



Africa Workers Organizer

No 14 January 2012

Imperialism is launching Tiananmen Square massacres in Syria

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Millions of Syrians rise against Assad- The Assad army is bombing the masses

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Imperialism is launching 'Tiananmen Square' massacres in Syria

Arms the masses in Syria-We call for international brigades to fight side by side with the masses against the hated Al Assad regime

World imperialism is working hand in hand with world Stalinism, the Arab League and the hated Al-Assad regime to smash the Syrian masses. Why? If the working class comes to power through armed uprising in Syria, every regime in the region is under threat from being similarly overthrown by the masses. Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Bahrain, Yemen, Tunisia, etc. In fact the whole world system of capitalism comes immediately under threat from the masses. This is why all the reactionary, capitalist and imperialist forces stand against the Syrian masses. That is why, for the past few weeks, the Assad regime, with the assistance of the imperialists and their puppet regimes in Russia and China, are trying to drown the Syrian revolution in blood, with 'Tiananmen Square'-type massacres- the regime is bombing Homs, Hama, Deraa, Aleppo, and many other areas –they are even going house to house to slaughter the masses.

This is why the defence of the Syrian revolution should be a task of the international working class. **We call for the arming of the Syrian masses; for international worker brigades to join with the Syrian masses in their fight against the imperialist puppet regime of Al-Assad.**

The Syrian regime is a puppet of imperialism

The capitalist media and Stalinists deliberately hide the class nature of the Assad regime. In his opening address to the World Federation of Trade Unions president's meeting, held in Johannesburg (9-12 February), the General Secretary of the WFTU, George Mavrikos, said: '*In Syria, the foreign imperialist aggression continues.*' In other words, he repeated the lie of the Syrian Communist parties, that the uprising by the Syrian masses is sponsored by imperialism. The Syrian CP's are dividing workers by directing the trade unions to directly support the Assad regime against the masses. The WFTU justifies the massacres perpetrated by the Syrian regime. What is worse is that while the massacres of the Syrian masses are intensifying, the SACP and Cosatu leadership are hosting the WFTU, singing praises of its supposedly great role in the struggle for Socialism! We need to draw the lesson that when the masses rise up against any regime, the Stalinist CP's side with the regime against the masses. We condemn the role of the SA government which currently chairs to UN Security Council- they help to cover the role of imperialism in the slaughter of the Syrian masses. The SA government helps gives the impression that imperialism is really concerned over the Syrian masses- in reality imperialism is directing the Assad regime in the massacres of the Syrian masses.

There is plenty of evidence that the Syrian regime is a puppet of imperialism:

- since 2002 it was exposed that the CIA used to kidnap activists from around the globe, to be taken to prisons in Syria to be tortured by the Assad regime;



- In the 1990 war against Saddam Hussein's occupation of Kuwait, the Assad regime fought together with US imperialist forces- US imperialism was so impressed with the Assad regime, they awarded Syria arms contracts;
- In 1975-76 the Assad regime supported the Falangist forces in Lebanon- these were the same forces who carried out the Sabra and Shatilla massacres of Palestinians with the help of the Ariel Sharon and the Zionist forces.
- US and Canadian banks are in joint partnerships with the Assad regime for oil exploitation in Syria. Etc.

Drawing the lessons from Libya

Papers that were found in the files of the Gaddafi regime show that it too played host to prisons for the CIA. This confirms that the Gaddafi regime was also an imperialist puppet. The Stalinist CP's also portrayed the Gaddafi regime as being 'Socialist', thereby covering for a brutal anti-worker dictatorship. [incidentally, several of the fake 'Trotskyists' also tail-ended the Stalinists by portraying Assad and Gaddafi as 'Socialist leaders'].

The Libyan masses armed themselves, disarmed the police, formed militias and won over huge sections of the army. When the Gaddafi regime was about to be defeated, imperialism supplied mercenaries to Gaddafi to beat back the masses. When Gaddafi's forces reached the outskirts of Benghazi, it was quite possible that they would have been defeated if they invaded the city- the masses had tanks and planes and heavy weapons from the Benghazi barracks. If the masses defeated the Gaddafi regime through armed revolt, the Tunisian, Egyptian and other regimes would also have immediately come under threat. Thus imperialism also created an artificial agency, the TNC, Transitional National Council, made up of ex-ministers of the Gaddafi regime, ex-generals and some exiles who had been trained by the CIA. It was the task of the TNC to sabotage the Libyan revolution from within, to either divide the masses (partition Libya) or to re-establish the Gaddafi regime, even without Gaddafi. With the support of the Arab League, the SA government, the TNC, imperialist Nato launched an aerial invasion of Libya to pre-empt the actions of the masses and to attempt to seize control of the masses. They could not allow the masses to come to power on their own- Nato intervened to help preserve a capitalist regime, a regime of Gaddafi without Gaddafi.

The TNC tried to set up its own 'army'- indeed many troops with heavy weapons and planes were kept off the battle field by the TNC. The TNC sent the militias with light arms or with few arms into battle. When the militias seized 32 tanks from the Gaddafi forces, they surrounded Brega. Soon the road to Tripoli would have opened. But the TNC gave the co-ordinates of the tanks to Nato, who bombed them with the militias inside. Several times Nato bombed the militias- so-called 'mistakes' happened regularly. In other words, from the beginning the TNC was sabotaging the armed masses. This was a second front that imperialism opened up against the masses. A section of the left advised the Libyan masses to not fight the TNC, to concentrate on the fight against the Gaddafi forces- they were advised to fight the TNC later. For months the militias could not advance, being sabotaged from within. Only when the militias killed the TNC head of armed forces, General Younis, was the path opened to the masses to reach Tripoli. In other words, when the masses began to break from a pacifist approach to the TNC was the path open to the defeat of the Gaddafi regime.



While the Muslim Brotherhood was openly mobilising among the militias to try and gain support, the left refused to build cells in the militias to co-ordinate the fight of the working class to seize power.

In Syria, while giving every opportunity to the Assad regime to massacre the masses, imperialism has set up a STC (Syrian Transitional Council) and SNC (Syrian National Council). The STC is made up of academics who have links with imperialism. They have spearheaded the formation of the SNC which include former leaders of the Assad regime and ex-generals. Ex-generals have been tasked to set up the Free Syria Army, to co-opt all soldiers who are defecting from the Assad regime's armed forces. The aim, under the guise of 'defence' of the Syrian people, is to prevent and delay the setting up of armed workers militias. In other words, the Free Syria Army aims to prevent the masses from becoming armed- the task of defence is given to a small group, who are currently directed to 'defend' the masses and not to assist the masses in the armed overthrow of the Syrian regime. Imperialism, through their links to the leaders of the Free Syria Army, want to prevent armed militias from becoming widespread as happened in Libya.

As in the case of Libya, we should expect the SNC to give the names and co-ordinates of the fighters to the Assad regime for them to be wiped out. The Arab League, similarly came to source the whereabouts of the fighters, to give that intelligence to imperialism for them to pass on to the Assad regime.

The Arab League 'monitors' came to deflect pressure from the masses in their own countries and to provide a cover for imperialism against the working class in their own countries, that they are not supporting the massacres. In fact the Arab League is helping to hide that imperialism is the main force behind the slaughter of the Syrian masses. **In recent days, the massacres have accelerated. Imperialism, through the Syrian regime, are intent on wiping out a generation of the masses- they are committing a hundred 'Tiananmen Square' massacres.**

Tragically, while this is happening, again, a section of the left is promoting a pacifist idea of the SNC- the SNC has run away to Qatar they say, concentrate on fighting the Assad regime, they say, fight against them later, is what they imply. They ignore that the SNC is sabotaging every step of the masses to arm themselves. Their fatal policy in Libya is even more disastrous in Syria. This section of the left help prepare the defeat of the Syrian masses.

Today, the Muslim Brotherhood, in the form of Hezbollah, and indeed in other places as well, together with the Stalinist CP's are mobilising support for the Assad regime. The left is silent about forming independent cells as a basis for a revolutionary workers party.

The way forward

The first task is the general arming of the Syrian masses. Every street, every district, every factory should set up armed workers militias. Where possible, these workers militias should have directly elected leadership. This leadership should be drawn from the ranks of the fighters, whether trained or untrained, who are on the front-lines of the fight against the Assad regime. Workers committees should be set up in every factory, mine, farm, oil installation, to support the fight against the Assad regime, whether it be food, transport, fuel, weapons, etc. Fighting councils of workers delegates and delegates from the militias and from rank and file soldiers, should be set up, merging with and



extending the existing grassroots co-ordinating committees. These councils of armed workers should set up their own command structures, being the base of a new Syrian workers revolutionary government. This implies that those co-ordinating committees that have links with the SNC should break with them. The rank and file of the Free Syria Army should join the armed grassroots councils of the workers, training the masses in the use of arms, arming them, and joining them, side by side in the fight to overthrow the Assad regime- having a passive defensive approach to the Assad regime gives it and imperialism time to organise and mobilise its fascist forces to smash the masses.

Workers should break from the Syrian CP's, preparing general strike committees as part of the fighting councils of workers, opening the way for the entire working class to join the fight against the regime through a revolutionary general strike, based on workers committees, occupying and taking over the all the oil installations, factories, mines, commercial farms, etc.

Cells of the **Fourth International** should be set up on the following programme:

1. the general arming of the masses;
2. setting up of fighting workers councils with armed workers militias under their control- for a workers' government based on these workers councils
3. international worker brigades to support the masses in their fight against imperialism and their puppet, the Assad regime
4. No to 'peace-keepers' or any imperialist or proxy invasion of Syria- they would only act against the masses to set up another capitalist regime of Assad without Assad.
5. Dispersing of the SNC and the overthrow of the Assad regime
6. expropriating of all imperialist assets and the local Syrian bourgeoisie, without compensation, placing these under workers control;
7. nationalising of the land and all measures to assist the remaining small peasantry
8. for the Union of Soviet Socialist workers states of North Africa and the Middle east- for the spread of the Socialist revolution into the imperialist centres; for the blockade of weapons and other support of the Assad regime- arms and general support for the Syrian masses.
9. For the mobilisation of mass protests in support of the Syrian masses
10. for the world-wide Socialist revolution

We call for widespread and immediate protests against all capitalist regimes, especially those that are directly complicit in the slaughter of the Syrian masses.

Victory to the Syrian masses! 15.2.2012



The masses in Lebanon support the Syrian revolution- Soldiers start to join the masses



Not only a 1 –day strike against labour brokers but preparation for an indefinite General Strike

We need a real General Strike against poverty, high electricity, petrol and food prices, labour brokers, the lack of housing, unemployment, etc.

Introduction

The working class wants to fight but the treacherous leadership of Cosatu, SACP, applies the brakes, hoodwinks and demoralises the workers. Cosatu plans a 1-day strike on the 7th March against labour brokers and toll roads. But in fact this is just for workers to blow off steam. A General Strike can and should be put on the order of the day as a method of struggle against the regime. In 2010 when the public sector was on strike, the SACP and Cosatu leaders knew that if the industrial workers and the soldiers came out in support of the strike, it would end up being a strike against the entire capitalist regime. The Cosatu and SACP leaders called off the strike to save the regime. On the same day the general solidarity strike was supposed to start, the Mozambican masses rose up against the massive increase in the price of electricity, food and water. By calling off the strike, the Cosatu leaders left the Mozambican masses isolated.

The significance of the Cosatu 1-day strike, or stayaway is purely a demonstration and a call on workers to make sacrifices. The ANC has been in power for 18 years. The level of poverty has increased; the rise of the black middle class has been on the backs of the working class. The ANC has clearly come out against the working class by endorsing labour brokers. The ANC is trying to smooth out the rough edges of labour broking but it remains another form of modern slavery. A vote for the ANC is a vote for modern slavery. The Cosatu leaders already sat with the government to sell out the fight against labour brokers by agreeing to new regulations, 'tightening' them but in reality entrenching slave conditions. Labour brokers have been created by imperialism to increase their massive profits and to divide the working class. The Cosatu leaders cushion the imperialists from the anger of the masses by making the fight against labour brokers instead of the source of the labour brokers, the imperialist companies themselves. The Cosatu leaders separate the fight against labour brokers from the fight against the big companies, the 5 monopolies, under whose control the bulk of the wealth of South Africa, is. The 5 companies are: Anglo American, Old Mutual, Liberty Life, Sanlam, Rembrandt. These 5 imperialist companies are the main cause of labour brokers being implemented here. Thus any serious fight against labour brokers must tackle these imperialist companies.



The Crisis of world capitalism and the role of Stalinism and the Cosatu leaders

The Cosatu leaders leave the workers to fight on their own, sector by sector and thus divide the resistance by the working class. The treacherous role of the SACP and Cosatu leaders was seen in forcing the workers mandate down to 8.6% despite workers inflation being 30%, while they also postponed the workers fight to after the world cup in 2010. The leaders also refused to carry out the workers mandate for a general strike against high electricity price increases. In the 1980's when South Africa was in a pre-revolutionary situation, the SACP and Cosatu leaders contained the masses by calling stayaways instead of strikes to occupy the factories.

Since the 1900's the world was fully divided up among the imperialists and a period of decay started. The only way the imperialist could extend their influence was through clashes with rival imperialists. In recent decades there has been no overall development of the productive forces. In 2009 alone the capitalists dismissed over 50 million workers around the globe. In Europe and the USA, many workers have had their wages and conditions cut, while many have been forced to retire later. In the semi-colonies like South Africa, Argentina, Bolivia, Zimbabwe, etc, the capitalists and imperialists increase their profits by forcing lower wages and at the same time, massively increasing food, housing, electricity and transport costs. There were a number of class conflicts bursting out around the world. We live in a period when the masses struggle for mere survival has turned political. All the capitalist regimes are under threat of being overthrown by the toiling masses.

Preparation for an indefinite General Strike

The capitalists-imperialists are the ones who are starving us. That is why we need to mobilise and confront them and their agents in government. That is why we need an indefinite General Strike. The General Strike could develop into a path for the working class to take power into its own hands. The burning question is then: how to make this General Strike a reality? First it is necessary to develop a programme of demands, organising the entire working class against the onslaught of the imperialists and their agents in government. We can see clearly that the objective of the SACP and Cosatu leaders is to have a 1-day action for workers to blow off steam, while disguising this demonstration as a 'general strike'.

There need to be strike committees set up in every factory, mine, farm, every workplace, every army barracks, every working class area, irrespective if workers belong to a union or not, or if they are Cosatu affiliated or not. These strike committees need to send delegates to local, regional and national strike councils, to centralise the demands of the working class and to drive the General Strike and a real programme of struggle against imperialism and capitalism, not only nationally, but taking it regionally and internationally. There needs to be strike committees in the working class areas and thus include unemployed delegates.



We need to call mass meetings of parents, students and teachers to spread the strike committees. We need to prepare committees of self defence that are answerable to the strike committees. Meetings of joint shopstewards councils of all unions should be set up- these should call for the strike committees to be set up to bring in broader forces to unite the working class from shopfloor level. In these broader structures the current struggles around Chapman's Peak, Hangberg, Tafelsig, Blikkiesdorp, Boiketlong, for caregivers to be given permanent status, for adequate housing close to places of work, for shortening of the working week, for work for all, should be centralised. We need to mobilise in defence of the mineworkers who were dismissed from Impala Platinum- for them to be unconditionally reinstated, etc. We need to support the Syrian masses against the massacres by the imperialist puppet regime of Assad. Let us turn every factory, mine, commercial farm, into a Tahrir square! Let us raise the banner of a free Palestine with a workers' government and the overthrow of the Zionist regime and all exploitative regimes around the world. Let us unite as workers to expel imperialism from the DRC, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, from all Africa!

Some proposed demands

- Equal pay for equal work
- Immediate end of casual labour and labour broking
- Expropriate all imperialist assets, without compensation, place these under workers' control
- Down with multi-year agreement- wages should rise when prices rise
- Share the work among all who can work, without loss of pay
- End the TRA's (like Blikkiesdorp) – these are nothing but concentration camps- we call for adequate housing, low rental, for all, close to places of work with exemption for the unemployed, low paid and pensioners
- Out the SACP and Cosatu leaders who make deals with the capitalists and the ANC government for modern slavery (labour broking) to stay

Mobilise for a real General Strike, not a stayaway

We should mobilise for General strike committees to prepare for occupation of the workplaces. This would immediately pose the question about who holds the real power. We need to call on the workers in the region and in the imperialist centres such as the USA, UK, France, Germany, Greece, Portugal, Spain to join us. Workers need to break the alliance with the capitalist ANC and SACP. Out with the pro-capitalist leaders!

Forward to a revolutionary working class party, as part of the refounding of the Fourth International!

Forward to working class power! Forward to Socialism!

Only the working class in power can meet our demands! Workers of the world unite, we have nothing to lose but our chains! 16.2.2012 WIVL



Occupy Zimbabwe-Expand the public sector strike into a General strike

We salute the public sector workers, staff and teachers who have come out on strike under difficult conditions. But if the public sector workers stand alone, we cannot win our demands. The time has come to set up again the labour forums of 1996, uniting all workers across all sectors. How long must we starve while **Anglo American** plunders the wealth? The tobacco production, Cotton company, gold diamond and gold mines, and even the banks are under their control. This is why we need the support of the industrial workers not only for improving our wages and conditions, but also of all workers.

The state sends the army and police to protect **Anglo American**, who carry off billions of dollars of wealth every year. Yet the state says there is no money. The Zanu-PF-MDC regime listens to the **IMF** (International Monetary Fund) when they instruct them to keep our wages low. The IMF is the tool of the Anglo American and other British and American imperialists. Both the Zanu-PF and the MDC's are all agents of imperialism- even if they deny it- their actions show it.

A few days ago 10 million **Nigerian** workers and unemployed rose up against their regime for doubling the petrol price. They formed independent action structures, called Joint Action Forums and raised the call to Occupy Nigeria. But their strike was betrayed by the trade union leaders and the ISO (International Socialist Organization) that operate in Nigeria. The trade union leaders kept the oil well workers operating the rigs throughout the strike, even while more than 23 protestors were killed with live ammunition from the state armed forces and thugs. The trade union leaders sent the workers to stay at home and then they called off the strike one day before the oil rig workers were going to come out in solidarity. The trade union leaders agreed to a 50% increase in the price of fuel- they even called this a 'victory'! [Nigeria provides the USA with 11% of its petrol- thus we can see that the trade union leaders are really on the side of the Anglo American].

The way forward

We know that Tshivagerai, Matibenga come from the ZCTU, Tendai Biti comes from the ISO dressed up as an MDC member. Within our ranks, the trade union leaders of the Apex, stopped the strike on Wednesday and now they are not planning any action next week- they want to sellout the strike in the Tuesday negotiations. At every school, we need to call **joint parent-teacher-student** meetings; at every workplace, we need to **set up general strike committees** to prepare the way for a country-wide action, in the communities action committees of employed and unemployed should be set up. **Workers need to march on the union offices to challenge and replace any leader** who dares sellout on the \$538- a figure that is already too low- it is the poverty minimum[The leaders are already showing themselves that they are agents of the capitalists by wanting to limit our demands before the time]. We need to prepare **committees of self-defence**- we know the brutality of the regime- we need to already send delegates to our family members who may be in the army barracks- we must call on them to join the movement to **Occupy Zimbabwe**. The current strike needs to be developed into a movement **to occupy all the workplaces**- by staying at home- we open a gap for us to be divided. **Let us call on the workers in the USA and Britain to stand up in solidarity with us**- by fighting their own regimes- our common enemy. Let us raise the demand of the youth in **Chile- to get free education, to get our demands for wages- Nationalize Anglo American- expropriate all the capitalists and imperialist assets, without compensation, place them under workers control. Nationalize all the land- expropriate the large commercial farms- place them under workers control.** But such demands will **not come through parliament**, or a 'new' Constitution, as the DUF and others say- it will only come through a workers government- based on councils of workers delegates, like **expanded Labour forums**, that draws into its ranks delegates from the rank and file soldiers and that has the support of the poor sectors of the peasantry. Let us take up the flame from Misrata, Tahrir square, from Greece, from Oakland and Tottenham, from Abuja- let us prepare the path to the **general strike**, don't trust the trade union leaders, trust only in the independent structures of the working class in struggle. **Occupy Zimbabwe**. The time has come to set up a revolutionary working class party. The time has come to refound the **Fourth International**.



The ANC- 100 years of striving to become the local bossboys for imperialism (and indeed 18 years of being exactly that)

[A response to Pallo Jordan's 'ANC- a century of movement'- 23 Dec 2011]

Millions of workers and fellow poor supported the UDF and the ANC; millions still support the ANC. Tens of thousands laid down their lives in fighting against 'the system', many thinking that the ANC would bring liberation and an end to poverty. But today the ANC is managing the 'system', keeping the masses in poverty and starvation, while a tiny section of the black elite enjoy the crumbs from the tables of the capitalist masters. The capitalists are making their biggest profits ever while the masses continue to suffer and die from preventable diseases. We owe it to the youth, to the many who suffered under the previous regime, to the many who died fighting it, to pose and to attempt to seriously answer the question: **What went wrong?** Is it simply a question of a corrupt few, as Pallo Jordan and the SACP and Cosatu leadership say? **What really went wrong?**

Pallo Jordan's article (ANC- a century of movement) tries to paint a glowing picture of the ANC's past but it is filled with half-truths. Quite frankly it is an attempt to whitewash the collaboration of the ANC with the capitalist class over the past 100 years and how the CPSA/SACP played a leading role not only in reviving and shaping ANC policy but assisting capitalism-imperialism in containing the revolutionary actions of the working class. The ANC-SACP is currently the main agency of ensuring the continued dominance by imperialism through maintaining and running the system of brutal, cheap labour capitalist exploitation.

Over the past 18 years, the ANC-SACP, instead of dismantling the racial group areas, have built 'housing' in the ghettos, thus entrenching racial divisions. Most of the 'housing' built are so small and of such poor quality that they are nothing but glorified shacks. The pace of 'housing' is less than population growth, so homelessness is growing every year. Now the ANC-SACP government wants to even scrap the small housing subsidy. Schooling, despite the different racial departments being scrapped, still takes place mostly along racial lines. Poverty is so rife that the average life expectancy has dropped from an already low 51 to 47 (some statisticians would even put it at close to 41). More than 2 million workers have been retrenched since 1994 and today more than 2 million of the few who are working, live as semi-slaves at the mercy of the modern slave traders (labour brokers). Many millions are unemployed, and many of the youth face the prospect of never getting work.

While a section of the ANC-SACP elite have become millionaires and billionaires, the monopolies who have plundered the riches before 1994, like Anglo American and the Bank of New York, still continue to make super-profits. In fact these



imperialist monopolies are making the greatest profits ever in their history. For example, in 2007, over **R1000 Billion of profits was taken out of the country by the international capitalists (R500bn, 20% of GDP, through transfer pricing according to Ben Fine- The Shop Steward Vol 20 no 4 1 Sept 2011 – ‘New Growth Path for Old’)**. Transfer pricing is when Anglo American and other capitalists deliberately lie about the value of their exports, stating it is much less than what it really is, and so smuggle out hundreds of billions of Rands of wealth every year without paying tax for it. Through transfer pricing Anglo American and other capitalists have been taking hundreds of billions of Rands of wealth out of the country for many years, starting even in the days of the old apartheid regime- they have been doing this every year of the 18 year ANC rule. The ANC, SACP and Cosatu leaders were well aware of this plunder and corruption but did nothing about it. It was not even raised at the so-called ‘corruption summit’.

The fundamental question then is: **What went wrong and what can we do about it?**

What we are summarizing, in essence, is the urgent need for the working class to break from the ANC and SACP to build a revolutionary working class party that is independent of the state and the capitalist class, a party that is part of an International (we say this should be the refounded Fourth International).

The early history of the ANC- 1912 to 1965

Edward Roux in his *Time longer than rope- the Black Man’s Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*, presents a more objective account of the history of colonization and exploitation from the earliest days in 1497 up to 1965.

Pallo Jordan refers to the formation in 1919 of the ICU (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa). He states that ANC members of the ANC were members of the unions and members of the unions were members of the ANC. This is not true- The ANC started off as a middle class organization, led by chiefs and lawyers. Their base was small and they did **not** have a workers base. Because of the slave conditions such as the pass laws that were introduced by British imperialism, the ICU became at once political. Its first leader was Clements Kadalie (who was from Kenya- the ‘Nyasaland’ of old). Edward Roux writes: ‘*In fact, for a number of years, it [the ICU] replaced the African National Congress as the chief political party of the Bantu people.*’ Thus while the ANC led the campaign of pass burning in 1919, it was soon eclipsed by the ICU.

Unfortunately Kadalie was both a syndicalist and a nationalist. When the CPSA (Communist Party of South Africa) tried to build its influence in the ICU, Kadalie had them expelled in 1926.

The CPSA was formed in 1921 with the magnificent internationalist programme which , ‘makes its appeal to all South African workers, organised and unorganised, white and



black, to join in promoting the overthrow of the capitalist system and outlawry of the capitalist class, and the establishment of a Commonwealth of Workers throughout the World.'

A struggle developed in the CPSA which was a reflection of the Stalinist takeover of the Bolshevik party in Russia as well as the Communist International. The CPSA became one of the most loyal servants of the Stalin clique in the world, following all its twists and turns, expelling Trotskyists and indeed anyone who dared challenge the Soviet bureaucracy.

Stalin changed the Bolshevik policy of building independent Communist parties. In China in 1926 the policy of Stalin was for the Chinese Communist Party to ally itself with the party of the Chinese nationalists, the Kuomintang and to postpone its programme for the working class to take power.

In South Africa, the CPSA was instructed to build an alliance with the middle class ANC and to adopt the infamous 2-stage theory- first a fight to put the ANC in power to achieve 'democracy' and then later to fight for Socialism.

It was the work of the stalinised CPSA that brought the organised working class to postpone its fight for Socialism and to tie itself to the ANC. This was the origin of the myth that 'ANC members are unionists and unionists are ANC members'. Pallo Jordan deliberately perpetuates this myth because without the working class, the ANC would collapse- it would become an empty shell, much like COPE (the splinter 'Congress of the People') is today.

In India, the Stalin bureaucracy similarly instructed the Communist party to support the nationalist Indian Congress.

One of the founders of the Indian Congress was Mahatma Ghandi. This is what Edward Roux writes about him: '*Ghandi took a similar line during the Bambata rebellion in 1906. This was essentially a revolt against the poll tax on the part of the Africans and as such it was quite comparable to the struggle of the Indians against a similar discriminatory law. But Ghandi remained loyal to the British Empire. He again offered to the government his services and those of the Indian community.*'

While the British troops machine-gunned Bambata and his followers, massacring some 500 of them, Ghandi's supporters stood ready as stretcher bearers to save any British troop who was injured. Such is the nature of the middle class Ghandi, hero of the ANC and the Indian Congress.

By 1928 the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union directed the CPSA to change its programme of uniting 'white and black workers' to adopting the 'Native Republic' thesis. The 'Native Republic' thesis later developed into the infamous 'Internal Colonialism' thesis where all whites, including white workers, were now regarded as oppressors. Thus it was from Moscow that the policy of dividing the working class came. This CPSA policy supported the divisions that imperialism



had imposed and cultivated for many years. Although the CPSA had spearheaded the development of African unions in South Africa, under the stalinization of the party, the 'new' CPSA leadership either smashed the unions or antagonised these unions in 1928. The CPSA later made efforts to rebuild their influence in the unions.

SP Bunting and others who were expelled from the CPSA, played a major role in building and rebuilding militant trade unions. By 1942 there was a Council of Non-European Trade Unions formed. They claimed membership of 158 000 by 1945. They were made up not only of CPSA controlled unions but unions controlled by the Workers International League (Trotskyist) and 2 groups of independent unions that were previously under CPSA and Trotskyist influence respectively.

Thus the support of the trade union movement, in the early years, for the ANC, was limited and at best contested. It was not a blanket 'every union member an ANC member'.

Like the party of Gandhi in India, despite the ongoing repression by British imperialism, the ANC supported the imperialist power in the second world imperialist war (1939-1945). At the outset, while the Stalin-Hitler pact was in operation, the CPSA opposed the British imperialist. But once Hitler launched the attack on the Soviet Union, the CPSA switched sides to then support the British imperialist. The Fourth International issued its manifesto on the war in 1940. It included the following: *'By helping their bourgeoisie against foreign fascism, the workers would only accelerate the victory of fascism in their own country. The task posed by history is not to support one part of the imperialist system against another but to make an end of the system as a whole.'* The Fourth International called for the fraternizing of workers on all sides to deal with their respective regimes- the enemy is at home!. Trotskyists were killed off and arrested around the globe. In South Africa, the regime imprisoned some of the Trotskyists.

By 1948 the fascistic National Party regime came to power. By 1950 all 'Communist' activity was banned, including any literature of Lenin and Trotsky. Considering that the CPSA was violently anti-Trotskyist, the banning was aimed not only against the CPSA but also against the Trotskyists. Imperialism and their lackey regime in SA knew the threat posed by independent communist activity. The French Ambassador warned Hitler that the only victor of war would be the Fourth International. Indeed the big capitalists knew the threat of working class independence, especially when the imperialists were fighting one another in a world war over new markets, namely there would be the threat of a revolution like in Russia October 1917 when the working class took power but this time the threat was of workers taking power in France, Britain Germany, or even the USA or even again in the Soviet Union against the Stalinist bureaucracy, or in any colony or country on the planet.



This is what Edward Roux says of this period: *'Since the war the communists had established intimate links with organizations such as the African National Congress and Indian Congresses. These organizations had not become completely communist bodies, but they had become permeated with many of the ideas of militancy and direct action which had characterised the CP.'* The CPSA/SACP actively built the Congress of Democrats, COD, (for 'white' liberals) and the Coloured People's Congress. Although the CP could not operate openly, they worked through the Congresses and the COD, playing the leading role for the 1955 adoption of the Freedom Charter.

The Freedom Charter was deliberately vague but was written in a way consistent with the notion of Stalin that there would first be a 'democratic' revolution led by the ANC, followed at some unspecified date in the future of a transition to Socialism. That the first 'stage' is capitalist and not Socialist is confirmed by Mandela, Slovo and recently by Cronin and the 2009 SACP conference:

In an article, entitled 'In our :Lifetime' published in *Liberation* in June 1956, Nelson Mandela made the following statement about the Freedom Charter:

'Whilst the Charter proclaims democratic changes of a far reaching nature, it is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state, but a programme for the unification of various classes and groupings amongst the people on a democratic basis. Under socialism the workers hold state power. They and the peasants own the means of production, land, the factories and the mills. All production is for use and not for profit. The Charter does not contemplate such profound economic and political changes. Its declaration "The people shall govern!" visualizes the transfer of power not to any single social class but to all the people of the country be they workers, peasants, professional men or petty-bourgeoisie.

It is true that in demanding the nationalisation of the banks, the gold mines and the land the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold-mining monopolies and farming interests that have for centuries plundered the country and condemned its people to servitude. But such a step is absolutely imperative and necessary because the realisation of the Charter is inconceivable, in fact impossible, unless and until these monopolies are first smashed up and the national wealth of the country turned over to the people. The breaking up and democratisation of these monopolies will open up fresh fields for the development of a prosperous Non-European bourgeois class. For the first time in the history of the country the Non-European bourgeoisie will have the opportunity to own in their own name and right mills and factories, and trade and private enterprise will boom and flourish as never before. To destroy these monopolies means the termination of the exploitation of vast sections of the populace by mining kings and land barons and there will be a general rise in living standards of the people. It is precisely because the Charter



offers immense opportunities for an overall movement in the material conditions of all classes and groups that it attracts such wide support.'

In other words, for Mandela, the Freedom Charter is not about creating Socialism but about creating a black capitalist class. In other words, the Freedom Charter is about creating a small elite that is **parasitic** over the labour of the working class, and is not **symbiotic**, as Pallo Jordan states. ['Symbiotic' would imply that both the working class and the capitalist class would benefit- this is a contradiction as capitalism is based on the exploitation of the working class]. Knowing full well that the Freedom Charter was capitalist, the SACP promoted the ANC as the leader of the struggle.

While the wave of anti-colonial struggles swept across Africa, the ANC, PAC and other groupings took to guerrilla struggle, but by 1965 these had been crushed. For the next 20 years the ANC had virtually no presence in South Africa, something acknowledged even by Pallo Jordan.

Pallo Jordan even acknowledges that the ANC accepted 'white rule' for 20 years as a 'loyal' extra-parliamentary opposition. In other words, despite large-scale repression of the masses by the capitalist state, the ANC remained committed to a parliamentary path- in other words they showed that their real aim was to become managers of the control of the masses through a capitalist parliament. In other words, the ANC was never aiming for a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. That is, the real programmatic aims of the ANC was to maintain the system of wage slavery, to maintain the very 'system' that tens of thousands died fighting- the past 18 years are confirmation of this.

The periods from 1965 to 1985 and from 1985 to 1994

By 1965 the imperialists, through their lackey, the National Party regime, had smashed the working class and the broader liberation movements. By 1973, with the spontaneous Durban strikes, the trade union movement was reborn. The 1976 student uprising was spearheaded by the Black Consciousness movement but it too was largely spontaneous. Later that year the mass stayaways marked the greater political re-entry of the working class into the class struggle arena. The strike movement grew and by 1980 and in the early 1980's spontaneous mass trade unions, civics, youth and other working class organizations were being formed everywhere, they were mushrooming. Pallo Jordan is correct when he says that the regime could not rule in the old way. In other words a pre-revolutionary situation had opened up- the masses had lost their fear and were not prepared to be ruled in the old way. The only factor missing was a revolutionary working class party. The NP regime was completely discredited. Imperialism needed a new agency to help it control the masses. Rather than risk losing everything, imperialism decided to revive the ANC to act as its new



agency. Imperialism always backs several horses. When the old one becomes discredited, they prepare to push a new horse forward to control the masses.

The Scandinavian government and churches were a front for imperialism to fund the development of the UDF (United Democratic Front), which was formed in 1983. The UDF had a start-up budget of R30 000. By 1989 it had a budget of R1.7 million [according to Jeremy Seekings' **The UDF**]. This was only for the UDF structures. Many of the affiliates also had their own funding. The UDF adopted the Freedom Charter and was thus a front for the revival of the ANC. It rode on the legitimate anger and aspirations of the masses to channel the revolutionary anger of the masses into the parliamentary road, promoting the ANC into the role of becoming the new political managers for the continued exploitation of the working class. The might of all imperialist forces, through the UN, the churches (with the aid of Bishop Tutu and Allan Boesak), set up structures of workers and the middle class, in other words, workers and popular committees that were under the control of the middle class leaders of the ANC. They deliberately set up a fighting organization that was constrained by the ANC's capitalist programme. There are several historical examples of imperialism even building soviets (councils of workers) but under the leadership of pro-capitalist forces in order to ride out the revolutionary wave and for the chosen capitalist agency to regain control.

In his article **The revolution in India- its tasks and dangers-** Trotsky wrote in 1930:

'As if the Soviets cannot be a weapon for deceiving the workers and peasants! What else were the Menshevik-Socialist revolutionary controlled Soviets of 1917? Nothing but a weapon for the support of the power of the bourgeoisie and the preparation of its dictatorship. What were the social democratic Soviets in Germany and Austria in 1918-1919? Organs for saving the bourgeoisie and for deceiving the workers. With the further development of the revolutionary movement in India, with the greater swing of the mass struggles and with the weakness of the Communist Party'... 'the Indian national bourgeoisie itself may create workers and peasants' Soviets in order to direct them as it now directs the trade unions, in order thus to slaughter the revolution as the German social democracy, by getting at the head of the Soviets, slaughtered it. The treacherous character of the slogan for the democratic dictatorship lies in the fact that it does not close tightly to the enemies, once and for all, such a possibility.'

The slogans of the UDF deliberately shackled the revolutionary anger and direction of the masses. For example, the UDF called for stayaways rather than for general strikes with workers occupying the factories. How could workers take over the factories and mines if they stayed at home? The UDF called to make the country 'ungovernable' instead of calling for workers to mobilise to take over and



seize power. Their slogan of 'People's power' hid the class differences between the worker base and the middle class leadership who only wanted to get themselves into office in a capitalist government- after all, the middle class and capitalist class are also part of the people. You cannot say that workers and capitalists can rule as the capitalists exist on the basis of exploiting workers. To call for people's power as you are saying that the wolf and sheep must rule- you forget that the wolf exists to eat the sheep. The capitalists own the best land, they control the farms, the mines, the banks, the factories- the working class has nothing. How can workers and capitalists rule together and be equal when one group has everything and the other nothing? The SACP raised the slogan of People's power to hide that the capitalists would rule and the ANC would only be the new managers. The programme of the UDF protected the capitalist control over the commanding heights of the economy- the land, the mines, the farms. Thus it was that the UDF protected imperialism which controlled (and still control) the SA economy.

That the SACP was a key factor in reviving the ANC is seen from Slovo's speech on 30th July 1986 (On the 65th anniversary of the SACP):

'The main thrust and content of the immediate struggle continues to revolve around the Freedom Charter which provides a minimum platform for uniting all classes and groups for the achievement of a non-racial, united democratic South Africa based on the rule of the majority'.....

'In expressing support for the Freedom Charter our 1962 Programme states that it is not a programme for socialism but rather a 'common programme for a free, democratic South Africa, agreed on by socialists and non-socialists'...

'For some while after apartheid falls there will undoubtedly be a mixed economy'...

'The ANC-led liberation alliance, representing the main revolutionary forces, is clearly the key sector of this front'....

'In our book this does not imply that the Party itself must seek to occupy the dominant position in the liberation alliance. On the contrary, if correct leadership of the democratic revolution requires the strengthening of the national movement as the major and leading mass organisational force, then this is precisely the way in which a party exercises its vanguard role in the real and not the vulgar sense of the term'....

In other words, Joe Slovo also agreed that the Freedom Charter was not a plan for Socialism. Indeed if it is a plan to 'unite' the classes, it cannot be a plan to abolish the capitalist class, the class that controls the commanding heights of the economy. That is, it is a plan to maintain capitalism, to maintain exploitation and



maintain imperialist domination.. Slovo also confirms that the perspective of the SACP is to build and thereby revive the ANC.

But the 2 states of emergency of the latter part of the 1980's greatly weakened the UDF. The SACP also gained control over a number of smaller unions and were a major factor, working with the syndicalist factions against the Trotskyist factions in the formation of Cosatu in 1985. Indeed several of the 'Trotskyist' factions also worked to revive the ANC instead of following a class independent policy. But the alliance of the syndicalists and SACP was too strong over the Cosatu apparatus and by 1990, after the SACP, ANC and others were unbanned, the Cosatu leaders formally established the alliance with the ANC and SACP, with the being ANC pushed to leadership of the 3. But in the lead up to this, in many affiliates there were battles between the SACP supporters and a section of the 'Trotskyists' for the support of the ANC versus another section of the Trotskyists and supporters of the Black consciousness movement. One of the notable clashes was the split in CCAWUSA, where the Cosatu leaders recognised the minority faction which supported the Freedom Charter versus the majority which supported a Workers Charter and an independent class policy. Several Trotskyists who supported an independent policy were expelled from Cosatu.

Thus it was through the programme of the SACP operating in Cosatu and the UDF that the ANC was revived. The aims of the SACP coincided with that of imperialism, to put the political leaders of the black middle class into political power to prevent a workers' revolution.

This is the result of the pact of stalinism with imperialism, not only in South Africa, but in many countries around the globe. In essence it a pact for the Stalinists to maintain their positions of privilege, in the unions and government bureaucracies, in return for helping to suppress the world working class from the path of Socialist revolution, from taking power into their own hands.

Once the ANC was unbanned, it was necessary to destroy the committees of the working class and the middle class- thus it was that the UDF was disbanded. Imperialism diverted funds away from the UDF and poured them into the ANC, beating them on the head every step of the way to give up on the democratic aspirations of the masses, in return for the crumbs of privilege from the imperialist table. Meanwhile imperialism funded the ANC with a budget of R4 million per month and gave them a budget for the 1994 elections of R168 million.

The next major step was the Codesa talks which agreed to protecting private property of the capitalists- in other words that there would be no expropriation or



confiscation of the wealth controlled by imperialism- indeed the commanding heights could now no longer be touched even if 100% of parliament voted for it.

The SACP leaders in Cosatu played the major role in developing and repeatedly watering down the demands of the masses through several drafts of the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme). Some of the 'Trotskyists' also supported the RDP as a election programme, even if was not even a programme to meet all the needs of the masses. But essentially the RDP was a mechanism to tie the masses to a capitalist election, accepting the dominance of the imperialists, turning the eyes of the masses away from a revolutionary overthrow of the 'apartheid' regime.

Joe Slovo proposed the 'sunset' clauses through which the old state apparatus was to kept intact for at least 5 more years. Mandela called for the masses to throw their weapons into the sea and totally ruled out nationalization. Thus the revolution was destroyed from within by the SACP and ANC.

From 1994 to 2012

Every economic policy of the ANC has been supported by the SACP. They were among the first to welcome GEAR, a structural adjustment programme of imperialism(although they were forced by workers to backtrack from this position, at least on paper). They supported Asgisa and now the New Growth Path, all of which are programmes for supporting the capitalist class.

For example, while the 'apartheid' regime had a tax on companies of 48%, the ANC, with the full support of the SACP, have reduced the company tax to 28%. Thus the burden of tax collection has been placed much more heavily on the working class and lower middle class.

The SACP takes credit for the capitalist economic policy of the ANC and clothes it with socialist phrases. This is what the SACP said in 14th Sept 2009 in their discussion document on **The SACP on the state of South Africa:**

'Looking back to our September 2008 National Policy Conference discussions and resolutions, it is possible to realise how influential the Conference has proved to be. Almost all of the key resolutions have been implemented or have been strongly embodied in the ANC's election manifesto and government's recently published Medium Term Strategic Framework.'... 'it is important that as communists we are clear that working class HEGEMONY doesn't mean working class exclusivity (still less party chauvinism). Working class hegemony means the ability of the working class to provide a consistent strategic leadership (politically, economically, socially, organisationally, morally - even culturally) to the widest range of social forces - in particular, to the wider working class itself, to the broader mass of urban and rural poor, to a wide range of middle strata, and in South African conditions, to many sectors of non-monopoly capital. Where it is not possible to win over individuals on the narrow basis of class interest, it can still be possible to win influence on the basis of intellectual and moral integrity (compare, for instance, our consistent ability, particularly as the Party, to mobilise over many decades a small minority of whites during the struggle



against white minority rule). This kind of hegemonic ability is different from a "balancing" act, a "redistributive" programme so beloved by centrist reformism. It is not a question of striking deals with different classes - slicing up the cake.'

The SACP is correct that their policy is not about 'slicing up the cake' because the whole cake goes to the imperialists while the rest have to be satisfied with crumbs.

In its 2009 discussion document, the SACP argues that the major gain of 'beneficiation' is the infrastructure programme- thus they justify the tripling of the electricity price to build coal and nuclear power, providing a cash cow that gives Anglo American and other imperialists over R 1000 bn just for the build programme. It also guarantees the exploitation of the masses for the next 30 years with hundreds of billions of Rands for coal and nuclear raw materials needed to run these power stations. Thus the SACP provides a cover for a build programme that increases the efficiency of exploitation and stealing of the wealth, while defending a state which deliberately increases the desperation for housing through building 'houses' at less than the rate of population growth. Big capital's major ally within the workers' movement is the SACP.

This defence by the SACP of the imperialists to plunder and steal is confirmed when Jeremy Cronin argues against the nationalization of the mines (18th November 2009). He argues that the state owning the mineral rights is already a realization of the Freedom Charter. He also argues that the mines are in decline and thus the state should avoid taking on debt should they have to pay compensation for them. Thus while the ANC-SACP government 'owns' the mineral rights, the control should stay in the hands of Anglo American, the Bank of New York and other imperialist companies- so says Cronin. The SACP rejects beneficiation of diamonds as a 'pipe-dream', pie in the sky. In other words, they justify the continued export of all the diamond production to Israel for cutting and polishing. By words the SACP supports Palestine, but in reality they provide a cover for the support of Anglo American for fascist Israel.

In 2007, the monopolies like Anglo American under-invoiced about R700bn of minerals that they illegally took out of the country. This was at a time when 1 million workers were retrenched. Combined with the officially declared profits, Anglo American and other capitalists took out over R1000 Bn in wealth just in 2007. This practice of under-invoicing by Anglo American and others has been taking place for many years, even before 1994, with the full knowledge of the state. The SACP and ANC and Cosatu leaders know about this- an article on the 'New Growth Path' appeared last year in the Cosatu journal, **The ShopSteward**, which contained this data. But Cronin and the SACP have no problem with the corruption and large-scale plunder and stealing by Anglo American. We cannot nationalise the mines as they are in decline, says Cronin. Apparently to Cronin, R1000 Bn is too small an income for the state! According to Cronin, having company tax on profits reduced from 48% to 28% is a demonstration of the working class 'hegemony' of the state!



Under the disguise of Socialist phrases, the SACP is justifying that the wealth remain under the control of the imperialists like Anglo American. Here we see the real meaning of the Freedom Charter and 'reconciliation'- the ANC-SACP gets some crumbs from the master's table while they keep the masses in continued slavery to the imperialists.

Some conclusions and the way forward

Pallo Jordan is wrong when he says that the sanctions movement in the USA played a major role in the 'liberation' of South Africa. What Jordan wants to hide It was only the threat of revolution by the working class that made the imperialists temporarily withdraw some of their funds while they prepared a new agency to regain control for them. He perpetuates the myth that imperialism plays a progressive role in the struggles of the masses. Imperialism has on occasion to pose as progressive in order to fool the workers on their own home soil. While imperialism repressed and suppressed the ANC when it was convenient for it, when faced with a revolution, they helped revive the ANC to prevent the masses from taking everything. The imperialists understood, perhaps even better than many on the left, that the programme of the ANC was capitalist and that they could depend on them, with the able help of the SACP, and its 2-stage 'revolution', to strangle the uprising in South Africa. Imperialism supported the development of workers and popular committees that were under its control, so that they could remain the real rulers of the land. The middle class (as a class) is only revolutionary in that they are fighting for their space within the system. As Lenin wrote in State and Revolution that the attaining of democracy means the end of the revolutionism of both the capitalist as well as the middle class. The lower middle class would tend to support the working class while the upper middle class would tend to side with the capitalists. But the SACP depends on the middle class, striving to win even the lower middle class, to strengthen its grip on holding back the march of the masses towards revolution.

To call for 'workers and popular' committees, limits beforehand the struggle of the masses and ties it to the whims and prejudices of the middle class. The Stalin line in India, which took the notion of 'worker- peasant' committees to its conclusion, by promoting a 'workers peasant party, namely the Indian Congress Party. In South Africa, the stalin line was to build and strengthen a 'worker-middle class' party, the ANC, as a means to chain the masses to capitalism.

To even call for Soviets without realizing that the revolutionary party needs to win leadership of these workers councils, poses a danger that the struggle of the masses may be hijacked from within by Stalinist and other reactionary forces operating within the workers' movement. If imperialism cannot smash a revolution from the outside, they will look to smash it from within. In the process of wanting to smash the revolution from within, imperialism could use the remnants of Stalinism, religious and nationalist prejudices of the masses to set up their own 'fighting' organs, as they have tragically done in South Africa with the UDF.



The late coming of Africa to capitalism, when it was in decline on a world scale, meant that the giant imperialist forces have cut it up into areas of influence, suppressing the development of local capitalists and reducing the entire continent to be a producer of raw, unprocessed materials. The development of a class of black capitalists will remain stunted, the class of indigenous capitalists small and the regimes Bonapartist (military or semi-military dictatorships) in character. Democracy in South Africa means the freedom of the imperialists-capitalists to plunder the wealth. The masses may have the right to make a cross on a ballot every few years, but precious little else.

The black middle class (indeed the middle class in general) cannot be the driving force even to complete the 'democratic' demands, such as housing, work, education, healthcare, land.

The October 1917 revolution in Russia shows by the positive and the failure of the working class to take power anywhere in Africa, shows by the negative, that only the working class taking power through a revolution, can complete the democratic programme. Capitalism everywhere organises production on a world scale but divides the masses on artificial bases on so-called national states. We need to overcome 'democracy' that is the dictatorship of the capitalists, with the dictatorship of the working class.

The SACP provides a theoretical cover for the ANC in its implementation of the plans of imperialism in attacking the working class. **We call on workers to break decisively from the ANC and SACP.**

We need to establish revolutionary working class parties as part of a revolutionary International (we say this should be the refounded Fourth International). These parties should be independent of the state and capital. The treacherous leaderships of the working class should be politically defeated to free the working class from this parasitic caste. We are part of the world battalion of the working class. The working class needs to take power in the colonies and semi-colonies, as well as in the imperialist centres like the USA, France, UK, Germany and Japan.

Forward to the Soviet Union of Socialist states of Africa! Forward to Socialism! 15.1.2012



17 200 Impala Platinum miners on strike- mass dismissal- the struggle continues



Iminyaka elikhulu yeANC yokuzama ukuba ngobaasboy bama impiyali (yaye ngenene ishumi elinesibhozo le minyaka yokuba ngabo) [Impendulu kwi 'ANC- a century of movement' ka Pallo Jordan, 23 Dec 2011]

Izigidi zabasebenzi namaqabane angamahlwempu ayixhasile iUDF neANC; izigidi nangoku zisayixhasa iANC. Amashumi amawaka anikezela ngobomi babo esilwa ngokuchaseneyo 'nenkqubo' isininzi sicinga ukuba iANC izakuzisa inkululeko yaye iphelise intlupheko. Kodwa namhlanje iANC iyilawula ngokwayo 'lenkqubo', igcina isininzi sisentluphekweni nasendlaleni, ngelilixa abambalwa becandelo lengcungcu zabamnyama zonwabele iingququ eziwa ezitafileni zobaas abangoxowankulu. Ongxowankulu benza ezona ngeniso ezakhe zankulu abangazange bazenza ngelilixa isininzi sabantu sibheka phambili ngokusokola yaye sisifa zizigulo ebezingakhuselwa. Sinetyala kulutsha, kwisininzi sabantu esasokola phantsi korhulumente wangaphambili, kwizigidi ezisasokola phantsi kwe 'nkqubo' kwisininzi esafa sisilwa yona, lokuba sikhe sime yaye sizame ngenene nangenyaniso siphendule umbuzo: **Konakele phi?** Ingaba ngumbuzo nje olula wabambalwa abazizaphuli mthetho, njengokuba uPallo Jordan nenkokheli zeSACP nezikaCosatu sisitsho? **Konakele phi ngokwenyani?**

Inqaku lika Pallo Jordan (ANC- a century of movement) lizama ukuzoba umfanekiso oqaqambileyo kokwadlulayo kweANC kodwa lizele ziinyaniso ezingaphelanga. Ngokutyhilekileyo lilinge lokuqguma iziphoso ukusebenza kunye notshaba lomgangatho (collaboration) yiANC nongxowankulu kule minyaka ilikhulu igqithileyo nendima eyidlalileyo iCPSA/SACP yokukhokela hayi kuphela ekuvuseleleni nasekubumbeni ipolisi yeANC kodwa incedisa ongxowankulu-ama impiyali ukunqanda iintshukumo zotshintsho olululo lwabasebenzi. Okwangoku iANC-SACP zizintloko ze agency zokuqinisekisa ukuqhubeka kokongamela kwama impiyali ngokugcina nokusebenzisa inkqubo yenkohlakalo, noxhatshazo lobungxowankulu lwabasebenzi bemivuzo ephantsi.

Kule minyaka ilishumi elinesibhozo idlulileyo, iANC-SACP, endaweni yokutshabalalisa intlalo ngokobuhlanga, bakhe 'izindlu' ematyotyombeni, ngalo ndlela bezinzisa iyantlukwano ngokobuhlanga. Uninzi lwezizindlu zakhiweyo zincinci kakhulu yaye umgangatho wazo uphantsi kangokuba into eziyiyo zingamatyotyombe adunyiswayo. Isantya 'solwakhiwo' singaphantsi kokwanda kwabantu, ngolo hlobo ukungabinamakhaya kwanda minyaka le. Ngoku urhulumente weANC-SACP ufuna ukuphelisa kwa esisibonelelo sincinci sezindlu. Ezemfundo ngaphandle nje kokupheliswa kwamacandelo ohlukeneyo obuhlanga



zisahamba ingakumbi ngokomgca wobuhlanga. Intlupheko yandile kangangokuba umlinganiselo wokuphila olindelekileyo wehlile sukela kwiminyaka esele iphantsi kakade yamashumi amahlanu ananye okuphila ukuya kumashumi amane anesixhenxe (ingcali zamanani zide ziwubeke kufutshane neminyaka engamashumi amane ananye). Ngaphezulu kwezigidi ezibini zabasebenzi zagxothwa emisebenzini kusukela ngo 1994 yaye namhlanje ngaphezulu kwezigidi ezibini zabo bambalwa abasebenzayo, baphila njengamakhoboka phantsi kwesandla sabarhwebi ngamakhoboka elixesha (labour brokers). Izigidi ezininzi aziphangeli, yaye uninzi lolutsha lujongene nethemba lokungasoze lifumane umsebenzi.

Ngelilixa icandelo labathile beANC-SACP bangosozigidi nosomawaka ezigidi (billionaires), inkampani ezingodla-bodwa eziphange ubutyebi phambi ko 1994, ezinjengo Anglo American neBank of New York zisaqhubeka zisenza iingeniso ezingaphaya. Inyani abadlabodwa bama impiyali benza ezonangeniso bangazange bazenza embalini yabo. Umzekelo, ngo 2007, ukuba sichaphazela ixesha elide lesisenzo sodlabodwa sokuwelisa amaxabiso (ngamanye amagama uAnglo American nabanye ongxowankulu baxoka ngabom ngexabiso lempahla zabo abazithengisela ngaphandle, bezixela ngaphantsi kunexabiso lazo, ngolo hlobo bekhuphela ngaphandle amakhulu-khulu ezigidi zerandi zobutyebi minyaka le ngaphandle kokuhlawula irhafu yazo), ngaphezulu **kwewaka lezigidi (over R1000 Billion) zobutyebi bakhutshelwa ngaphandle kwelizwe ngongxowankulu behlabathi (R500bn, 20% of GDP, ngokuwelisela amaxabiso ngokokutsho kuka Ben Fine- The Shopsteward Vo l20 no 41 Sept 2011 - 'New Growth Path for Old')**. Kwesigaba sexesha sinye, ngaphezulu kwesigidi sabasebenzi bagxothwa emisebenzini. Inkokheli zeANC, SACP nezikaCosatu bezisazi mhlophe ngoluphango norhwaphilizo kodwa azenzanto ngalo. Alizange lwaphakanyiswe kwakwinto eyayibizwa 'i-samithi yorhwaphilizo'.

Umbuzo obalulekileyo kengoko ngu lo: **Konakala phi yaye yintoni esingayenza ngalo nto?**

Esikushwankathelayo, ngenyani, yimfuneko engxamisekileyo yokwakhiwa kwentlangano yabasebenzi yotshintsho olululo (revolutionary working class party) leyo izakuzimela kurhulumente nakongxowankulu, intlangano eyinxalenye yeNtlangano Yehlabathi (sithi le kufuneka ibeyiNtlangano yeSine yamaKomanisi eHlabathi/ Fourth International esele yakhiwe)

Imbali yasekuqaleni yeANC- 1912 ukuya ku 1965

U-Edward Roux kwi *Time longer than rope- the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa* yakhe, unika ingcaciso ngokukhoyo ngokwembali yokubaphantsi kwengcinezelo noxhatshazo ukusukela kwimini zangaphambili ngo 1497 ukuya ku 1965.

U-Pallo Jorda ubhekisa ekwakhiweni ngo 1919 kwe ICU (Industrial and



Commercial Workers Union of Africa). Uthi amalungu eANC amalungu eANC ayengamalungu emanyano zabasebenzi yaye amalungu emanyano ayengamalungu eANC. Oku akusiyonyani- I-ANC yaqala njengombutho wabakumgangatho ophakathi, owawukhokelwa zinkosi namagqwetha. Abalandeli babo babebancinci yaye **babengenabo** abalandeli abangabasebenzi. Ngenxa yemeko zobukhoboka ezinjengemithetho yamapasi eyaphakanyiswa ngama impiyali aseNgilani, i-ICU kwangoko yathatha ukhondo lwezopolitiko. Inkokheli yayo yokuqala yayi nguClements Kadalie (owayesuka eKenya- ngelakudala 'kwilizwe lamaNyasa'). U-Edward Roux ubhala athi: *'Ngenyani, iminyaka emininzi, yona [ICU] yathabatha indawo yeAfrican National Congress njengombutho oyintloko wezopolitiko kwisizwe iBantu.'* Ngalo ndlela njengokuba iANC yakhokela iphulo lokutshiswa kwamapasi ngo 1919, kwamsinyane yatshoniswa kukukhula kweICU.

Ngelishwa uKadalie wayengumthandi wobuzwe. Xa i-CPSA (Communist Party of South Africa) yazama ukwakha ifuthe layo phakathi kwi ICU, uKadalie wenza ukuba bagxothwe ngo 1926.

I-CPSA yakhiwa ngo 1921 inenkqubo ebalaseleyo yelizwe eyenza, 'isicelo kubobonke abasebenzi, abakwintlangano nabangekho kuzo, abamhlophe nabamnyama, bazibandakanye ekuphakamiseni ukuthabatha ulawulo lwemeko yobungxowankulu nasekugxothweni kongxowankulu, kunye nokusekwa Kobudlelwane Babasebenzi kwihlabathi liphela.' Umzabalazo wakhula ngaphakathi kweCPSA lowo wabayimbonakalo yothatyatho lawulo lwentlangano iBolshevik eRussia ngama Stalini kunye nentlangano amaKomanisi eHlabathi. CPSA yaba yenye yesona sicaka sithembakeleyo seqembu lamaStalini ehlabathini, ukulandela konke ukuphuma ingena kwayo, nokugxotha abalandeli bakaTrotsky yaye ngenene nabanina uzama ukucela umngeni kwisikhokelo seSoviet.

U-Stalini wayijika ipolisi yeBolshevik yokwakha intlangano zamaKomanisi azimeleyo. E-China ngo 1926 ipolisi kaStalin yayikukuba iNtlangano yamaKomanisi aseChina izimanye nombutho waBathandi-sizwe waseChina (nationalists), iKuomintang yaye iyibekele elinye ixesha inkqubo yayo yabasebenzi bathathe ulawulo.

E-Mzantsi Afrika, iCPSA yanikwa umyalelo wokwakha umanyano neANC yabakumgangatho ophakathi yaye iyamkele ingcamango eyingcinga yezigaba ezibini - kuqala ukulwela ukubeka iANC elulawulweni ukufumana 'ulawulo lwentando yesininzi' kuze kuthi kamva kulwelwe ubuSoshali.

Yayingumsebenzi weCPSA yamastalini eyenza ukuba abasebenzi bawubekele elinye ixesha umlo wabo weSocialism yaye bazibophelele kwiANC. Le yabasisiqalo sentsomi yokuba 'amalungu eANC angamalungu emanyano zabasebenzi yaye amalungu abasebenzi ngamalungu eANC'. U-Pallo Jordan ngabom uyigcinile le ntsomi ngoba ngaphandle kwabasebenzi, iANC izakuphela-



izakuba likhoba elingenanto, ifane neCOPE (abaqhekeki ' Congress of the People') eyiyo namhlanje.

E-India inkokheli zikaStalin ngokufanayo zayalela intlangano yamaKomanisi ixhase iNkongolo yobuzwe yabantu baseIndia.

Abanye babaseki beCongress yaseIndia yayi ngu Mahatma Ghandi. Naku akubhalileyo uEdward Roux ngaye: *'uGhandi wathabatha ikhondo eli kwalinye ngexesha lophakamo likaBambatha ngo 1906. Okwakubalulekile yayiluphakamo olwaluchasene nerhafu ye poll ngakwicala lwamaAfrika yaye ngolo hlobo lalinokulinganiswa nomzabalazo wamaIndia ochasene nomthetho ofana nobandlululayo. Kodwa uGhandi wahlala elithemba loBukumkani baseNgilane. Kwakhona wazinikezela ekusebenzeleni urhulumente nabahlali baseIndia.'*

Ngelilixa amajoni aseBrithane adubula uBambata nabalandeli bakhe ngemipu, etshabalalisa amakhulu amahlanu abo, abaxhasi bakaGhandi bebehleli bezilungiselele ukuthutha ingxwelerha bancede naliphina ijoni laseBrithane elinzakeleyo. Injalo imo kaGhandi yokubakumgangatho ophakathi (middle class), iqhawe leANC neNkongolo yaseIndia.

Ngo 1928 iStalinist bureaucracy yaseSoviet Union yanika umyalelo iCPSA ukuba itshintshe inkqubo yayo yokumanya 'abasebenzi abamnyama nabamhlophe' yamkela ithisis 'yeNative Republic'. Le ngcingane ibhaliweyo ye'Native Republic' kamva yayika yaba yi thisis i 'internal Colonialism' engazange ithandwe apho bonke abamhlophe, ukuquka nabasebenzi abamhlophe ngoku bebejongwa njengabacinezeli. Ngolo hlobo bekuseMoscow into yokuba ipolisi yokwahlulahlula abasebenzi ibivela khona. Le polisi yeCPSA yaxhasa ukwahlukana oko ama impiyali akunyakathisa yaye akulima iminyaka emininzi. Nangona iCPSA yakhokela ekukhuliseni imanyano zabasebenzi zaseAfrika eMzantsi Afrika, phantsi kwefuthe likaStalin lwalentlangano, inkokheli 'ezintsha' zeCPSA ingaba zazitshabalalisa ezimanyano zabasebenzi okanye zachasana nazo ezimanyano ngo 1928. I-CPSA kamva yenza inzame zokwakha kwakhona ifuthe layo kwimanyano.

U-SP Bunting nabanye abagxothwayo kwiCPSA, badlala indima enkulu ekwakheni nasekwakheni kwakhona imanyano zabasebenzi ezilwayo. Ngo 1942 kwabakho iBhunga leManyano zabasebenzi abangengabo abaseYurophu elasekwayo. Babanga abalandeli aba 158 000 ngo 1945. Lalingenziwanga zimanyano ezilawulwa yiCPSA kuphela kodwa zimanyano ezilawulwa yiWorkers International League (Trotskyist) nangamaqela amabini emanyano ezizimeleyo ezazi phantsi kwefuthe leCPSA neTrotskyist ngaphambili ngolulandelelana.

Ngolo hlobo inkxaso yempembelelo yemanyano zabasebenzi, kwiminyaka yangaphambili, kwiANC, yayinqongophele yaye maxawambi kukhuphiswana. Kwakungabotshwa ngebhanti enye yokuba 'lonke ilungu lemanyano lilungu leANC'.



Njengombutho kaGhandi eIndia, ngaphandle nje kwengcinezelo eqhubekayo yama impiriyali aseBrithane, iANC yaxhasa orhulumente bama impiriyali kwimfazwe yesibini yehlabathi yama impiriyali (1939-1945). Zisuka, ngelilixa izivumelwano zikaStalin noHitler bezisasebenza, iCPSA yachasana nama impiriyali aseBrithane. Kodwa kuthe ukuba uHitler ahlasele iSoviet Union, iCPSA yatshintsha amacala yaze yaxhasa ama impiriyali aseBrithane. I-Fourth International yakhupha i-manifesto yayo ngemfazwe ngo 1940, yaquka oku kulandelayo: *'Ngokunceda ongxowankulu babo ngokuchaseneyo nolawulo ngokomkhosi lwelinye ilizwe (fascism), abasebenzi bazakubhekisa phambili kuphela impumelelo yolawulo ngokomkhosi kwilizwe labo. Umsebenzi odalwa yimbali ayikokoku xhasa elinye icala lenkqubo yama impiriyali ngokuchaseneyo nelinye kodwa kukuyitshabalalisa nya inkqubo yonke iphela.'* I-Fourth International yabetha ikhwelo lokwakha ubuhlobo phakathi kwabasebenzi kumacala onke kusetyenzwe ngorhulumente babo- utshaba lusekhaya! Abalandeli bakaTrotsky babulawa yaye babanjwa kwihlabathi liphela. E-Mzantsi Afrika, urhulumente wabafake entolongweni abanye abalandeli bakaTrotsky.

On the call on the 26th January 2012 by the UN Human Rights head, Navi Pillay for the Libyan militias to disarm and for the 8500 prisoners to be handed over to the Ministry of justice and the prosecutor's office of the TNC

Navi Pillay of the UN Human Rights Council is calling for the militias to disarm and for the prisoners to be handed over to the Ministry of Justice and the Prosecutors office of the TNC. On the face of it, it appears like a normal request based on real concern for human rights. But a closer look at the current situation reveals the sinister message from this imperialist body.

Firstly, while Gaddafi was slaughtering the masses in Tripoli with live ammunition, Libya was part of the UN Human Rights Council- not one word was uttered by them in this regard. Secondly, for the years that Libya under the Gaddafi regime hosted rendition prisons of the CIA on their soil, not one word of concern was uttered by this so-called Human Rights council- in fact Libya was rewarded for their torture of prisoners, with a place on the UN Human Rights council. The prisoners were indeed under the 'protection' of the Gaddafi ministry of Justice and his prosecutor's office-they were being tortured and killed with the blessing of the UN. Now, this same UN wants to say they care for the prisoners? Clearly they do not. **So what is their motive?**

The TNC Ministry of Justice is made up of ex-Gaddafi functionaries- it is really part of a re-composed Gaddafi regime without Gaddafi- thus the aim of handing over prisoners to this ministry is to release reactionary elements who will again be used to wage a counter-revolution against the Libyan masses.

Further, imperialism wants to discredit, weaken and disarm the militias so that the Libyan masses can again be subjected to a capitalist regime [the pre-condition of re-establishing capitalist exploitation in Libya is to disarm the masses].



This is the same Human Rights Council that allows 10 000 prisoners to be kept in Israeli and Hamas and PA prisons, under the most inhumane conditions. They say nothing of the many rendition prisons of the CIA around the globe.

The Libyan masses need to set up its own regime based on councils of the militias and workers committees (including the immigrant workers), a workers government, based on the expropriation of all imperialist assets and the local capitalist class, without compensation, under workers control. This means consolidating the power in the hands of the working class and dispersing the TNC. Beware of the imperialist-funded NGO's, the Muslim Brotherhood and the February 17th youth leadership, who are deliberately creating a support base for the imperialist agency, the TNC.

We warn against the attempts by the TNC to create a so-called integrated Libyan army- this is another way of bring the militias under the control of the TNC and thus of a capitalist regime. In South Africa, after 1994, the liberation armies were integrated into the national defence force. This was a way of disarming the masses as the weapons and fighting forces had no link to the grassroots. Capitalist generals, some even coming from the ranks of the oppressed, imposed a capitalist command structure. Very soon, the revolutionary elements were isolated, many were driven out, many were given retirement packages to push them out of the army. Today the capitalist generals control and when the masses go on strike, the army is called out against us, even acting as scabs during strikes to keep the capitalist economy going. The militia must be linked with the workers committees and not the TNC or its supposed army.

Lastly the revolutionary elements should establish their own network of cells to co-ordinate the fight against the TNC and imperialism. What is needed is the establishment of the revolutionary working class party in Libya, that will co-ordinate the fight, not only locally but regionally and internationally.

Consciously linking of the militias and workers committees with immigrant workers will immediately help to break the isolation of the Libyan masses and strengthen the fight against imperialism in the region. When the uprisings started, imperialism deliberately shipped out immigrants from Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, etc as a means to isolate the masses and to localise the struggles onto a nationalist terrain. This isolation must be broken.

The fight of the Libyan masses needs to be taken into the imperialist centres, otherwise, eventually the reactionary forces will take over.

The masses should set up workers tribunals to deal with the prisoners in a proletarian way, and not bow to the pressure of the murderous and genocidal UN, friends of Gaddafi and the remnants of the Gaddafi regime, ie the TNC. No to the handing over of any prisoner to the TNC.

Your example will be a shining light to the masses in Egypt, Syria and elsewhere, who are confronting the same life and death struggle.

Forward to the refounding of the Fourth International!
Forward to the world-wide Socialist revolution! 1.2.2012



The Greek working class still combat their imperialist state.



Forward to the general strike in Nigeria! Down with the regime of Goodluck Jonathan! Forward to working class power!

The struggles of the working class and the rest of the impoverished masses have finally spread from Wall Street, Tahrir Square, Syntagma square, Porto del Sol, Misrata, Sanaa, Homs, Santiago, La Paz etc to Lagos and Abuja.

The fight in Nigeria today is a fight against capitalist dictatorship. It is a fight to overcome 'democracy'. All over the world, 'democracy' means the freedom of the imperialists to plunder. In the semi-colonies (neo-colonies) the form of capitalist rule is either a military dictatorship or a limited democracy. Nigeria is no different. Having suffered under a number of military regimes since 'independence' in 1960, the election of the regime of Goodluck Jonathan on the 19th April 2011 was hailed by the capitalist media as the most 'free and fair'. And yet the regime of Jonathan is launching the most harsh attack on the living standards of the Nigerian masses by increasing the price of fuel from \$0.41 a litre to \$0.74. This means that the pump price is doubling.

Except for the islands and small pockets where the elite of Shell and Chevron and the Nigerian capitalist class live, the rest of the country is a virtual slum. The only 'benefit' that the masses had up to now has been subsidized fuel. The regime of Jonathan wants to end this subsidy.

Further north, the unelected TNC (Transitional National Council) is trying to disarm the militias and the masses in general- a move hailed by all the capitalist forces. Yet in the USA the first principle of the Bill of rights is for the right of the population to bear arms. But such 'democratic' right is denied not only Libyans but all the masses all over the world, especially in the colonies and semi-colonies. The only way that the Libyan masses could begin to get rid of the hated Gaddafi regime was by arming themselves and destroying the armed forces of the state. The masses destroyed all the police stations and huge sections of the army went over to the side of the masses. Some of the shortcomings of the Libyan revolution was the failure of the masses to set up their own regime based on the militias and workers committees, uniting local and immigrant workers, independent of all elements of the old Gaddafi regime and independent from the Nato forces and their TNC. Up to now the Libyan masses have not adopted a programme for the expropriation under workers control of the oil wealth and the banks (without compensation to the capitalists). A section of the left is calling for 'workers and popular committees' in Libya. In other words, they place the centre of the Libyan revolution on the backs of revolutionary workers and the revolutionary middle class, instead of being centred on the industrial working class. Most of the revolutionary middle class (although clearly not all of them) get involved in the struggle only for self-preservation. This does not make them Socialist. In the absence of an independently organised working class to lead the fight, by putting an equal sign between the middle class and the working class, leads to the domination of middle class prejudices. Without a class independent programme and revolutionary party, the most heroic struggles of the working class would end up in defeat. These are some of the life and death questions that would also face the working class in Nigeria and elsewhere.



The root cause of the attacks on the Nigerian masses- the crisis of imperialism and of US imperialism in particular

Sixty percent of Nigeria's oil exports go to the USA. In fact 11% of US fuel requirements come from Nigeria. US imperialism is the biggest 'investor' in Nigeria. In other words the Nigerian regime is under the control of US imperialism. Exxon Mobil, Chevron, Shell and other oil companies that operate in Nigeria hire the local navy, the army and the 'shoot and go' police to protect the oil platforms and other installations. The oil multinationals have been known to have activists killed. Despite Nigeria having vast wealth, not only in oil and gas, but gold, bauxite and other minerals, it has been kept as a primary producer of raw materials. It even has to import all its processed oil! It has 4 refineries but these are largely dysfunctional. Even the 'local' oil company Oando is 62% controlled by pension funds, trusts and private companies- this shows that it is really controlled by imperialism behind the façade of 'local' control.

The 2012 Nigerian budget allocates 20% for 'security' while only 0.5% for land and housing. This shows the cutting of the oil subsidy has nothing to do with building adequate housing for the masses. The supposed planned 'infrastructure' from the \$7 billion 'saving' is about building a mechanism to more efficiently exploit the wealth of Nigeria. Further, as the world capitalist economy is in stagnation, the imperialists come up with fake projects which are nothing else but a way to rescue their falling profits and a new way of milking the masses in an ever-increasing manner.

In China, South Africa and elsewhere the imperialists are setting up trillion dollar infrastructure projects, such as coal and nuclear power stations, new airports, shopping malls, etc. Solar and wind power, once set up, have very low running costs, but these are rejected because they do not provide ongoing sources of profit. Hydropower from the DRC could provide 200 000MW, ie enough to double the electricity capacity of the entire Africa, but these are rejected. The same fake projects such as coal and nuclear are being planned by imperialism for Nigeria.

For decades the imperialists bled Nigeria dry, keeping the masses in slum conditions, while most of the oil income was siphoned off for 'debt'. Now that Nigeria has paid off the debt (in 2006), the imperialists need new schemes to keep the Nigerian masses enslaved.

Through ECOWAS, the Nigerian regime helps imperialism put down the masses in Liberia, Sudan, and Ivory Coast.

In essence the Nigerian regime is a glorified security guard for imperialist plunder of the masses in the country and in the region. They have to go.

A draft Programme for the Nigerian revolution

1. The first step is to set up committees of action centred on delegates from the workers in the oil industry. Action committees of workers and unemployed should be set up in the cities and rural areas. Efforts should be made to draw in the rank and file soldiers into the action committees. The action committees should spearhead the action of the masses such as the general strike which starts on the 9th Jan 2012. Although middle class joining the fight against the regime should be welcomed, a careful eye should be kept on them to ensure they do not dominate the struggle.



2. Due to the role of the state in suppressing past attempts at general strikes, it is important that committees of self-defence are set up as part of the action committees. Whichever soldiers are won to the cause should assist with the training of the masses in the use of arms for self-defence against the attacks of the state.

3. Watch out for the trade union leaders who want to limit the fight to an economic one, ie just to reduce the price of fuel or to make a compromise with the regime. These trade union leaders are calling the strike only to remain in control of the mass action. What is needed is to start with a reverse in the price increase and for the struggle to be extended to the total removal of the Jonathan regime.

For sure, many capitalist 'opposition' are lining up to take over the struggle for them to replace Jonathan in positions of privilege. This must not be allowed- they merely want to become the new chief security guards for Chevron and Shell.

What is needed is a workers' council of delegates of the action committees, locally, regionally and nationally. Preparations should be made for the setting up of a revolutionary workers' government based on councils of the action committees of the strike.

The strike should be transformed from a stayaway into occupation and a takeover by the workers and the communities of the oil installations and other capitalist factories, farms and banks. The trade union leaders of the strike protect the bosses through the stayaway, a tradition that comes from Stalinism, which keeps the fighting working class away from taking over the means of production (factories, farms, mines, banks etc).

4. Expropriate the multinationals and the local capitalists, without compensation, place these companies and farms under workers control. The first step must be the setting up of factory committees with delegates of all workers, be they casual or permanent, local or immigrant. It is only a workers government that can implement these demands. It is only through expropriation of the commanding heights which includes the banks, that the masses will achieve housing and jobs for all.

5. Nationalise the land, expropriate the capitalist farms, place them under workers control through the setting up of model collective farms; cheap credit and assistance to the small farmer while encouraging them to join the collectives.

6. For workers in the US to set up solidarity action through the Occupy Wall street movement and other means to block US military intervention in Nigeria, to stop the killing machines of Exxon Mobil and Chevron in their tracks. US imperialism is terrorizing the world masses, not only that in Nigeria. What is needed is for the working class to take power in Nigeria and the US (indeed all across the globe). For this to happen, is required a working class party in Nigeria, in the US, indeed in every country in the world, as part of a revolutionary International (the refounded Fourth International).

Forward to a Soviet United states of Africa!

9.1.2012

Once more on the 'Occupy Nigeria' uprising

Now that the Jonathan regime is shooting down workers with live ammunition, its true nature as a puppet of imperialism and in particular US imperialism, is exposed.



We recall in the era of the slave-trade when slaves were captured from West Africa, including what is Nigeria today, the tribal chiefs were bought off by the colonial powers for a few pieces of silver for selling their people into bondage. Today the Jonathan regime and the so-called parliamentary 'opposition' have taken up the position of the tribal chiefs, selling the Nigerian masses into permanent bondage to Exxon Mobil, Shell, Chevron and other imperialists.

The masses have taken up the slogan of 'Occupy Nigeria' which in itself is a direct appeal to the modern slaves, the working class in the USA, many of them descendents from West Africa, to stand up to their regime in a more decisive way. Occupy Nigeria is showing to the US worker that if they are serious about Occupy Wall Street then they have to occupy USA and if they are serious about this then they have to prepare the way for a General Strike.

US imperialism is the main plunderer of Nigeria, West Africa, indeed of the entire Africa. Suddenly there is an attempt to instigate 'Muslim-Christian' violence, which shows the direct hand of US imperialism- 'divide and rule' is what they learnt from their former colonizers, the British regime. US imperialism instigated 'Sunni-Shia' infighting as a means to divert the Iraqi masses from fighting the occupying power.

The masses are already countering the divide and rule policy of US imperialism through Christians going to protect mosques while Muslims go to protect the churches. The masses realize that the fuel hike has nothing to do with religious belief. US imperialism wants to divert the fight against the state into an inter-ethnic fight. The strike committees should take the lead in organising joint marches of Christians and Muslims to the government buildings as well as the installations of the oil monopolies. The Egyptian workers raised the slogan- Muslim and Christian are one hand, one fist. The strike committees should organise centrally the defence of the mass uprising from attacks of the state. Occupy Nigeria cannot be based on passive resistance but on armed self-defence against the attacks by the state which is nothing else but a giant security firm for the imperialist exploiters

The struggle of the students and workers in Chile.

The Workers International Vanguard League condemns the state persecution of youth leader, Felipe Spina Melgarejo, and all other leaders of the resistance against the capitalist attacks in Chile. We call for the immediate release of all political prisoners and for the dropping of charges against all those charged in one way or another for their role in the recent revolutionary uprising against the butcher Pinera regime.

'Democracy' in Chile has brought with it the freedom for US imperialism to continue to plunder the wealth. The capitalist dictatorship has changed its shell but not its essence. We salute the youth who have sparked the current rebellion. Now it is for the young workers on the mines, factories, farms, the unemployed to spearhead the next phase of the combat against imperialism-capitalism. Unless there are independent struggle organs of the working class, the struggle is bound to be led into a blind alley.

In South Africa, as in Chile, we are dominated by Anglo American. To break free from the imperialist stranglehold we need to unite with our class brothers and sisters on the



continent, in the imperialist centres and indeed around the globe. We need to combat the reformist and reactionary trends within the workers movement that every day, in the name of Socialism, divide the resistance of the working class, or weaken or dilute it, or who tie our resistance in parliamentary channels.

Forward to the refounding of the Fourth International with sections in every country!
For the Soviet United States of South and Central America!
But for advancing to Socialism we need the working class to seize power in the semi-colonies as well as the imperialist centres.

You are not alone.

Worker leaders in Columbia assassinated

We publish and support the call of the Comunereros group of Columbia which denounces the brutal assassination of oil worker leader Mauricio Redondo and his partner by agents of the Columbian regime, a lackey of US imperialism. We also call for the workers in the USA as well as central and South America, as well as workers around the globe to take up the fight against the ongoing killing of worker leaders that is the real policy of US imperialism in Columbia. Workers and rank and file soldiers in the USA, take action to shut down the US military bases in Columbia! – WIVL

PUBLIC DENOUNCE

The year has begun and the bourgeoisie lackey of imperialism- with the murderous Santos at the head- already starts attacking workers and their leaders mercilessly in defence of the transnationals.

On January 17th in 2012 at night, at 7:30 pm the comrade Mauricio A. Redondo and his wife were killed in Puerto Asís. This comrade affiliated to Organización Sindical Obrera USO (Worker Union Organization) participated in the in the Oil Forum on January 13 this year. He was a worker of the company PEI (SERVICIOS PETROLEROS-OIL SERVICES) and leader and community leader in la Vereda Teyete, corridor Puerto Vega, Puerto Asís, department of Putumayo; a leader and militant fighter was brutally killed.

We see very worried the situation in this corner of the country: Workers of Ecopetrol S.A are threatened in the area Nororienté Bateria Mansoya. The union leaders of the sub-chairmen of USO Orito, Manuel Coronado, José Socimo Erazo and Julio A. Vargas are threatened by SMS-text message in their mobile phones.

We call on the workers' centrals and the USO to convene a national strike and demonstration to reject this murderous actions used against workers and Colombian People, to go beyond the simple respectful rejections sent written and by the post office; Let's prepare in a coordinated way a general strike and mobilization like the workers of Campo Rubiales have done, as well as the students rejecting the Law 30 and oil workers from Nigeria, the 7000 workers of Palma in Puerto Wiches, among others.
No more worker and peasant's deaths!! For worker and peasant self-defense committees and their generalized armament to smash the para-militarism and the lackey bourgeoisie in the countryside and city!
We must fight like in Libya, Syria, and Egypt!



The slogan is: ONE IS TOUCHED, THEY TOUCH ALL OF US! (¡NOS TOCAN UNO NOS TOCAN A TODOS!)

The struggle against the commodification of Chapman's Peak and the fight for nationalization of all land

We support the fight against the desecration for money, where our natural heritage is concerned; in this instance Chapman's Peak's pristine environment. Where our parents and their parents before them have walked, it is our duty to fight with everything we have, to ensure that our children and their children's children, should not be denied the same enjoyments. Local fishermen have been using the road for many decades- now the proposed toll threatens their livelihood. What Robin Carlisle and his ilk (capitalist agents all) are about is once again working to sell off , to those with the money power, what is not theirs to sell.

Whether it be the DA (the present frontman is Robin Carlisle- this can change) or the ANC-SACP-Cosatu unholy alliance; we have had foisted upon us a never-ending stream of monstrous violations; new airports, stadiums, an over-supply of power stations, massive roadworks which mainly benefit big international banks. These billions upon billions will not be directed towards alleviating the plight of the most needy by our supposed 'guardians' as mentioned before.

The people of Hangberg, Imizama Yethu should see themselves as being in the front line of this fight together with all interested parties. The Civil Rights Action Group has taken an important step to organise an initial march at Chapman's Peak but it is important to mobilise more broadly and to intensify the struggle. The fight for this land which is our birthright, is not for any of the political puppets, to dispose of willy nilly as is their habit. We had Robin Carlisle unashamedly come to tell us to our faces, that we should rejoice in that whomever he represents, should come and 'improve' (desecrate) our natural environment.

All those who have become accustomed to living in mental and spiritual sloth should know that this is one of those rare opportunities to win back their self-respect- we allowed Oudekraal to slip away after massive agitation. At our peril though do we forget what happened at Hangberg when people make a stand for their rights. In townships all over the country, protests against non-delivery of services, for which people are paying taxes (even if it is just VAT, in the case of the unemployed) are met with violent reprisal from those to whom we have entrusted power. We are left to the mercy of drug pushers, etc, the list of violations against us is endless. A bloodbath of job losses internationally is driving the power-mad to more and more desperate measures to retain this power.

Here are some possible avenues for a campaign of action:

Committees should be formed across the country to call for:

Nationalization of all land; not only Table Mountain which politicians are busy turning into a cash cow for the international banks that have their links to the large construction companies. [Already we hear that Murray & Roberts are involved, through Concor, and that Sanlam and Metropolitan also have their fingers in the pie]. These construction companies and banks should be expropriated together with the large brickmaking and cement factories(so that the backlog in housing can be eliminated); also the new



airports- the giant companies which built the stadiums should be compelled hand back the money they received for this scam construction project. We should mobilise against all the parties in parliament (all are agents of big capital). To ensure that this does not become an exercise in futility we should remember what happened at Oudekraal [over 10 000 marched against the construction of the Hotel, but the City went ahead with it].

We challenge the Civic Rights Action Group and others, as well as those who organised the march to Rondebosch Common, that together we could muster far greater support if we were to march to the seat of the capitalist agents in the province in Wale Street. This would act as a platform for further mass action and occupation. While Table Mountain and surroundings have been declared a world heritage domain- it is really being turned into a cash cow for the banks; the toll plaza and office block on Chapman's Peak is merely the opening step for large-scale construction and plunder of the mountain; to focus narrowly on the Rondebosch Common does not at all serve the working class of this country, whose support countrywide has to be gained to lead the fight if things are going to change. This challenge includes the Cosatu members to pressure their leaders to bring the weight of the organised working class to bear, nationally on this project, which would be an example to workers throughout the capitalist world. Failure to respond in an appropriate fashion would represent another nail in the coffin of the Cosatu bureaucracy from which no amount of support from the capitalist media can protect them. Their role in the working class movement as the enemy within, would then become clearer.

Save Table Mountain from the capitalist plunderers! Nationalise all the land! Expropriate the banks and the construction industry, without compensation, under workers control; for the centralizing of all the banks into one bank on this basis- this is how to protect our resources and to abolish profiteering in housing.
1.2.2012



The Lebanese masses in support of the Syrian revolution



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