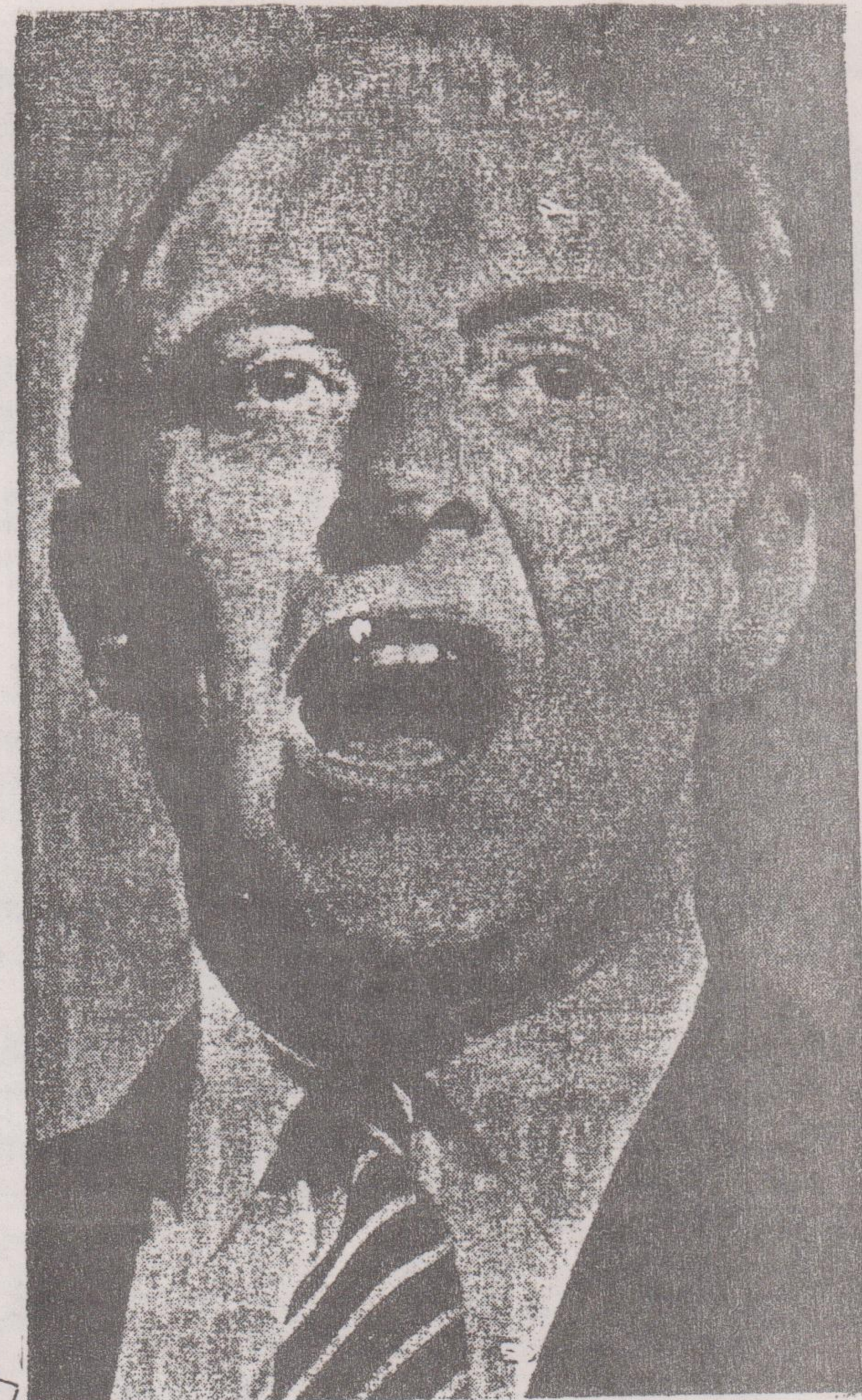
And in a sense they're right. The economic crisis of capitalism means that anyone who attempts to administer capitalism at a national or local level must attack the working class.



TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS UNLEASH THE MASSES AT A LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

We hope that all workers, and especially the miners who joined the Labour Party during and after the strike, have been convinced by the Labour Conference that they will gain nothing from a future Labour government. Instead of joining Labour they should join the real opposition movement to capitalism in the streets of British cities - and spread it to the workplaces.

Militant and the other Labour leftists oppose the riots. At a recent meeting we attended Militant MP Terry Fields said that their aim was to channel the 'mindless violence' of the rioters into the Labour Party. We also want the rioters to turn their attention to the Labour Party - in a revolutionary struggle which wipes the Labour Party off the face of the planet along with the rest of the capitalist state.



KINNOCK: UNASHAMED MEMBER OF THE RULING CLASS.

## AFTER TOTTENHAM...

### Riots tonight

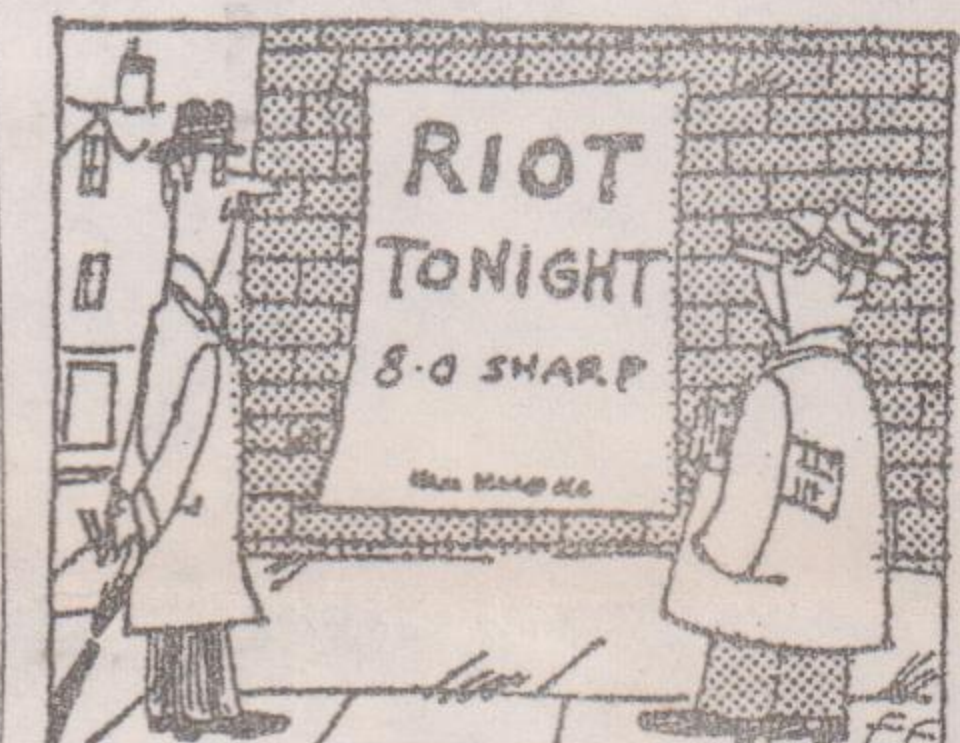
THE week-end rioting was not up to the standard set by the previous three week-ends. But what it lacked in intensity it made up in variety, and there were quite a number of entirely new developments.

There was a small riot in Southall in West London when about 60 Asian Indians stoned a police car and overturned a vehicle. There was some fighting between youths and police in Gloucester, where rioters had assembled, it is reported, as word spread that there was to be a "copycat" riot.

As far as I know this is the first case in modern times of a riot in a cathedral city. There was also an interesting riot in, of all places, Welshpool, a pleasant market town on the Welsh border, where shop windows and the windows of a police-car were smashed (a "serious disturbance," said a police spokesman).

But for the expert the most

Tel 15-10-85



fascinating new development was an apparently motiveless riot at Harrogate, where 100 young people are said to have broken shop-windows in the town centre in the middle of the night.

If one tries to think of an English town of the utmost respectability Harrogate is one which will certainly come to mind. It is not only prosperous and wealthy. It must contain as large a number of those admirable, no-nonsense Yorkshire ladies with "improved" accents and very definite views about everything as any place on earth.

It there can be a riot in Harrogate there can be a riot anywhere in the United Kingdom. In this case no arrests were made. Was this because the police simply could not believe the evidence of their senses?



Cut off Norman's head and

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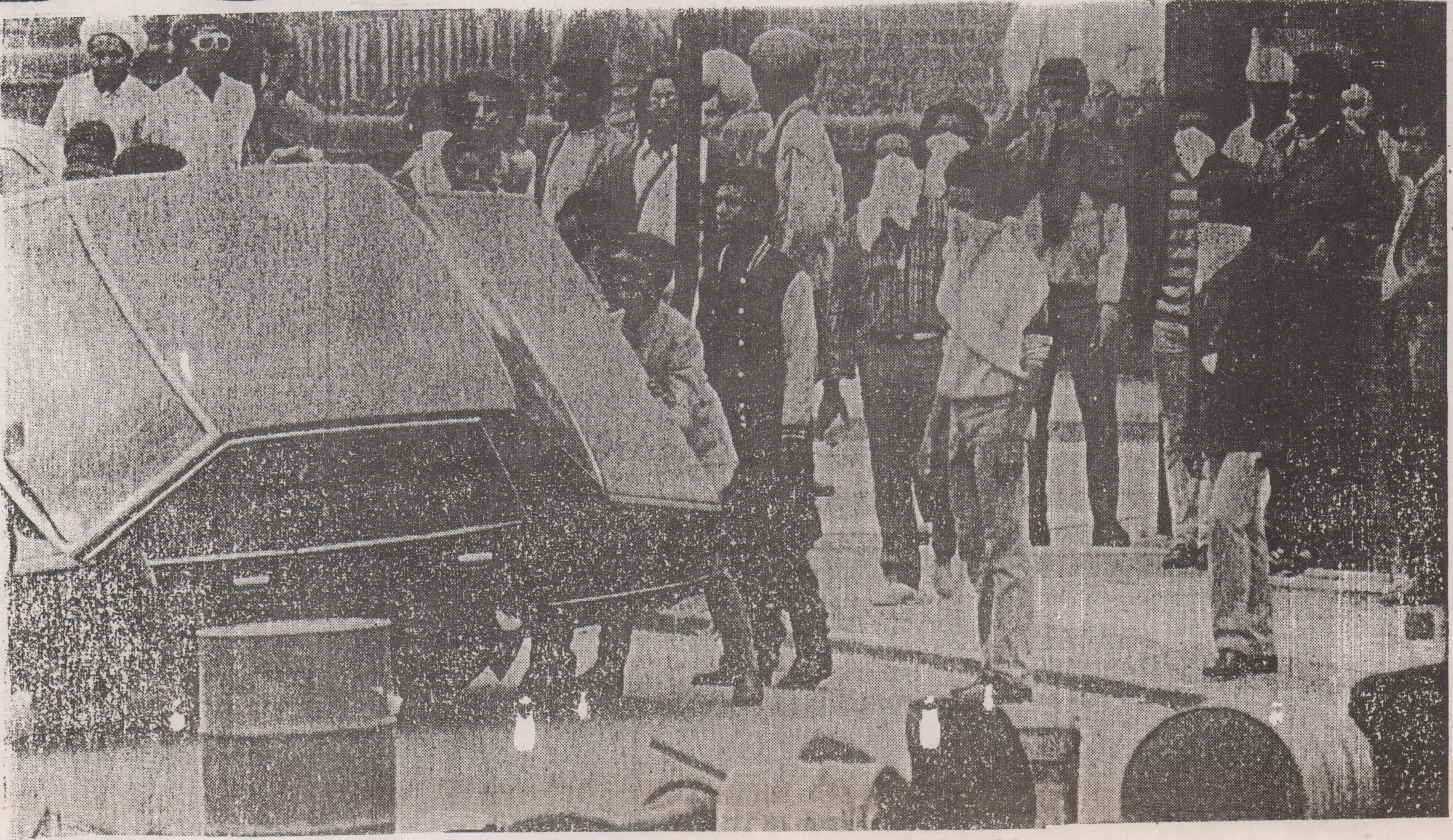
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# SUPPORT



What a laugh . . . grinning rioters overturn a car as masked mates watch

The Home Secretary getting stoned; the police getting massacred; media scum getting attacked. The growing organisation and ferocity of riots in Britain is a tremendous step forward in the class struggle. We totally support the riots.

Rioters have identified and attacked the enemies of the working class with increasing accuracy and violence; the Home Secretary in Handsworth, a vicar in Brixton (who got his trousers set alight when he tried to calm down the situation), journalists in Tottenham, and everywhere the pigs.

## RACISM

The racism of the police and discrimination against blacks in housing and jobs has helped to create inner-city areas where there is a constant state of war between the working class and the police. A riot is where the tables are turned and the most oppressed and powerless sections of the working class go onto the offensive and drive the police off the streets. This isn't just black youth - most of those arrested for the most serious offenses at Handsworth were white. A third of those arrested at Brixton were white. This, and the fact that black and white rioters cooperate in street fighting and looting shows that these are not race riots. It's class against class, not black against white.

Many of the working class inhabitants of Britain's cities have learned the lessons of the defeat of the '81 uprisings. At Tottenham,

the rioters won. At Handsworth, the police hadn't regained control the next day. They couldn't protect Hurd. After that, he didn't dare visit Brixton.

"From now on, it's a life for a life" - Tottenham rioter.

After the police killed Mrs. Jarrett, large numbers of friends and relatives gathered outside Tottenham police station. A few windows were put in. That afternoon, a meeting was held at Broadwater farm estate. After hours of calling for calm, the youth leaders and the council leader Bernie Grant, were advised to leave. All over Tottenham, the filth started coming under attack from youths with bricks and petrol bombs. After that, it turned into the best night of rioting in mainland Britain yet. Pigs were going down like ninepins. 243 were injured, nearly half of those sent in, and one killed. Compared to the small number of rioters injured or arrested, this was undoubtedly a victory.

The level of organisation which seems to have taken place before and during the riots shows that it's not just the police who've been planning what to do since '81. In Tottenham a lorry and vanload of bricks were delivered before the riot. Walkie talkies and whistles were used to coordinate activities. Rioters looted ammunition whilst others held the frontline. The next day, the working class community continued to make it clear that it was collectively in control of the area.

The only reason the police chiefs hesitated to use plastic bullets was because they are afraid of the political consequences. A Bloody Sunday on the streets of London would show the whole working class the nature of the British state. The dangers of this for the ruling class are incalculable.

The tougher the police get, the worse the situation becomes since most of the anger that causes riots is directed against police brutality. Even a police force as vicious as the South African one is incapable of controlling mass class anger. The harder the police get, the more their support will dwindle to the minority ruling class whose interests they protect.

## 'IT'S A REVOLUTION'

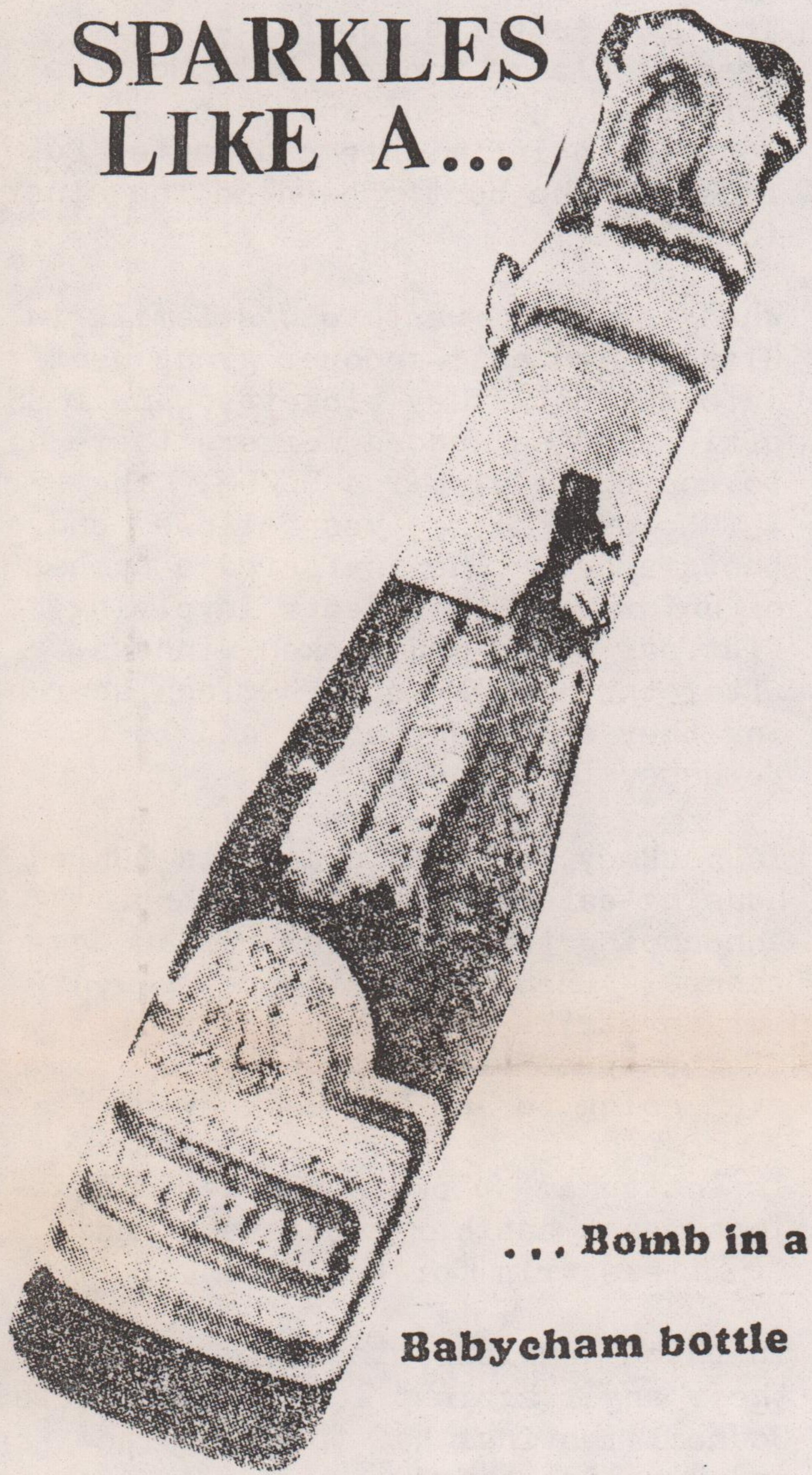
The riots often start from a specific grievance against the racism of the police - but they rapidly spread to include whole working class communities in a class war against everything which oppresses them.

The Tottenham insurgents said more sense about what causes riots than all the left and right wing capitalist media put together; a New Society journalist was told the following :

"Don't write any of that crap about unemployment and all that. We just don't give a shit, that's all."

# THE RIOTS

NOTHING  
SPARKLES  
LIKE A...



... Bomb in a  
Babycham bottle

ABOVE: MOLOTOV 'COCKTAIL'  
FOUND AFTER TOTTENHAM  
RIOT.

Another said :

"It's a revolution. First South Africa, then Handsworth and Brixton, now here."

"It's better than telly isn't it?" said one old lady, taking her dog for a walk through the insurgents.

The spirit of revolution, of smashing the police and everything which keeps us down and enjoying it, is spreading. There will be more sleepless nights in Downing Street in the near future, whichever capitalist shit happens to live there.

A miners' wife in Yorkshire said: "I take my hat off to those lads in Tottenham, they've got courage. We've been called 'violent mobs' as well, and we know whose side we're on."

When this attitude spreads throughout the working class, the capitalists will be scared shitless. Industrial strikes and riots together are the road to revolution.

'ITS BETTER  
THAN  
THE TELLY  
ISNT IT'

said

one old lady,  
walking her dog  
through the  
insurgents.

The atmosphere of a riot is not one of terror but of some kind of carnival for those who take part. As well as some of the direct gains made as the contents of shops are freely distributed, there is also the feeling of power and self confidence gained as people exercise their collective strength and take control over an area.

For example youths confiscated the tape recorder of a BBC reporter and only returned it when they had discussed what they wanted to say. It's a question of taking control of our lives and our world.

We have some criticisms of the riots. There was a gang of muggers in Brixton, attacking innocent working



Ammunition loaded in a trolley

class people. These scum have to be dealt with in exactly the same way as scabs in strikes. Some of the arson has been stupid; burning shops adjacent to working class houses is dangerous and alienates people from the riots.

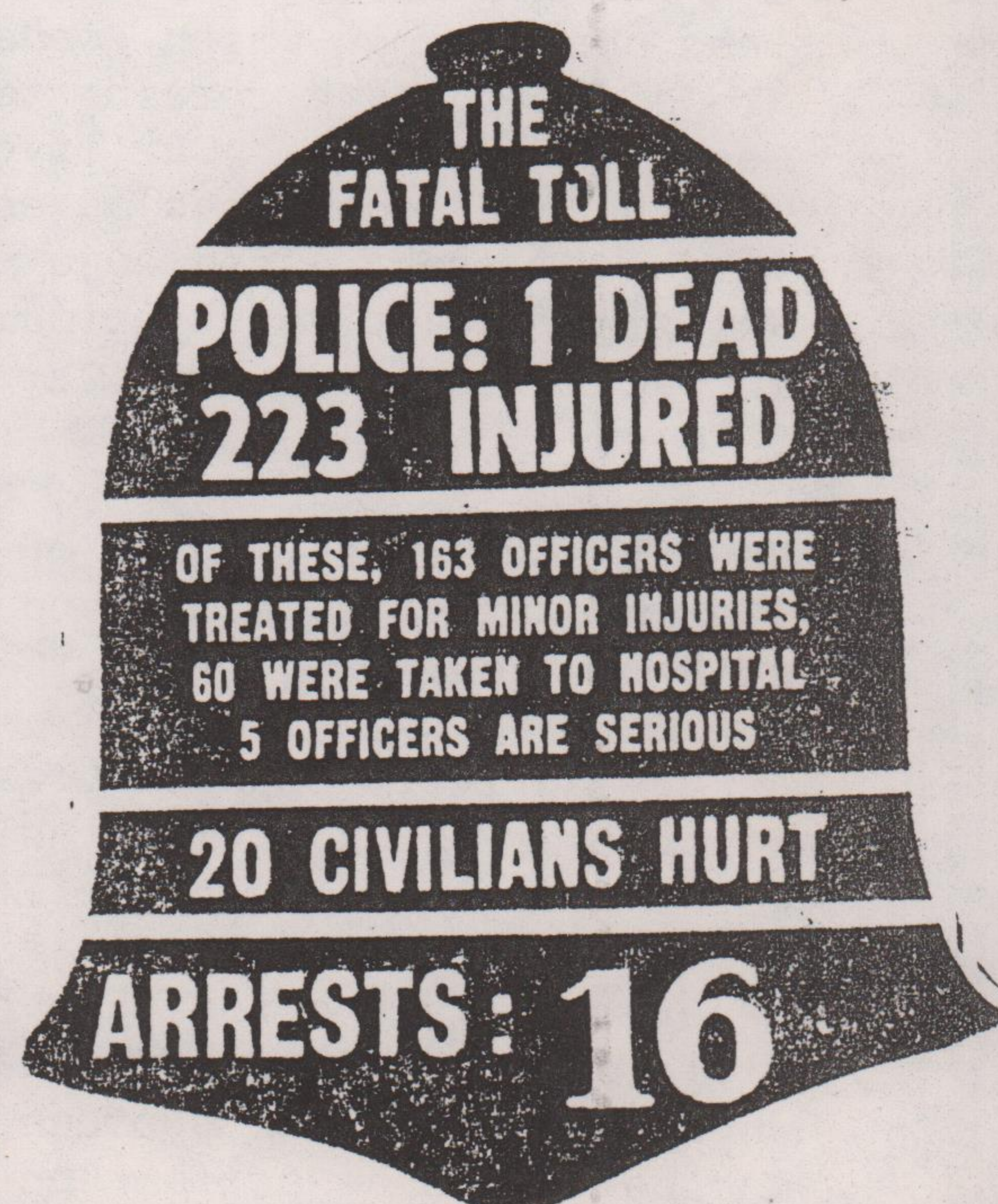
## SCAB STEWARDS

TGWU and NUPE shop stewards in Haringey organised a 24-hour strike against the riot, and organised a collection for PC Blakelock's widow. We are glad to say that only a few hundred workers supported the strike.

The role of 'community leaders' can be compared to the role of unions. They attempt to negotiate with the state on behalf of a rioting community. The level of the struggle is a reflection of how little respect these self-declared representatives have amongst the rioters. The industrial workers should treat its 'leaders' with the same level of contempt. When Bernie Grant said the police got a bloody good hiding, he was surrounded by Tottenham youths. After that, he changed his mind, under pressure from his fellow Labour Party hacks.

At the moment, the police, police stations, the courts and journalists have all been recognised as enemies. We don't doubt that as the struggle escalates the whole of the state apparatus will be targetted, including the unions and the Labour Party.

If the struggle in South Africa is anything to go by, in the coming years, the 'piggies in the middle' will have an increasingly difficult time holding back the forces of class war which are preparing to raze this society of oppression to the ground.



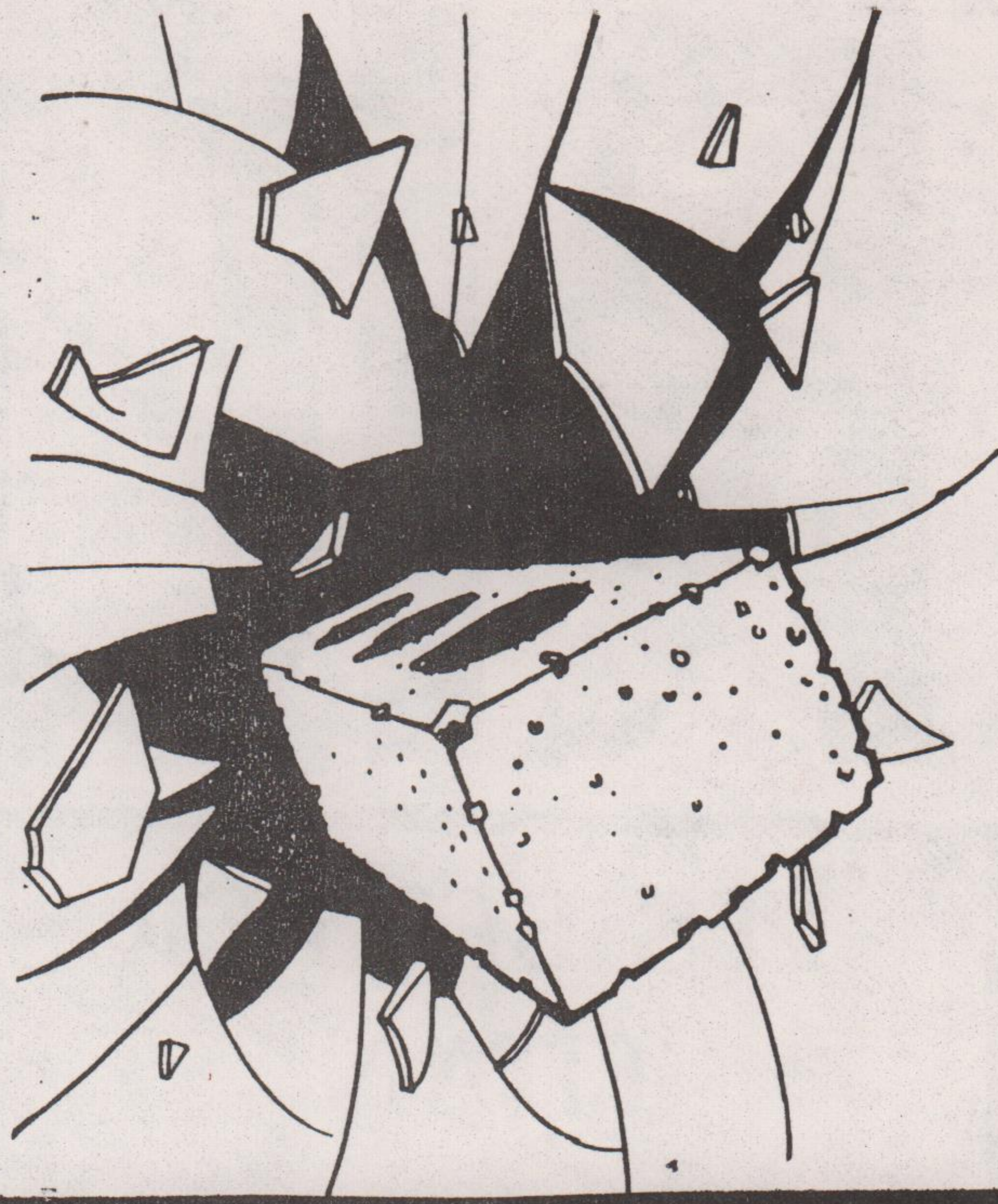
THE SCORE FROM TOTTENHAM  
ANOTHER TWENTY COPPERS  
WERE HURT AND FIVE OF THE  
CIVILIANS INJURED WERE  
JOURNALISTS.

# Letter

Dear Comrades,

The first Wildcat since the merger seems pretty good. I do however have a couple of minor (or not so minor as the case may be...) criticisms. One:- The cover is dreadful!! If you are going for an eye-catching cover then its best to go the whole hog. The photo is okay and the headline is good, pointing out the class nature of the struggle in S. Africa in no uncertain terms, unlike the RCP et al who bleat on like concerned liberals about "Smashing the Apartheid State" as if ending apartheid was going to automatically end exploitation in S. Africa.

But what is really cringe-worthy is this "Black Youth" shit. Of course its Black Youth, everybody knows that its black youth,



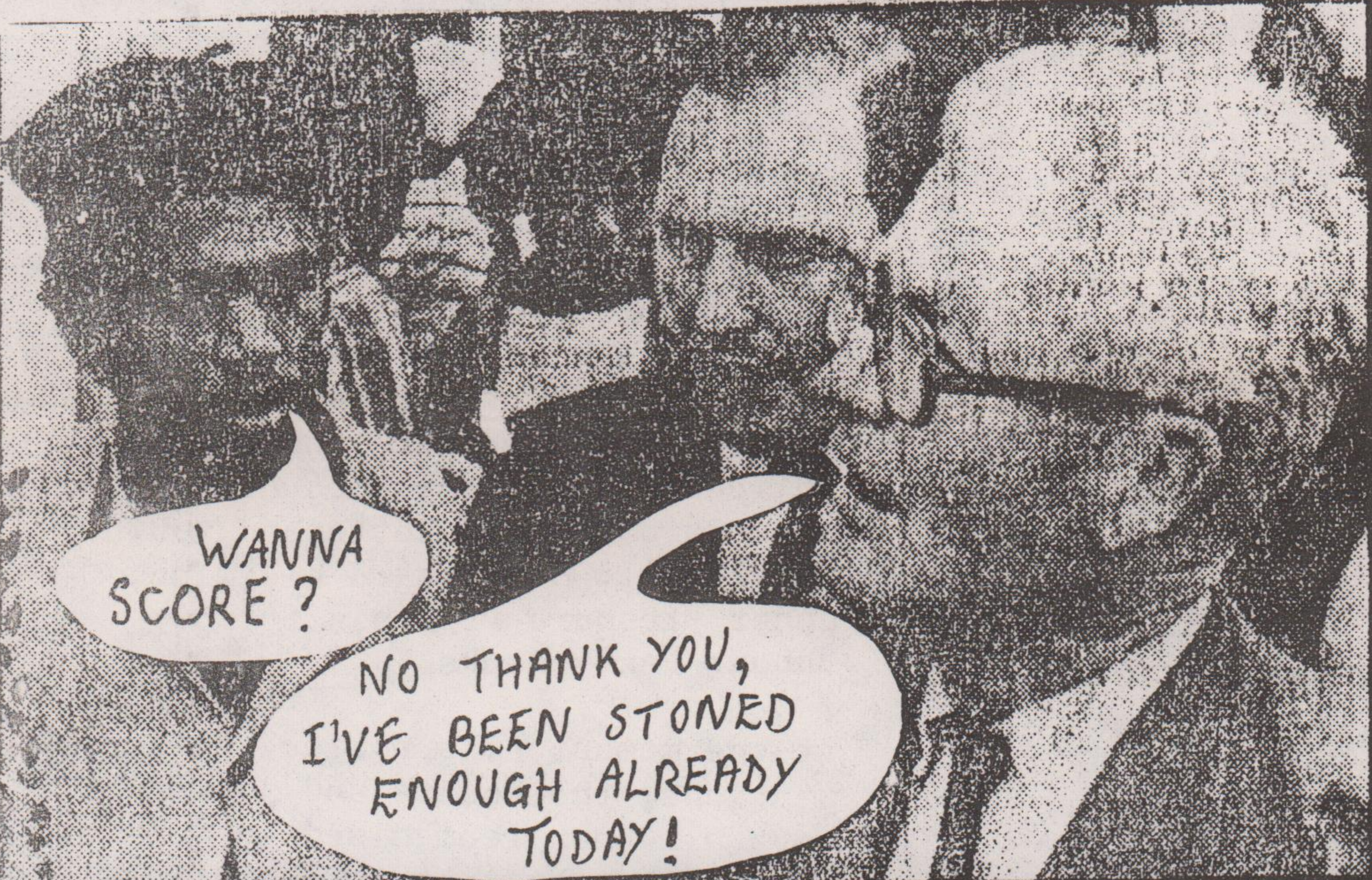
(and coloured and asian and a minority of white students.) ... It looks both stupid and patronising. This is really what you might expect from Socialist Worker.

How about the politics?!... I can say that all the articles appeared pretty good at first and I found myself agreeing with most of it. Yep. Although the last Wildcat was hard to beat, this one is still very good.

Solidarity,  
D. (Coventry)

THIS LETTER HAS BEEN EDITED SUBSTANTIALLY DUE TO LACK OF SPACE. WE WELCOME ALL CORRESPONDENCE, WHETHER CRITICAL OR OTHERWISE.

## meanwhile, back in Handsworth...



## Wildcat's basic principles

1. We are for the abolition of capitalism by armed revolution on a world scale. We are for the destruction of the money/market/wages system which exists in every country in the world and its replacement by a classless society, in which goods are distributed according to needs and desires. Our lives will become continuous adventures of unrestrained enjoyment. We exist to actively participate in escalating the class war toward this end.
2. We are against all forms of capitalism; private, state and self-managed.
3. We are actively opposed to all ideologies which divide the working class, such as religion.
4. We are actively opposed to all divisions in the working class whereby one section oppresses another, such as sexism and racism.
5. We are against all expressions of nationalism, including national liberation movements such as the IRA.
6. The working class (wage labourers, the unemployed, housewives, et cetera) is the revolutionary class; only its struggle can liberate humanity from scarcity, war and economic crisis. We support independent working class struggle, in all areas of life, under capitalism, outside the control of the trade unions and all political parties.
7. We are against trade unions because they are part of the capitalist system, selling our labour power to the bosses, and sabotaging our struggles.
8. We totally oppose all capitalist parties, including the Labour Party and other organisations of the capitalist left. We are against participation in fronts with these organisations.
9. We are against participation in parliamentary elections; we are for the smashing of the capitalist state by the working class and the establishment of organisations of working class power.
10. We are against sectarianism, and support principled cooperation among revolutionaries.

# Cleaning up the Streets

The riots are only one part of a growing offensive by unemployed workers.

## Remove the SCUM

The DHSS 'super snoopers' - the Special Claims Control Unit Members (or SCCUM) are sent round the country to intimidate claimants. But recently the boot's been on the other foot.

When the SCCUM went to Castlemilk in Glasgow, an anti-snooper group went into action. They picketed the DHSS office and persuaded workers there not to cooperate with the SCCUM. The SCCUM found themselves followed and photographed. They suffered a number of unfortunate accidents involving flat car tyres and broken windows. After three weeks of fruitless searching they admitted defeat and left. We hope, for good.

In Hackney, London, claimants toured housing estates with the snoopers announcing their presence with megaphones. DHSS clerical workers went out on strike when they arrived. Fierce opposition stopped them from even going to another Hackney office.

In Tottenham, pickets and demonstrations meant another unpleasant and fruitless trip for the SCCUM.

In Luton homeless claimants vented their anger against local councillors. Council meetings had to take place under police guard.

## Stamping on Smack

Liverpool has been called Smack City because heroin addiction is so common. The dealers there are doing very well selling heroin to unemployed kids.

But there is growing community resistance to the pushers. Recently an 'Anti-Smack Squad' involving 250 youths ripped apart dealers' houses in Toxteth and attacked the pushers. Local people refused to give evidence against them. The police knew that control was being taken from them, and that one thing leads to another ... Merseyside's Assistant Police Chief warned that "taking the law into their own hands can only lead to public disorder." Police 'order' means daily

harrassment for the residents of Toxteth, with the heroin pushers still doing well. If we kick the police out, we can start to control the areas we live in, on our terms.

No pushers. No SCCUM. No pigs.

(Info on SCCUM from Counter Information, a free newsheet available from: Box 81, 43 Candlemakers Row, Edinburgh.)

Over the past few months violent attacks on working class blacks, asians, gays and their homes and meeting places have been on the increase. The bastards who carry out these attacks must be violently and vigourously opposed where ever they peddle their hatred. Where ever they organise then so must we to defend ourselves and our communities.

# FASCISM &

# ANTI-FASCISM

Fascism/Anti-Fascism by Jean Barrot is available from our Manchester address for 75p inc postage, or from your local radical bookshop. We would like to point out that we have no connection with the publishers, and that the translator's introduction is total bullshit.

The leftist response to these attacks has been typical, they have resurrected the ever diversionary tactic of the anti-fascist front. The reasoning behind the front is simple, to unite both opponents and supporters of capitalism under the banner of anti-fascism with one of the main aims being recruitment of new members to the organising parties.

By compromising with liberal and radical defenders of capitalism these fronts always end up helping maintain the system that maintains the prejudices that they are supposed to be fighting. In other words, they may have some success in fighting individual bigots or organisations, but take no action against the real cause.

## ANTI-FASCISM TODAY

Modern day anti-fascist fronts overestimate the strength of groups such as the National Front and British Movement. Although attacks based on sexual and racial prejudice are increasing, this is not because the organisations on the extreme right are becoming any more active and powerful, but because the state maintains and promotes existing divisions within the working class. The state wants us to blame bad housing, unemployment and all the rest of the shit forced upon us on each other rather than upon the ruling class. Any organisation that attempts to fight these attacks without fighting the state is also diverting people's attention from the necessary struggle.

Next year will see the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Spanish civil war, a war between fascism and anti-fascism. Here the tactic of the united front reached its peak and it is this that the left refer to when setting up their fronts today. But the situation today is very different to that of the 1930's, the ruling class does not need a fascist state these days, and even so the united front in Spain was worse than useless to the working class in any case.

Written originally as an introduction to an anthology of writings on the Spanish civil war, Fascism/Anti-fascism by Jean Barrot is a pamphlet that attempts to show how anti-fascist fronts can only act against the interests of the working class. By looking at various examples of where totalitarian right wing governments have come to power he shows how the anti-fascist fronts have actually aided that process.

The state is the tool the ruling class use to maintain their stranglehold upon the working class. The particular form the state takes, whether it be 'democratic' or 'totalitarian' depends only upon the bosses' needs at the time. They will use democracy when they are able to offer us the limited choices that capitalism can grant in its 'better' periods and totalitarianism, left or right, Stalin or Hitler, when it can only offer the iron rod.



DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY

In fact we have only two real choices not between totalitarianism and democracy, but between accepting the specific form of control that capitalism forces upon us at any time or refusing to accept capitalism in any form.

The anti-fascists hope that by fighting for democracy the working class will somehow end up fighting for communism, but as Barrot says:

"The proletariat will destroy totalitarianism only by destroying all political forms at the same time. Until then there will be a succession of 'fascist' and 'democratic' systems ..."

## THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

The Spanish civil war began in 1936 with the fascist military coup. For a number of years the Republican government had been having great difficulties in suppressing a tide of working class rebellion and in doing so had murdered thousands of workers.

The majority of the ruling class welcomed fascism with open arms, seeing it as the 'party of order' which would finish off the job the republicans had begun.

The leftists formed a united front against fascism, asking Spanish workers to fight and die for the same Republicans who had crushed their attempts at revolution less than a year earlier. When workers in Barcelona once again arose in insurrection in May 1937 they were persuaded by the leftists - including Trotskyists and Anarchists, to lay down their arms in the name of anti-fascist unity. Barrot concludes:-

"We may speak of a war in Spain but not of revolution. The primary function of this war was to solve a capitalist problem: the construction of a legitimate State in Spain which would develop its national capital in the most efficient way possible while integrating the proletariat. ... The 1936-39 war fulfilled the same function for Spain as World War II for the rest of the world, but with the following important difference: it started off from a revolutionary upsurge strong enough to repulse fascism and force democracy to take up arms against the fascist menace, but too weak to destroy them both. But by not defeating both the revolution was doomed, because fascism and democracy were both potential forms of the legitimate capitalist state. Whichever one triumphed, the proletarians were sure to be crushed by the blows always reserved for them by the capitalist state."

Barrot paints a similar picture of the rise to power of other totalitarian governments in Chile, Portugal, Italy and Germany. On the whole this pamphlet is recommended to anyone who

wishes to understand the means by which fascism is foisted upon the working class, even though at times the words he uses are a bit obscure and can make it a struggle to read. The pamphlet shows that anti-fascist fronts should be treated with the same contempt as we should show to all other pro-capitalist organisations.

ARBEIT MACHT FREI

Inscription at the gate of Auschwitz: "Work Makes You Free"

FASCIST IDEOLOGY

# SOUTH AFRICA

The present wave of rebellions in S. Africa began in 1983 with struggles around basic needs such as wages and rent. But now it is a question of who rules - in particular who rules the streets, the security forces or the working class.

The struggle has been taken into white areas. There have been attacks on white homes in the Cape; and a full-scale riot in Johannesburg after a black poet was hanged for killing a cop. Recently the black middle class has come under increasing attack as well. A youth group in Soweto passed a resolution that they would try to burn down all houses with more than two bedrooms (!).

The white rulers had installed black councillors and other collaborators to 'represent' the black population. They have been neutralised by the wave of attacks on them. South African leaders

need to find a new 'representative' to replace them. There is only one candidate - the African National Congress (ANC).



**Don't mourn, organise!**

—SLOGAN WIDELY USED BY SOUTH AFRICAN REBELS.

The ANC is the oldest and most respected "liberation movement" in S. Africa. It has always presented itself as a "responsible" alternative government, whose plans for a "non-racial" democratic capitalism in S. Africa is set out in its famous 'Freedom Charter'. Between its banning in 1960 and the present wave of struggle it kept alive its credibility by means of a 'guerrilla warfare' campaign, amounting to about one bomb a week. During the massive nation-wide uprisings in '76 the ANC largely remained aloof, and even went so far as to minimise the importance of these "leaderless" struggles.

## Leaders tailend rioters

At the moment the ANC is enjoying an unprecedented level of support from the black working class, but this doesn't mean that it controls the struggle, far from it. Its popularity largely derives from tail-ending what the working class has already done. The townships become ungovernable so the ANC says "make the townships ungovernable!"; white areas in the Cape are attacked so the ANC says "this is the way the struggle must move", and so on and so on.

But despite all the passive support they've got the ANC capitalists are in no position to seize State power. To do this they'd need a much more developed military apparatus and tighter control over the working class. They know that the only way they could take power would be if the working class took power first and then handed it over to them. This is something the ANC are not prepared to risk which is why they are so keen to enter into "dialogue" with white capitalists and negotiate some sort of role for themselves in a "reformed" S.A. State.

White political pressure prevents Botha from being seen to compromise with the ANC. But leaders of the ANC have met representatives of S. African business, and of the white opposition Progressive Federal Party. At these meetings the white capitalist expressed their desire that Nelson Mandela should be released. White newspaper baron Tertius Myburgh said he was struck by the "amazing sense of all being South Africans." Another businessman said that both sides believed in a 'mixed economy'.

Whichever bunch of capitalists are in power in the near future will have very little room for manoeuvre and the black working class will probably just say "Nothing has changed", and keep



fighting. Even formal racial equality is unlikely to be granted because this would only encourage 'unrealistic' economic demands. In the words of Nelson Mandela:

"We are prepared to maintain separate living until there are enough new employment opportunities and new homes to allow blacks to move into Johannesburg with dignity."

With any form of 'negotiated settlement' off the agenda, the future of capitalism in South Africa will be determined by military force, not by reform. If the balance of class forces starts to tip towards the working class, the effects on the world capitalist system could be dramatic. There would be severe disruption of the economies of most African states and the international banking system. The British economy would be hard hit: about 250,000 workers would be laid off even if Britain just imposed proper sanctions against South Africa.

## Revolution

Everyone from Ronald Reagan to the Trotskyist left are trying to convince us that the real issue is not class power but 'democratic rights'. We must totally reject the campaign of moralistic sympathisers who advocate putting pressure on 'our' government to implement sanctions against the 'evil' regime. They just make the same plea as their heads of state: "if something isn't done, things will get really bad!" What they really fear is revolution, and not just in South Africa.

Its up to all of us to make sure their fears come true.