



The Spark



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Forward to a Special Congress of Cosatu to break with the NDP, the World bank's plan

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Protest at parliament against SA troops in CAR

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The adoption of the NDP by the ANC shows that it cannot lead the struggle for the even the most basic democratic demand of the masses

Numsa is correct to reject the NDP (National Development Plan) in its entirety but it does not go far enough to pose an alternative. In fact the Numsa leadership are stuck in the flawed argument of promoting the 'national democratic revolution' and the Freedom Charter as an alternative. Even the SACP now admits that the aim of the 'national democratic revolution' and that of the Freedom Charter, is not to end class exploitation. (SACP's reply to Numsa on the NDP: *'Let's not monumentalise the NDP'*). In other words, the SACP argues that we still need an indefinite period of capitalism, that conditions are not ripe enough for Socialism. The SACP supports elements of the NDP, accepting some of Numsa's criticisms, claiming that the focus should be on the New Growth Path (NGP) and on IPAP2 (Industrial Policy Action Plan 2) of the government. **But what is common to the position of the Cosatu leadership, the Numsa leadership, and the SACP is that the ANC government is the leader of the struggle for the attainment of the democratic aspirations of the masses. They are all wrong.**

Lenin wrote in his *State and Revolution* that upon the attainment of a democracy, the capitalist class and the middle class lose their revolutionism. Was Lenin right or did history prove him wrong?

The class nature of the ANC and its programme

The ANC comprises of capitalists such as Ramaphosa, Sexwale, Motsepe, Zuma, etc and aspirant capitalists, middle class and working class members. The interests of the capitalists in the ANC are opposite to that of the workers within the ANC. Fundamentally, on every major democratic demand, the interests of the capitalist class has always won out over the interests of the workers. At each and every stage, the middle class in the ANC has proven itself incapable of fighting even for its own interest up to the end; indeed, on all major questions, the middle class leadership of the ANC has sided with the monopoly capitalists that control the entire Southern African region:

- The middle class aims of the ANC as per the Freedom Charter, was to redistribute all the farming land, creating a class of small farmers and of black commercial farmers; the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme), the programme of the ANC for the 1994 elections, was only for a 30% such redistribution of land. Even this middle class aim was delayed and to date only 4% of the land has been redistributed in this way;
- Similarly the middle class aims of the Freedom Charter was for the breaking up of all the monopolies and for the creation of a black capitalist class (Mandela, 1956, June, *The Liberator*). The various sector Charters put black ownership at a limit of 25%- but all of the black capitalists created in this way are loan billionaires and millionaires (they had to borrow funds from the very monopoly capitalists they were going into partnership with); thus while the front may be a Motsepe, Ramaphosa or a Sexwale, behind the scenes, even the black ownership is tied hand and foot to the old monopoly capitalists. The ANC loan capitalists are sharing the crumbs from the master's table. [The Freedom Charter should really say: 'The people shall share crumbs'].



- The cornerstone of the Constitution is the property clause, which protects the wealth of Anglo American and other monopolies, even though much of their wealth has been derived from theft of land and resources from the masses;
- Instead of breaking down ghettos and building integrated areas, housing, for the past 19 years has been built in segregated apartheid ghettos;
- The ANC may have built 3 million tiny dwellings over the past 19 years but this has barely kept pace with population growth; there are more squatter camps and homeless people today than in 1994; every year there is a need for at least 200 000 new houses but the govt does not even build this number; in the past financial year almost R1 bn was unspent by the 'Human settlement' ministry; in other words, the number of homeless people will always grow every year- slums are a permanent feature of the ANC and DA governments;
- We condemn the state's use of army and police resources for a private wedding of Zuma's fellow labour broker, Gupta. The capitalist media make a big fuss over Guptagate but they gloss over the presence of SANDF troops in the DRC, protecting Anglo American mining facilities- over the past period more than 6 million people have died in the wars in the DRC, which have been backed by imperialism to clear the land of the people to open up exploitation of the minerals for them. Much of the material for cellphones, laptops, Playstations, come through the plunder of the DRC which is also being actively protected by the SANDF at a cost of billions. The SANDF protect the imperialist mining operations from the masses of the DRC. The ANC government facilitates the imperialist plunder of Africa, not its liberation, a fact which we condemn even more.
- During the Mandela presidency the ANC government signed a trade agreement with Israel, greatly expanding trade between SA and Israel, which included sales of weapons, helicopter and aircraft parts to Israel; during the Mbeki Presidency, a further agreement was made by SA to never nationalise any Israeli company operating in SA. Most diamonds from SA, Namibia and Botswana are exported by the robber Anglo American, to Israel. Far from supporting the Palestinians, the ANC government has consistently supported US imperialism to trample on their struggle.
- There are not enough teachers; many schools do not have libraries nor even basic facilities; thousands of public sector posts are left unfilled and more and more public sector work is privatised, some thousands of fulltime posts such as community care givers are filled with casuals from the Expanded Public Works programme, who have not received an increase of their R1500 stipend for years now; millions are unemployed; yet Anglo American and other mining giants have been stealing through transfer pricing for the past 40 years at least; this deliberate mislabelling (such as labelling Platinum, whose current price is \$1400, as Palladium, whose current price is \$400, and then smuggling out \$1000 per ounce) reached its peak in 2007, when 20% of GDP was smuggled out of the country by Anglo American and others- that is, R600bn was stolen in 2007 alone, over and above the usual hundreds of billions that these companies take out of the country. The ANC government turned a blind eye to the theft, claiming that it is necessary for e-tolling, tightening of belts, and low wage increases. At the same time, the ANC government has reduced tax on company profits from the 48% it was in the days of apartheid, to 28% today.



- The ANC has proven incapable of ending slave conditions on the farms; in fact, ANC leaders like Valli Moosa and Sexwale have become commercial farm owners, opposing even the modest demands of farmworkers for a lowly R150 per day.
- All the economic plans of the ANC, from the RDP, to Gear, to Asgisa, to the New Growth path, to the IPAP 1 and 2 to the NDP, are based on the principle that the wealth of the country belongs to the capitalist monopolies and only a small fraction of it can be used for the needs of the masses and its democratic aspirations;
- Africa after independence from colonialism, is testimony how the indigenous middle class sold out the democratic aspirations of the masses, giving all the wealth to imperialism in return for a few pieces of silver. Where representatives of the indigenous middle class wanted too much, either for themselves or a bit too much for the masses, imperialism either had them assassinated or overthrown through a coup.

Once more on the Freedom Charter- just who are ‘the people’?

The Freedom Charter has this to say about who ‘the people’ are:

‘ All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions’

The right to trade does not apply to the worker but to the middle class and the capitalist; similarly, the right to manufacture applies to the upper middle class and the capitalist- what worker has enough funds to open a factory to begin to manufacture? So far as trades, crafts and professions, these apply to the middle class- very few workers enter trade or crafts or professions- the vast majority are stuck in wage slavery or unemployment.

The Freedom Charter is a variant of what the DA wants, namely an ‘equal opportunity’ society, while the wealth remains under the control of the monopolies. The mineral wealth is already under ‘ownership’ of the ANC govt, who dish out licences to the monopolies left right and centre- this is because the true rulers are the monopolies and the ANC govt merely their managers.

Thus from the beginning, the SACP-drafted Freedom Charter of the ANC has never been a programme for the liberation of the working class. The Freedom Charter was and is the programme of the radical black middle class, wanting to share in the spoils of the exploitation of the masses.

The nature of the middle class

The middle class is incapable of taking an independent stand; they sway in the wind; the lower ranks going to support the working class in times of revolution while the upper ranks tend to go over to the side of the capitalist class. These priests, doctors, lawyers, teachers, tribal chiefs, managers, traders, academics, etc, form the middle class, which the ANC’s freedom Charter regards as ‘the people’.



The International context

The world capitalist economy has been stagnating for a long time. World employment is falling; there are very few new industries developing- overall, the trend is downward. Sectors that formerly were in the public sector, that subsidised low wages in the private sector, are now increasingly being privatised. The ANC government has been following this international trend. In addition to this, Africa has long been regarded by imperialism as a source of plunder of the raw materials. This is why the education system across Africa has been deliberately collapsed and kept to a minimum- just along the lines of what a raw material export economy requires. Over the past 12 or so years, capitalism raised food, housing and commodity prices without any real production underpinning it. This has meant that more and more the wages and conditions of workers were reduced- exploitation was increased. Where trade unions exist, their leadership have been bought off to control the masses for imperialism; where the trade union movement is weak or non-existent, capitalism maintained control by dictatorial regimes.

The ANC government has been part of the international onslaught by the capitalists, actively implementing its attacks against the working class.

But the increase in exploitation was not unchallenged: such has been the resistance by the masses, that every capitalist regime on a world scale has come under threat from being toppled through a revolution. We have seen revolts in Kyrgyzstan, Bolivia, Greece, Spain, Portugal, China, India, Malawi, Namibia, Mozambique, Madagascar, and many other places.

While the masses of the world are disunited, imperialism has long begun to draw the lessons of the revolt of the masses and how to counter it on a world scale. One of the conferences held by the World Bank in June 2012 specifically studied the revolts of the masses in North Africa, the Middle East, Chile and the Occupy Wall street movements.

Imperialism's new plan to counter the revolutionary uprising of the world masses- *'Shared Prosperity- a new goal for a changing world'*

Based on discussions of how to counter the revolutions around the world, the World Bank has come up with a 'new plan', called 'Shared prosperity- a new goal for a changing world'.

The basic elements of the plan are as follows:

- A so-called end to extreme poverty by 2030 by cutting wages overall and increasing the wages/income of the bottom 40%;
- The funds for upliftment should not come from redistribution of the existing wealth but by growing the economy (in other words, the monopoly control by the rich capitalists should be kept intact)
- Even if income inequality is initially increased, over time it will reduce, as the economy grows [ie make the masses poorer, eventually they will get rich!]
- The model is based on creating 'income opportunities' for the masses [even if these are 'opportunities' for greater slavery and exploitation]



- There should be a social contract, ie in return for the 'opportunity' to work, [at greater starvation levels], a 'safety net' for the poor, the workers should not ask for higher wages nor better conditions, meanwhile profits for the capitalists are guaranteed at all times]
- The safety net comprises of an increased focus on early childhood development, health, nutrition, education and basic infrastructure, dismantling barriers to the participation of women within economic, social and political life
- This plan will be varied from country to country to suit its needs

The World Bank's plan for South Africa is the NDP

The NDP focuses on the same essential content of the World Bank's 'Shared Prosperity' plan, namely many new measures will be developed to enrich the monopoly capitalists while current gains of the working class will be undermined with the excuse of improving the lives of the bottom 40% of the population:

- The existing wealth will remain in the hands of the monopolies while 'redistribution' will be based on growing the economy; Even then, the NDP estimates that profits of the capitalists will double by 2030 if a 5% annual growth rate is achieved while the bottom 40% who currently share 6% of the total income, will then achieve 10% of the total income. Yes, it is 'shared prosperity', just the working class gets next to nothing while the capitalists gets most of the benefit. At this pace of 'sharing' it will take 144 years for the bottom 40% of the population to actually get 40% of the total income. Workers needs are postponed by 100's of years while the capitalists profits double instantly; By 2030 the NDP and the World Bank aims that the lowest 40% of workers earn R419 per month , or just less than R20 per day for a 5 day week. Workers are supposed to be eternally grateful to the government for this starvation wage.
- Overall wages will be reduced by the bosses getting a subsidy for employing youth and by entry level wages being reduced; a social contract means that workers will be asked to reduce their wage demands and accept lower wage increases; in addition bosses will have incentives to fire more workers and hire younger unemployed workers. The NDP proposes making it easier to fire workers- procedural unfairness will no longer be good enough reason for reinstatement. So if a boss suspects a worker has done something wrong, they can just be chased away from the job and the boss can line up a list of witnesses to lie at the CCMA.
- Pensions will be privatized and stolen by the banks: Currently, if you reach age 60 you will automatically qualify for a state pension, irrespective if you have worked or not; what the NDP proposes is that a pension deduction be made compulsory for all workers; but here is the catch, if you leave your job or get retrenched, you will not be able to touch that money until you get to 60; most workers die before 60, so what this means for more than half the workforce is that you have an extra 10% tax, having to survive on less and still miss out on pension- who benefits? The banks who are all linked to the imperialist banks. These banks will have the best use of your savings and hand over the small change if you get to retirement age; further, the money that the state usually spends on pensions will now be diverted to the same international banks who also control Anglo American and other monopolies who benefit from the fake coal and nuclear build scam;



- Privatization of public assets is promoted through a number of scams: public –private partnerships, concessions, etc- the bottom line is that capitalists will now profiteer from public services;
- Work which should have been carried out by full-time public sector workers are now handed over to the so-called Expanded Public Works schemes- the NDP proposes that up to 2 million public sector jobs be done by casuals of the Public Works schemes, at low wages and without benefits;
- The aim of the Health Insurance is revealed as encouraging more use of private health care- thus more of public health funds will flow directly into the pockets of the capitalists who own the private health companies
- The aim of quality health care is rather cynical as the cornerstone of the infrastructure build programme is the construction of high polluting coal power stations (which will damage the health of hundreds of thousands of people who stay in the region around these power stations, and of the workers in this sector)
- The supposed aim of ‘industrialization’ from previous documents is shown to be a myth as the NDP proposes that 11 000 MW of existing power stations be closed down;
- The dubious proposal of 9600 MW of nuclear power is promoted in the NDP- nuclear projects are notorious for massive escalation of cost- the next 10 generations will have to pay for this scam as the prices go up and out of control. At the same time the NDP does not even propose housing or electricity for all. So these expensive power station projects are another get-rich quick scheme by the imperialists (see our articles on the Eskom scam); just a new coal power station that generates 4800 MW costs more than double the value of all the existing power stations; nuclear power costs much more;
- The NDP claims that all informal settlements will be ‘upgraded’ by 2030. This does not mean that everyone will have houses by then, only that 90% of SA will have electricity connections and access to a toilet.
- The NDP also adopts the World Bank’s new buzzword, early Childhood development- the capitalists have been exposed that the current education system ignores the critical role of the first 5 years of a child’s life in its overall development- the proposal for 2 years of pre-school education is totally inadequate because the widespread unemployment and low wages are not addressed at the same time; this half-measure is being used to persuade workers to accept all the attacks that the NDP launches against us;
- Further, the NDP proposes that electricity generation and distribution be handed over to an independent entity- this is nothing but the privatization of electricity and what we have been saying all along, that the price of electricity is being artificially increased to create another profit-making industry for the capitalists; the same massive increases in prices and privatization of water is also another gem from the NDP
- What the NDP covers up on is that many with electricity connections will have them disconnected because they cannot afford the high cost thereof; the same goes for the many water disconnections that will be occurring due to the high cost of privatized water.
- The NDP promises that when commodity prices fall, eg gold, then the government would manipulate the currency by devaluing it; already local food and oil prices are linked to the dollar- to reduce the value of the Rand means that food and transport prices will go up. This means that the government will in effect reduce the



wages and salaries of the entire masses while Anglo American and others would have to convert less dollars to pay for local expenses; in this way the ANC govt will reduce everyone's wages to keep the profits of Anglo American and other monopoly capitalists high. The NDP also proposes that mining royalties should be kept low to protect the monopolies;

- The NDP claims to be based on the demilitarisation of the police, but it was released on the 12th August 2012, when Anglo American, Lonmin, the ANC leaders were plotting to send a special militarised armed police unit to Marikana. The massacre occurred on the 16th August, only 4 days after the public launch of the NDP, showing the lie that the plan is based on. The centre-piece of the NDP is that capitalists profits must be protected at all costs- this is the instruction from the World Bank and the imperialist masters.
- The NDP claims the economy cannot grow because there is not adequate infrastructure to expand mining; so here they give the game away- the economy will still be based on mining and export of raw materials; seeing that none of the existing mining monopolies will be touched, the R3 trillion infrastructure programme on new ports, rail, road, pipelines and electricity power stations are mainly to serve them [just the electricity build programme itself will cost R2.4 trillion]. That the R3trillion infrastructure build programme is mainly for the capitalists is confirmed by the NDP's plans for the creation of 11 million jobs up to 2030- according to the NDP most of these jobs will come from low income jobs, survivalist farming and public employment schemes. The type of jobs that will be created are in housing construction, retail (spaza shops); hairdressing, cleaning and office cleaning and repair and small scale farming. Now, was it necessary to build R2.4 trillion power stations to power hairdryers and vacuum cleaners? The old apartheid regime regarded us as just being fit for being cleaners and security guards. The ANC grand plan is to expand this to hairdressing- just imagine, every second house will have a hairdresser. You may be dying of hunger but at least your hair will be permed; then again maybe not, as you would not have the money to pay for the little electricity the hairdryer would use. One of the academic aims of the NDP is to produce more doctoral graduates; just imagine, hundreds of graduates walking the streets with doctorates in 'permology' (hairdressing).
- The NDP proposes harsher punishment of workers and unions who break essential and minimum service agreements;
- Public sector Central bargaining will be broken up into smaller councils; a head of public sector will be appointed who has the power to dismiss workers- this brings a capitalist thinking into the public sector; the NDP proposes that the power of unions over school appointments should be broken; the principal will have greater powers of dictatorship at school level;
- The NDP proposes making it easier for bosses to dismiss workers for misconduct and poor performance; if you are on probation for 6 months, you will not have any rights and will be subject to instant dismissal without any right to challenge it; small business will also be able to fire workers more easily; the NDP promotes and entrenches labour brokers;
- Funds for investment for infrastructure will be taken from public sector wages and employment levels (there will be more unfilled vacancies so Anglo can build more power stations for the hairdryers).
- The property rights of the existing mining monopolies and the large scale commercial farmers are guaranteed, so says the NDP- how will it be possible to produce food for the needs of the masses when the best agricultural land is in the hands of the capitalists? The food of the masses will be completely in the hands of the capitalists who will continue with their high prices and thus with enforced starvation of the masses.



Why the New Growth Path (NGP) is no alternative for the masses

- This plan is also based on leaving the mining and other monopolies intact and is centred on the scam infrastructure build programme, largely based on coal power and nuclear power. The NGP wants to double electricity capacity by 2020. We have already pointed out that only the monopolies benefit from this. Anglo American already has a 40 year contract for supplying coal. If solar power were to be used, Anglo would get nothing as sunlight is free. What little industrialization is proposed is directly held hostage by the dominance of capitalist monopolies in every sector. While it calls for a state mining company, this would be based on new areas that are not under monopoly control, a very limited area. Thus the mineral wealth would still be under the control of imperialist companies, with the scraps left over from which to form a state mining company.
- This model is also based on cheap labour as it calls for those who earn between R3000 and R20 000 a month to accept inflation related 'increases' (CPI +1-2%). Thus bosses can get super profits while workers are expected to accept slave wages. Considering that there is huge income inequality, wage 'moderation' for the lower paid workers would perpetuate and increase the income gap between rich and poor. To add insult to injury, the unions would be signing a 'productivity accord', namely to agree that workers work harder for lower wages, another recipe for starvation wages and more retrenchments.
- The NGP also proposes to put a limit in pension withdrawals. So workers who lose their jobs would not have access to their provident fund monies; they would have to wait until the age of 60, and even then they would only be able to get a monthly amount. Considering most workers die before the age of 60, the provident fund monies will be used by the banks for years, while the worker dies of hunger. If the worker survives to age 60, she/he would only receive the leftovers from their savings.
- With the wealth remaining in the hands of the monopolies, the plan for regional energy use and transport infrastructure building, is just another way of saying that public funds will be used to make it easier for the monopolies to exploit workers across Southern Africa.
- The claim to support rural development is hollow as the plan wants to create a further 260 000 small farmers. With the best land and resources in the hands of the large commercial farmers, this plan is bound to fail as the new small farmers would have to make do with poor quality land. This plan is trying to roll back the wheels of history by recreating a peasantry. The trend up to now is that most of these farms will fail and the few who survive may develop into capitalists. Many of the small farms that fail may once again be bought up by the existing farming monopolies.
- This plan also promotes devaluing the Rand. Seeing that most of the exports will remain in the hands of the mining monopolies like Anglo American. This is once again a plan to reduce local wages while increasing the profits of the imperialists who operate here.
- While the New Growth Path has some features which are more progressive than the NDP, it is certainly not a path out of suffering and capitalist slavery; it also leaves the commanding heights of the economy under the control of the imperialist companies.

Why IPAP 2 is no solution either

- The **Industrial Policy Action Plan** 1 and 2 are no way to resolve the poverty and slave conditions in SA and the region, either. Its key projects are Locomotives, wagons and coaches for Transnet and Prasa; coal power, nuclear power; buses for Metros; key pharmaceuticals local manufacture.
- Thus the cornerstone of the IPAP is the scam electricity build programme of coal and nuclear power that benefits imperialism; The wealth controlled by the monopolies are left untouched and the key programmes are completely dependent on the goodwill of imperialism. The entire plan of renewable energy depends on 'donor



countries', that is, either imperialist countries directly or indirectly; the plan for food processing relies on the goodwill of the 15 biggest capitalist companies in this sector. The plan promotes IDZ's (Industrial Development Zones)- these are areas where capital gets tax cuts and are exempt from either all or part of the labour laws- in other words, these are slave labour camps parading as job creation. The plan also promotes the use of shale gas, which involves a mining process that pollutes and destroys the underground water. The forests on communal land (the ex-Bantustans) are being targeted for creating timber business. Thus land which is exhausted and over-used is to be used for this industry, which leaves the bulk of the existing paper and pulp monopolies intact.

- This plan holds up the Competition Commission as a major advance, however, wherever big capital has been fined for collusion and hiking prices, not a single case has resulted in a reduction of prices. The monopolies still operate, just a bit more carefully than before in their exploitation of the masses. Where have the fines collected disappeared to? What the state takes away from the monopolies with the one hand, is given back by the other, through the scam infrastructure programme and other schemes.
- The plan claims to promote 'South African' manufacturers to become suppliers in the rest of Africa- the major 'local' companies are controlled by the imperialist banks, so this is another way of using the legitimacy of the SA struggle to open the path for expanded imperialist exploitation of Africa.
- With the plan for manufacture of gold jewellery seriously challenge Anglo American's exports of gold and diamonds to Israel? We doubt it. Anglo only allows a tiny fraction of the diamonds to be cut and polished locally. This plan has no measures in place to stop all exports to Israel and for beneficiation locally. Some of the projects are hardly what we can call high tech: some are for beads, charcoal, retreads, call centres, supply of food and wine to pubs, shebeens and fast food outlets. Will the production of maize, soya and flavourants by the new small producers be based on GM (genetically modified) processes? In this case they will be completely dependent on Monsanto and other capitalist monopolies; even if it is not based on GM food, these sectors are dominated by monopolies that control the supply chain from farm to processor to distributor.
- For the moment, only a 100MW wind farm is in the process of being set up. This is 0.5% of the 20 000 MW that is coal and nuclear based. 25% energy based on renewables by 2020 is the aim of the IPAP. It seems the ANC has already abandoned even this modest aim.
- While the IPAP 1 and 2 has some progressive features, it is totally hostage to the dictates of the imperialist monopolies.
- The adoption by the ANC conference of the NDP shows that even where minor steps forward are being proposed, the middle class leadership is so tied to big capital, that even these steps are watered down and some abandoned.

Conclusions on the NDP , New Growth Path and IPAP2

These programmes are all efforts by imperialism to save capitalist rule in SA and the region; at the same time they reflect the deepening crisis of imperialism-capitalism and thus launch further attacks on the masses. The NDP is the most right wing of the 3 imperialist plans.

The ANC December 2012 conference voted to adopt the NDP in the main. This shows that where there is a 'multiclass' organization, the capitalist interests always win out. In fact a 'multiclass' organization cannot really exist- it has to be either for the working class or the capitalist class. The entire history of the ANC is testimony that it is a capitalist organization- it is just that its capitalist nature has become more exposed in the past 20 years. The adoption of the NDP by the ANC shows that is a reactionary organization.



The second stage of the transition? Or another excuse to divert revolution?

At the ANC policy Conference in 2012 they adopted a new slogan, namely that we are now in the 'second stage of the transition' (of the national democratic revolution). This stage was supposed to open up more radical democratic transformation. The result of this second stage of the transition is the adoption of the right wing NDP, the most serious attack on the masses since 1994, spearheaded by the ANC leadership.

The adoption of this slogan for a second stage of the transition was to hide that the ANC was playing a leading role in holding back the democratic aspirations of the masses and that the whole concept of a '**national democratic revolution**' is a fake. The ANC, a section of the national middle class is holding back the struggle for democratic aspirations, playing a counter-revolutionary role. The international monopoly capitalists that propped up and benefitted from the apartheid regime are the same ones who prop up the ANC and who continue to benefit from the masses being kept in enforced starvation and slavery.

What is next for the masses? A third stage of the transition headed by the same counter-revolutionary ANC? No.

Who leads the struggle for democratic demands and how can we achieve these?

The motor of any revolution against the capitalist system is the working class- this is the lesson of class struggles internationally. The workers struggles of 1973 laid the basis for the rebirth of the trade union movement and the working class movement in general; The revolt of 1985 to 1993 created the basis for winning a democratic parliament, albeit one limited by the property clause. Every single democratic gain was because the working class rose up against the system, not because of the ANC. In fact the role of the ANC has always been to water down the democratic demands of the masses while securing the interests of the international capitalists.

The main role in holding back the fight of the masses for their demands has been the **SACP** who raised the Stalinist notion of a 'national democratic revolution'- ie put the local middle class in the lead of the struggle for democratic demands in the colonies and semi-colonies. That many activists supported the ANC and still support it is due in large part to the deliberate confusion that the SACP sows by clouding the class lines through a Freedom Charter and its notion of the 'national democratic revolution', to hide the class role of the ANC.

Trotsky raised the question that the only class that is capable of fighting for democratic demands up to the end, is the working class, and that what follows from this is that the working class needs to take power against the capitalist regime, dispersing it and replacing it with a workers' government based on directly elected councils of workers delegates.

What each and every country needs is a revolutionary working class party as part of an international- we say this should be the refounded Fourth International.



To make a start on this, the various Socialist groups and activists need to agree on a common programme that will set the basis for such a revolutionary party and International. At the same time, our intervention in the day to day class struggles should continue.

Down with the NDP!

Forward to a Special Congress of Cosatu to break with the reactionary ANC and its NDP!

Forward to a revolutionary working class programme with Democratic, Transitional and Socialist demands, a programme around which a revolutionary working class party and International can be formed.

Forward to working class power, the only way that the democratic demands can be taken to completion and thus opening, at the same time the path to Socialism on a world scale. 22.5.2013

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Open letter to the members of AMCU, NUM and NUMSA on the attacks by Anglo American at Amplats and the killings of mineworkers and their leaders

The bosses want to divide the workers

We should remember that Anglo American is an international company that has learnt all the dirty tricks of how to control and smash workers struggles around the world. One of their tricks is 'divide and rule'. We should not be surprised if some capitalist paid somebody to kill Amcu regional organiser Mawethu Khululekile and then go and kill some NUM members. Whoever is behind the killing is hoping that Amcu members will now attack Num members and that Num members will attack Amcu members. The only ones who will benefit out of this will be the bosses of Anglo American.

Num leaders are saying that they will prepare to defend themselves from attacks from Amcu while the Amcu leaders call on workers to go on strike to demand the closure of Num offices. **Both leaderships are wrong as this will only promote worker to attack worker and the bosses will be laughing at the foolishness of the workers. The bosses will start to retrench even more workers across the industry and even more broadly in other sectors.**

What we need is to rebuild and strengthen the independent worker committees that unite all mineworkers, irrespective of union affiliation. The central demand should be to expropriate Anglo American under workers control, without compensation to the bosses.

Why are the Anglo American bosses retrenching workers now?

When the price of Platinum was \$400 the bosses were still making profits; the price is now over \$1400, so it is clear that the bosses are still making huge profits; further the Rand devalued by about R1 since last year- this means from each unit sold, the bosses are getting R400 extra just by the Rand value to the dollar going from R8 to R9. Thus for every million ounces, just from the devaluing of the rand, Anglo American is making R400 million more. Clearly the company is not losing money. ***So why are they retrenching 6000 workers and why is the government supporting the mass dismissal? The bosses realize that the mineworkers strike last year was part of a revolt against the capitalist system, the same type of revolt that is shaking the bosses all over the world. We can see in other sectors, the community struggles against lack of decent housing and services, the farm worker struggles, the truck drivers and now the bus drivers are all standing up in revolt. The Anglo American bosses want to dismiss the 6000 workers to intimidate all mineworkers and indeed the whole working class, they want to break the spirit of resistance. This threat of dismissal of the 6000 workers is a political attack on the entire working class. If the capitalists can get this right, they will start mass dismissing workers at the other mines and even in other sectors.***

The state supports the crackdown on the workers

The ANC govt has colluded with the Anglo American bosses to smash the workers and to prevent a revolution. Firstly, they support that 5000 workers be retrenched- they sat in secret meetings with the bosses where the union delegates were excluded. In 2007 and for forty years before that Anglo American stole trillions from the country through mislabelling and direct theft, without even paying tax on it; here is the funds for jobs for all, decent houses for all and for meeting all the needs of the whole of the region; yet the ANC govt does not act against Anglo American, the govt acts to support mass dismissal of workers! Secondly, the ANC govt is implementing the plan of the World Bank, ie the representatives of the super-rich, the imperialists, to stop revolution around the globe. This plan in South Africa is called the NDP, the National Development Plan. Part of this plan is to manipulate the currency so that it devalues when the price of metals fall. This is what happened over the past few months; the bosses received more Rands for their exports, but still the ANC govt supports the mass dismissal of workers. This shows the ANC govt will do anything to stop the workers revolution in SA. The judgement in the Andries Tatane case, where the police who murdered him were all freed, is a preparation



for the police who murdered the strikers at Marikana to be freed. What this means is that a special militarised police unit has been set up to shoot down any mass worker protest in future. The Anglo American imperialists realize that the ANC govt is losing its ability to control the masses so they also need to use brute force to put down rebellion or to intimidate the masses to prevent a revolution. The police and other armed wings of the state are being prepared to act without any fear of being called to order.

The way forward

The first demand should be that all those responsible for the murder of the Amcu organiser and Num members on Sat 11th May 2013 should be arrested. **Stop the killing!** We know we cannot depend on the state to do anything to catch these killers, so we need to self organise:

1. Set up joint workers committees on all mines with self-defence committees as part of these. (these should include all the unions that operate on the mines, such as Amcu, Num, Solidarity, Uasa, Numsa, etc, and reps from those who are not unionised)
2. There should be a meeting of delegates from all mines and mining communities to discuss a joint plan of action to stop the mass retrenchments and for the reinstatement of all workers dismissed in the last wave of strikes since August last year- but we need a broader resistance;
3. We need a workers summit where delegates from all unions, Cosatu, Nactu, Consawu, independent, delegates from working class communities and grassroots social movements, socialist organizations, all gather around a central demand for the expropriation of Anglo American, without compensation, under workers control; other demands of the working class should be gathered and finalised at this workers summit, such as the demand for the expropriation of the commercial farms, for all the dismissed farm worker leaders to be reinstated, etc; at the same time, the demand should be raised for a **workers' government** based on grassroots committees. [the Cosatu leaders say that they are calling for nationalization- this is a hoax as they want the mines to be nationalised under the very ANC govt that is attacking the working class].
4. This means that mine worker delegates should be sent to the heroic comrades at Lonmin to persuade them to retreat for the moment, until a broader joint action can be planned and implemented.

Issued by **Workers International Vanguard Party** 15th May 2013 email workersinternational@gmail.com ph 0822020617 website www.workersinternational.org.za





Memorandum over SA troops in Central African Republic

5.4.2013

To the Presidency
Republic of South Africa

Re: **Memorandum over SA troops in CAR**

At Marikana on the 16th August 2012 and in the subsequent mineworkers strikes, we saw the police force being used as a free protection service for Anglo American, BEE and other mining capitalists. Now, in the Central African Republic, you have sent the SA army to act in Central African Republic, CAR, as a free protection service for the assets of North American and BEE capitalists. Further, you were acting as a protection service for coup leader, Bozize, who came to power in the 2003 coup.

What makes matters worse is that the SA Housing budget was underspent by about R1 bn, which is approximately the same amount you had allocated to the CAR venture. Thus you choose to keep the masses homeless and in shacks while using housing money for protecting the rich. It is disconcerting that Thuli Zuma (related to AU head and yourselves; who is also linked to Sasol) and Ramaphosa (through Shanduka) have assets in CAR.

The CAR is one of the poorest countries in the world not because it does not have resources (it is mineral rich). The CAR is poor because of the high rate of plunder by imperialism. This plunder and suppression of the poor masses in CAR, is what the SA troops have been deployed to sustain. We condemn and oppose this.

It is on record that while the SA troops were under attack, the nearby French troops sat with folded arms. Thus the French imperialists gave tacit support to the coup.

The US embassy withdrew from Bangui in December 2012 when the Seleca rebels had advanced to within a few km from the capital, how can you say that you never expected an attack? In the light of this:

We demand to know why there was a deliberate neglect of the troops:

- Why did they not have a regular kitchen, why did they have to live off rat packs?
- Why, when our troops in CAR requested more ammunition and supplies in the weeks before the attack, was this refused?
- Why, when an attack was expected, was the unit split up into groups of 5 and sent out to protect US and BEE commercial interests?

We believe the CAR deployment sets a dangerous precedent that SA troops will again be used to defend the plunderers of Africa, imperialism and BEE/Chinese front companies.

We are concerned that the soldier unions have been under attack and victimised by the govt. This is shown through the de-registration of Sasfu and the failure to reinstate the 1000 soldiers suspended since 2009, whose only crime was to attempt to march, unarmed to the Union buildings to raise their concerns over the commanders of the military. The flawed attempt to smash the unions is also seen in the setting up of the Military Tribunal, cynically headed by the same general Matanzima who had suspended the 1000 soldiers.

The deployment of troops to CAR and the attempt to crush the soldier unions appear to be coming from the US imperialist advisors that are guiding policy of the govt. This has to end.

Our demands are the following:

- We want houses for all, not any SA troop deployment on the continent to prop up coup and undemocratic leaders nor to protect capitalist interests.



- We want full disclosure of all the assets that the SA troops were sent to guard- we think such deployments are illegal in terms of the Constitution and thus soldiers would have every right to refuse such deployment in terms of clause 199.6 of the Constitution which says: '*No member of any security service may obey a manifestly illegal order*'.
- We want full disclosure of the memorandum and addenda of the agreement between the Bozize regime and the SA govt
- We want the names of the SA soldiers missing in CAR to be released
- SA and French troops out of CAR now!
- for mineworker and poor peasant committees in the CAR to form the basis of a workers' government
- For a Constituent Assembly of 1 delegate per 500 people, with no participation of any coup linked leader or backer, past and present, based on nationalisation of the land and the minerals without compensation to the capitalists, under workers control
- for the expropriation of all imperialist and capitalist assets in the CAR, without compensation to the capitalists, and to be placed under workers' control
- for the immediate reinstatement of the 1000 soldiers
- Defend the soldier unions
- for the withdrawal of SA troops from all other countries
- for the expulsion of US and French troops from Africa
- No confidence in the heads of the military and the Commander in Chief of the Defence force. Justice for the fallen troops sacrificed by the SA govt for imperialism.
- For a federation of Socialist workers' states of Africa based on workers and poor peasant committees

sincerely

Workers International Vanguard Party, 1st Floor, Community House 41 Salt River rd
Salt River 7925 Ph 021 4476777, Ph 0822020617, Email: workersinternational@gmail.com
Website: www.workersinternational.org.za And Supporting organizations

Anti-War Coalition
Newfields Village AEC
Gugulethu AEC
Zillerraine Heights Residents committee

In addition:

Constitutional democracy or military dictatorship?

There are few Constitutional gains but the few that there are should be defended tooth and nail. The state's handling of the entire CAR matter shows more of a tendency of military dictatorship of the days of apartheid rather than that of a Constitutional democracy:

1. The President is supposed to brief the Defence Portfolio Committee on the CAR matter, yet a Cabinet Minister is assigned;



2. There is supposed to be civilian oversight of the military, yet the Secretary of Defence has been absent while Generals are making statements on military ventures, much like in the apartheid days;
3. The courts have ordered that the 1000 soldiers who were suspended in 2009, return to work, yet the heads of the military are blocking this, up until today. The entire handling of the CAR venture to protect US assets, shows that the soldiers were vindicated in their criticisms of the heads of the army;
4. The focus on military protection of US assets raises the question: who is really in control of the army? Parliament or the US military?



BRICS: A NEW FRONT FOR IMPERIALIST POWERS TO CONTINUE PLUNDERING THE WORLD

The many wars and the brutal exploitation by imperialism around the world, for the past few decades have resulted in increasing hatred by the masses towards them. Even though there have been decades of independence from colonial rule, the masses have seen and lived through that imperialism still controls their lives. In Africa and South America, US, UK and French imperialism still launch coups. US, UK, French German and Japanese imperialism worked together in the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan. Ever increasing world mass resistance to imperialist control has made the monopoly capitalists seek others ways of increasing their dominance. This has led to the formation of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa).

Imperialism sets up branches in the BRICS countries, sometimes under local names, and through this, controls them, using local capitalist figureheads at times. Through a Chinese or Indian front company, for example, imperialism is able to enter new or even existing markets, undercutting the wage and social gains that the working class have won over many years. For example in a country a product from Phillips China may enter a country where there is an established Phillips production, leading to local retrenchment. The main beneficiary from a higher rate of profit is still Phillips' bosses.

BRICS governments are a cheap labour club, fronting for imperialism, buying monopoly capital more time to increase their rate of profit around the world.



The BRICS governments play a more sinister political role as they pose through their rhetoric as 'anti-imperialist', while they actually assist imperialism with their dirty work. The revolutionary uprising in Syria is a case in point: Assad is imperialism's man in Syria, having hosted torture chambers for the CIA on home soil. Imperialism wants the mass uprising against the regime to be drowned in blood- if US and French imperialism were seen to be directly supporting Assad, there would have been a world wide revolt against imperialism, at a much higher level than the anti-war protests around the 2003 Iraqi invasion. The Chinese and Russian regimes come along, posing as anti-imperialist and openly fund and arm Assad to drown the uprising in blood. US, UK, German and French imperialism hands are clean as they are not seen as butchering an unarmed mass. But the Chinese regime is backed by US imperialism while the Russian regime are backed by the French and German imperialists. As with any uprising against imperialist puppets, imperialism also tries to infiltrate the resistance in order to neutralize it, hijack it and turn it into a capitalist path. So, imperialism got some of Assad's generals to 'defect' and to create the FSA (Free Syrian Army). From time to time, imperialism would let a few pea shooters get into the hands the militants who fight the regime- it has to do that otherwise how would the FSA begin to gain credibility. Imperialism wants to get the resistance under its control. But like the TNC in Libya, the FSA would be co-operating with Assad, even giving away the positions of those who are fighting the regime or committing atrocities against the masses, trying to sidetrack the revolutionary fight against the Syrian regime into a dead-end of 'ethnic/religious' clashes.

Thus from the side of the Assad regime and from within the resistance, imperialism has forces to attack the masses. The BRICS regimes are crucial to help drown the revolutionary Syrian masses in blood- they use their 'anti-imperialist' rhetoric as a cover to prop up Assad as if he was some sort of anti-imperialist hero. The main culprit in propping up the image of BRICS as 'independent' and 'anti-imperialist' is most of the world's left forces- were it not for this deliberate misinformation the Assad regime would long ago have fallen and the rest of the region's puppet regimes would have been threatened if not already about to fall.

The way forward is to promote workers organization in the BRICS countries and in the rest of the neo-colonial world that breaks links with their regimes and capital, centred on a programme to expropriate all imperialist assets and their front companies, without compensation to the capitalists, placing these under workers control. A serious ongoing exposure of the imperialist puppet nature of the BRICS regimes is required. The working class all over the world should rise in protest against the role of imperialism and the BRICS regimes in their slaughter of the Syrian masses.

At the same time, we need to build links with the working class in the imperialist centres. For a federation of Socialist workers states of Africa. For a Federation of Socialist workers states of central and Southern, and Northern America; for a Federation of Socialist workers states in the Middle East and Asia. For a Federation of Socialist states of Europe; ; For a Forward to international independent working class party, with sections in every country.

FORWARD TO SOCIALISM



ANDRIES TATANE: WHAT ARE THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MASSES OF THE FREEING OF THE POLICE WHO KILLED HIM

Tatane's only 'crime' was to protect a pensioner and take part in the struggle against the brutal capitalist inequality in the Free State. The role of the police is to sustain the capitalist inequality and protect big capital. This is an international trend in capitalism where the imperialists use the police to crack down on the masses.

Recently the seven police officers charged with his murder, were acquitted. **Why?**

More than 100 people are killed by the police every year- this number is increasing. This reflects a greater spontaneous resistance by the masses against the state. If all the police who killed innocent people were sent to jail, the prisons would have been full of the police and the existing police force would have been substantially weakened. The capitalist class, in whose service the police really are, need to keep a force that is prepared to shoot down the working class if the moment came of a mass revolt against it. In fact, the capitalists need to keep the working class in a constant state of terror, so that even when the resistance starts to increase, the police are on hand to beat it down, by force and yes, to kill the protestors if necessary. Karl Marx describes the capitalist state as 'bodies of armed men' who keep the working class in chains of wage slavery to the capitalist class. Thus it is very rare that a policeman who kills an innocent worker goes to jail.

The case of Andries Tatane was a little different from other cases- this was a 'service delivery protest' against the state that was fully recorded and exposed to all the masses on television and other mass media. It was also coming at a time when the Farlam Commission into the Marikana massacre was still sitting. If the policemen who murdered Tatane were found guilty and sent to jail, it follows that the special police unit that murdered the 34 miners at Marikana should be arrested and sent to jail. It follows that there would be an immediate uprising on all mines and all working class communities against the terrible exploitation and degrading conditions workers live under. The police would be constrained to act as they may too land up in jail. So this is precisely why the state decided to free the police who killed Tatane- because the role of the police is to put down any protest against the state and big capital. **The state decided to free the police who killed Tatane because they want to free the police who shot down the 34 workers at Marikana.** The state wants to send the message to any worker or group of workers that if they stand up against Anglo American and its dictatorship they will be shot down.

The timing of the Tatane judgement is important as the state wants to intimidate anyone who rises against the state, that this is what could happen to them. The context is important- there is a world uprising against capitalism, where every regime is being threatened. The most terrible state terror is being used to beat down the masses, from US drones in Afghanistan and Pakistan, to the bloody suppression by the Assad regime that has killed off more than 100 000 of the masses who have stood up against it, to the state killings of the masses in Bahrain, Yemen, Gaza and the rest of occupied Palestine, to the killings in Burma, to the mass killings in the DRC, the state terror in Egypt, Libya, Malawi, Mali, CAR, etc. The step is even more important for the state because the Marikana uprising sparked a revolt across the mines and other sectors like transport, farming and



threatens to become all-encompassing and widespread like the mass uprisings in Egypt, Chile, the Occupy Wall street movement, etc. The state freed the police who killed Tatane because they are desperate to stop a broad revolutionary uprising breaking out in SA and the region.

Just imagine, the judge claimed that because the unarmed Tatane was becoming 'violent' (even though he never even raised his empty hand or fist against anyone), the police were justified in shooting him down and killing him. The surviving strikers at Marikana were arrested under apartheid law of 'common purpose' but the police, who worked together to shoot down Tatane and those from the special police unit from different divisions around the country who gathered with semi-automatic weapons to massacre the strikers with the blessing of the Lonmin and Anglo American bosses and the ANC top leadership, are not guilty of 'common purpose'. This is because the 'common purpose' of the judge, the prisons, the government, the police, is to serve the capitalist masters, without question and absolutely to ensure wage slave relations and forced starvation of the masses continues, unchallenged.

The time has come for factory and area committees and workers' self-defence committees to be set up as part of them. Expropriate all imperialist assets without compensation to the capitalists, place them under workers control. Prepare the way for a workers summit of representatives of all workplaces and working class areas, to prepare the way for a general strike.

FORWARD TO AN INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS PARTY.

WE CONDEMN THE PLANS OF THE ANC GOVERNMENT AND THE UN TO DEPLOY AN ATTACK FORCE IN THE DRC

The imperialist agency, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) issued a report in 2012 on resource exports and revenue across Africa. It gives the averages from 2005 to 2010. More than 20 African countries have 30% or more of their volume of exports listed as raw minerals. If raw, unprocessed agricultural goods are added, then even more countries can be added. Thus on Africa day, we can say that the main cause of Africa's hardship is not that we are poor but the continent is being plundered by imperialism. The Africa Progress Panel, chaired by Mbeki, which is trying to deflect the anger of the masses against imperialism, reported that twice as much leaves Africa in illegal deals like deliberate mispricing and tax avoidance than it receives through 'Aid'. Between 2008 and 2010 'Aid' and investment was \$62 bn while mispricing and tax avoidance was more than \$63 bn. The 'Aid' in the form of loans with a very high rate of interest keeps Africa permanently in debt. So international banks and mining corporations are the main capitalists that keep Africa enslaved. Of course, the Africa Progress Panel suggests slightly more mining royalties be paid so that the mass theft from Africa does not appear so obvious. Ironically, the biggest theft from South Africa, through mispricing and tax avoidance, mainly by Anglo American, occurred in 2007, during Mbeki's presidency, when 20% of GDP was stolen, ie about R600bn. Thus while the raw minerals volume of exports from South Africa was listed at 30% of GDP, the real figure is more than 50% of GDP. The income from mineral exports from South Africa is only about 3% of GDP, which means that Anglo American and other mining imperialists are stealing on a grand scale. In return



for allowing such theft which keeps more than 40% of the population in permanent unemployment, the ANC govt is rewarded by the bosses with crumbs such as becoming labour brokers for the mines and getting contracts for being mine security. This is the picture in the so-called biggest economy in Africa, which makes up 40% of Africa's GDP, namely SA. The situation in the DRC is much worse and probably rates as the biggest slaughter of the masses worldwide since World War 2.

From 1996 until today, more than 6 million people have died in the DRC as a result of the ongoing wars there. [This figure is an under-estimation, a more people are killed every day]. The capitalist media have largely ignored these ongoing massacres or report it as if these are local or regional armed factions fighting over the minerals. The truth is that all the armed groups are backed by imperialism, all of them who vie with each other to get part of the spoils of the plunder of the minerals. US imperialism even backs groups that are on 'opposite' sides. When the Rwandan army invaded the North Eastern DRC, it has emerged that US military advisors were supporting them; US imperialism even supplied them with extra arms. The aim of the rape and atrocities by the armed factions is to terrorize the local population to leave areas that are mineral rich. Once areas are cleared, imperialist mining companies, such as Anglo American set up operations, sometimes fronted under other names such as Kivu Resources. SANDF troops and other AU troops have been in the DRC for years, protecting the imperialist mining operations. US imperialism claims to be hunting the leadership of the LRA (Lord's Resistance Army) but this group, through its atrocities have long helped to clear the population from mining areas for the US imperialist operations to move in.

To give an idea of the scale of the theft from the DRC by the imperialist companies, we look at the IMF report mentioned above. It lists the DRC has having 95% of its exports as being mostly from oil! Yet, it is an open secret that the main exports of the DRC is gold, diamonds and cassiterite (raw material from which the metals for laptops, cellphones and Playstations are made). In fact most of the world supply of cassiterite comes from the DRC. Your Blackberry or Samsung or Nokia is made from metal that comes from the DRC, yet oil revenue makes up 80% of the total income to the DRC. This means that the gold, diamonds and cassiterite is being stolen on a massive scale from the DRC. The masses in the DRC know full well that the Kabila regime turns a blind eye to the mass stealing by US imperialism of the minerals. Yet the UN, the AU and the SA govt want to send an attack force to the DRC to prop up this imperialist puppet regime. They will not go to protect the Congolese people but go to ensure that the masses do not disturb the ongoing plunder by imperialism.

But imperialism backs many horses; they also back the 'opposition' armed factions such as the M23, who draw on the hatred of the masses for the Kabila regime. Thus the Congolese masses are being kept permanently destabilized so that there can be ongoing clearing of the land so that imperialist mining can move in and plunder the resources. If the masses launch an uprising against the Kabila regime, imperialism has already secured armed leadership of the rebellion so that whoever comes in will once again be on their payroll. As shown in the CAR, where imperialism funded both sides and decided that they launch a coup before the masses rise, imperialism would be quite prepared that masses of body bags of SA and other AU soldiers pile up, as long as imperialism can sidetrack any revolution and they remain in control.



Thus we oppose the presence of AU, UN, SA troops in the DRC and the region. We call for the mine workers and other industrial workers to get organized, form unions, form workers committees and form armed workers self defence committees. At the same time it is necessary that revolutionary working class parties be set up in the DRC , the region and across Africa. But Africa will never be free unless the working class in the imperialist centres also get organized and rise up against their own regimes for their complicity in the ongoing plunder of the DRC and Africa as a whole. The Occupy Wall Street movement and the rest of the growing resistance to the 1% needs to take up the cause of the total liberation of Africa from imperialist-capitalist plunder. Such are our tasks on this Africa Day 24th May 2013.

HOW ISRAEL BOOSTS THE CREDIBILITY OF THE ASSAD REGIME IN SYRIA

Imperialism and their puppet regimes have a history of arresting and attacking their agents in order to boost the profile of their agents in the eyes of the masses. Many activists seem to forget that and rather superficially label whoever opposes the Assad regime as being pro-zionist. Such an approach plays into the hands of imperialism, who would like those who really oppose the Assad regime to be weakened and/or killed off.

Let's first put matters in perspective: The Assad regime is a puppet regime of imperialism. It came into being through a military coup that was backed by imperialism; of late, Syria and its hole-in-the-ground torture chambers have been a favourite destination for the CIA rendition programme. [the CIA kidnaps activists from around the world and takes some of them to Syria to be tortured]; Most of Syria's exports are oil, yet it does not have much refining capacity- it is completely dependent on Shell and Total for refining- thus economically, the Syrian regime, for all these years has been completely dependent on and in fact controlled by imperialism.

So why does it appear as if imperialism wants to get rid of the Syrian regime? The point is that imperialism did not start the uprising against Assad, just as imperialism did not start the uprising against Mubarak and their other puppets. Imperialism is not all powerful and in control of the world- their rule is being contested every day, every minute. There is a world revolt against capitalist rule and the uprising of the Syrian masses against their regime is part of it. Now, imperialism has drawn the lesson from counter-revolutions around the world that they need to back many horses, they need to infiltrate the mass resistance and try to destroy the revolution from within. So if their own puppet is overthrown, then imperialism stays in control. In Libya, when the masses rose up, imperialism created the TNC to hijack the revolutionary action of the masses. Although the TNC (Transitional National Council) , made up from ex-Gaddafi regime elements, are now in control of the Libyan government, there are still independent militias that are challenging their rule every day. Recently some of the militias surrounded the Libyan parliament and forced them to adopt a resolution that all ex-Gaddafi regime elements be removed from office. Not a guarantee for Socialism but a reflection that imperialist control is being contested.

While imperialism created the TNC in Libya, it created the Free Syrian Army, from 'defectors' from the leadership of the Assad army. They aim was 2-fold- first to put imperialist puppets at the head of the resistance and secondly, to create a specialist army which would keep weapons away from the masses, trying to pre-empt the development of independent militias. Imperialism has failed in this regard because their



puppets (on the side of the FSA and Assad regime) say that the biggest obstacle to them creating 'peace' is that the masses have too many arms.

In the past, when the Palestinian masses were rising up against Arafat because he was compromising and selling out the masses through the Oslo Accords, what did the Zionists do? They attacked Arafat, isolating him, keeping him under siege. The result? The masses who were opposing Arafat and legitimately calling for his removal and overthrow, could easily be labeled as 'pro-zionist' as 'collaborators'. It appeared that they were on the same side as Israel. How many genuine activists were killed off by those sellouts of the Arafat gang in the PA, the Palestinian elite, who swept up some of the gullible masses into acting against revolutionaries among the Palestinians?

Now that Assad is coming under heavy resistance, imperialism uses the same trick, pretend to attack the Assad regime so that the mass resistance against him can be weakened by being labeled as 'pro-zionist'. Already many have been swept up to attack the Syrian masses and some Palestinians and Lebanese among them who have been genuinely fighting against the Syrian regime. The resistance against the Syrian regime has been weakened. Recently Israel launched attacks against so-called weaponry that was destined for Hezbollah. Pictures show however that the Zionists actually bombed a chicken farm in Syria. In the Golan Heights, the capitalist press has portrayed clashes as if Syrian forces have been clashing with the Zionist forces. The pictures of the shell shown in the Golan Heights as 'evidence' had not even been fired. Someone placed it there, spread some dust on it and took a photo of it.

Consider this, here is the Zionist army, that has the world's most sophisticated tracking system, is able to target assassinate any target far away, bombs a chicken farm in Syria! This is a mock fight, a propaganda exercise to build up the profile of the Assad regime.

The most serious obstacle to the Syrian masses overthrowing the Assad regime is the world's left, who have isolated the masses, painting them as CIA agents and pro-zionist. Over 100 000 of the Syrian masses have been butchered by the Assad regime with the help of Hezbollah and Iranian mercenaries. [Iran itself, despite its huge oil reserves, has virtually no refining capacity- it has to import its refined oil from Total, Shell and others; the Iranian regime is totally dependent on imperialism and the demagogic verbal clashes between the Iranian regime and the imperialists are also to boost their 'anti-imperialist' profile so that they can crack down on any mass uprising as they are able to label genuine fighters against the regime as 'pro-imperialist' or 'pro-zionist'].

We support the independent arming of the Syrian masses, the strengthening of the grassroots councils of worker delegates, for them to break from the FSA, on a programme to expropriate all the imperialist companies and assets, without compensation, placing them under workers control. Let us not be fooled by the imperialist propaganda that they 'support' the masses against Assad. Imperialism gives a few peashooters to ensure that their entity the FSA is built up and any independent entity is crushed. Let us not be fooled by the public relations exercise of the Zionists and imperialism to boost the profile of the imperialist puppet regime of Assad.



Down with the Assad regime, Down with the FSA, down with the Zionist regime; down with the PA, Hamas, Hezbollah and all the other puppet regimes in the region. For the formation of revolutionary working class parties in the region as part of a revolutionary International. Forward to a federation of Socialist workers states of the Middle East based on grassroots councils of worker delegates. The working class in the imperialist centres and around the globe needs to stand up to prevent the imperialists from drowning the Syrian revolution in blood.

Forward to Socialism! 24.5.2013



Chicken farm in Syria, bombed by Israel

US imperialism is behind the Boston bombing

On Sunday 14th April 2013 there were bomb explosions at the marathon and at the JFK library in Boston. We say that there is strong evidence that US imperialism was behind these cowardly and despicable acts.

Imperialism has a history of lies and deception to justify war

There are countless examples of how imperialism has falsified events to justify an invasion and war. The most infamous recent example was in Iraq in 2003 when US imperialism lied that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. Iraq was a middle income country; now its capital, Baghdad, ranks the lowest of 221 countries in terms of standard of living, lower even than Bangui of the Central African Republic, which has been wracked with imperialist-backed coups since 1960. In the process of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars the US military and other US monopolies gained massive profits from over \$3 trillion costs. This was at a time of generalised stagnation of the world economy. In this period, artificial hikes in house prices and commodities were how imperialism-capitalism maintained their rate of profit.



The US masses have awoken from their slumber

Slowly, it has dawned on the US soldiers and the masses in general, that they were lied to; that thousands of US soldiers died and tens of thousands more were maimed for the profits of the war monopolies and banks. The rejection of the profiteering by the US banks at their expense was best expressed by the Occupy Wall Street movement, through the slogan, 'we are the 99% against the 1%'. At its height, more than half of the US population were sympathetic to the Occupy Wall Street movement. At times the Iraq war veterans marched in the streets throwing their medals away. In other words, not only was there a split in the US military and the base which had unquestioningly supported invasion upon invasion and war upon war by US imperialism, began to revolt against being used as cannon fodder for the 1%. While hundreds of thousands of US troops could easily be swept up to support the invasion of Iraq in 2003, in 2011 no such mass invasion of Libya by imperialism could take place. US imperialism was constrained to air strikes mainly. Further, US imperialism has been forced to withdraw their large scale troop presence from Iraq and is set to leave Afghanistan. This is not through the kindness of the hearts of the imperialists but because of the revolt of the US soldier and the US masses.

The revolt of the US soldiers and masses has had the following impact:

- The use of US troops to terrorise the masses of the world on behalf of the US monopolies is severely curtailed
- The US military has been forced to make use of subcontractor agencies and drones as they have difficulty in persuading the US masses that these wars are worth fighting
- The expenditure and thus profits of the US war monopolies have been constrained.
- When Obama was first elected, he had to pose as being 'antiwar', promising even to close down Guantanamo Bay military prison.
- There are greater possibilities for revolution around the globe as the possibility of a mass US troop deployment to crush these, is greatly decreased.

The growing revolt of the masses and the 'war on terror'

Osama bin Laden and the Al Qaeda network has its origin when US imperialism mobilised radical Muslim bourgeois forces to expel the Russians (the Stalinist regime) from Afghanistan. Al Qaeda was funded and trained by US imperialism. US imperialism has since used individual terror attacks by Al Qaeda as a cover for military invasions around the world. They also used the threat of terror and Al Qaeda, to begin to roll back the democratic gains of the working class, such as freedom of speech, freedom to organise, freedom of association, etc. The rise of the Patriot Act and various other anti-terror laws which are in reality a reflection of the rise of police states and increasing fascistic measures. This is because the traditional leaderships of the masses that have held the masses in check for decades, have become exposed, unable to control the masses on their own. Thus increasingly world capitalism-imperialism uses the traditional leaderships of the masses *and* brute force to maintain control, especially now when open fraud and theft of workers' pensions and cuts in wages, over-inflated food and energy prices, have become more generalised.

From 2001, for a period of about 6-7 years, imperialism managed to draw many more in the Middle East into the dead-end of individual terror. Gradually, the masses realised that all individual terror does, is give the state an excuse to crackdown on the masses and the few activists that there are, land up being decimated. From 2011 there has been a break with individual terror and a return to mass revolt as shown through the uprisings in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen, Kyrgyzstan, Bolivia, Greece, Chile, Malawi, South Africa, Syria, Portugal, Spain and indeed the USA. Such was the crisis in the USA, with both Democratic and Republican parties discredited, that imperialism had to get an Obama, out of nowhere, promising to meet the masses anti-war demands, in order to maintain control and prevent a generalised revolt against the US regime on home soil.



The current wave sweeping the world of the masses threatening the regimes, in some respects, started in the USA.

Since 2008 the leaderships of the masses and their bourgeois 'opposition' further exposed themselves, through launching massive cutbacks and attacks on the masses. These leaderships have become increasingly discredited; so much so that imperialism has realised that they do not have the leaders to control the masses. There have been waves through Europe of parliamentary change of regimes, and the rise of greater support for the broad left. But even such parliamentary left have been rapidly discredited as they too continued the attacks on the masses. With a weakened parliamentary apparatus, imperialism has turned increasingly to brute force to contain revolt. This is the background to a greater move to limit democratic gains and to use open force to control the masses.

Imperialism has used individual terror to divide the masses and to break their resistance. For example in Iraq, to break the masses along ethnic lines, imperialism created the myth of a Sunni- Shia divide by launching terror attacks on Sunni and Shia religious targets. US company Blackwater, others and the UK military have been implicated in launching attacks on civilians in Iraq, deliberately fanning violence between Shia and Sunni, where there had been little history of such conflict before. US imperialism has also used mercenaries from South Africa to terrorise the Iraqi masses, and more recently such mercenaries have been redeployed to Libya to help prop up the puppet regime of the TNC. In Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan, imperialism launches attacks on civilians to terrorise the masses into submission.

The US regime is a regime of crisis

US imperialism cannot depend on its own military on home soil (sections of the military have been marching against the 1%, the real bosses of the state). It needed a cover to build up a force to act to crush any revolutionary uprising. The Boston bombing creates such a cover. The black shirts, a militarised police force, with armoured vehicles, miniature tanks and high calibre weapons, were deployed as a show of force in Boston to intimidate the entire US masses to show them what they would be up against in the case of a widespread revolt. Such militarised police, rapidly set up and armed, has been trialed elsewhere on the globe, such as facing the Lonmin miners at Marikana, South Africa.

The decline of the Occupy Wall Street movement was not an indication that class hatred and antagonisms of the masses for the regime was weakening, on the contrary, the hatred for the regime is getting stronger and deeper. The masses are realizing the limitations of the Occupy Wall Street movement and that it is necessary to revolt against the very political regime that acts for the 1% and not for the masses. The greater stayaway from the polls in the recent Presidential election was an indication of an increasing break of the masses with electoralism. It is only a matter of time before a more generalised revolt of the Tunisian type breaks out in the USA, not only against the banks but against the political regime of the US. The build-up and deployment of a militarised police has already been done, awaiting only a moment to justify its existence and open activity, to pre-empt a revolution on home soil. Such was the opportunity presented by the Boston bombing.

Half the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay, some 86 or more, despite being tried in a military court and denied a civilian court, were found not guilty. Yet the US regime refuses to release them. The regime argued that they could not be released as the 'war on terror' was still on. To justify, not only the continued existence of Guantanamo Bay prison, but also the multi-trillion dollar military budget, the 1% desperately needed an incident to show that indeed, 'terrorists' were indeed at work and of course, 'the USA is under attack'. In their haste the US regime allocated an extra \$200 million to expand and upgrade Guantanamo Bay- even before the Boston bombing. We can expect the military to begin to argue that the US troops should stay longer in Afghanistan and the region, possibly seeking to expand their wars to Iran. But first they have to convince the US masses and the soldiers that this is indeed necessary. This will be a very difficult task as the masses have already identified the 1% as their enemy.

Contradictions already emerging in the aftermath of the Boston bombing

- It has been reported that in the period up to the bombing that there was a flurry of sale of shares in anticipation of a rapid drop in share prices after the bombing. Did some capitalists know when the bombing was going to take



place and thus positioned themselves to sell shares at a relatively high price and then repurchase them once the share price had dropped?

- The father, mother and uncle of the 2 accused vehemently claim that the 2 brothers have been framed, they had no weapons and that they have no link with any 'radical Islam' group and thus with Al Qaeda (the elder brother was hoping to become a boxer for the US Olympic team, while the younger brother had received a scholarship to study medicine and had a bright future ahead of him).
- Early bourgeois reports indicate that US imperialism was blaming al Qaeda, a group which they fund and direct;
- Mini tanks, custom apparently custom-built for withstanding pressure-cooker cluster bombs, suddenly made their appearance in Boston- how did they know such attacks would take place?
- Craft International, a group similar to Blackwater, had several operatives at the marathon, wearing black jackets and wearing bags similar to the ones used for the bombs;(as we indicated, Blackwater are specialists in bombing of civilians). The motto of Craft International is that 'violence does solve problems'. It was started by a sniper that had the most executions in Iraq for the US occupation forces.
- Video pictures of the younger brother show that he had a bag that was either empty or virtually empty, so how could he have been carrying a pressure cooker in it?
- The initial reports refer to a third bombing at JFK library but there have been no reports on this since.
- The lockdown of Boston by the police was an exercise to intimidate the masses, with the police focusing on arms held by US citizens, using the cover of a search for the bombers.

Conclusion and way forward

The political context and the contradictions mentioned above support our contention that US imperialism were behind the Boston bombing and the 2 brothers have been framed as perpetrators of this dastardly and cowardly attack.

There should be protests calling for the disbanding of the military police, the closure of Guantanamo Bay, the prosecution and shutting down of Blackwater company, a campaign for the shutting down of all US military bases around the globe, for workers' control over the arms industry, the expropriation of the war companies' profits, compensation to be paid to the masses in the Middle East, Africa, South America, Europe, Asia, for the crimes of US imperialism; immediate cutting of military aid to Israel, Egypt, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and other oppressive regimes and militias. Expropriate the banks, centralise them into one bank, without compensation to the capitalists, placing this under workers control.

We repeat our call for an Occupy White House movement to mass protest all the political offices of US imperialism, centrally and in every state, forming workers committees at every workplace and in every working class area. Hand in hand with this goes the formation of self-defence committees. We need a workers' government based on the worker committees. There is the need for a revolutionary working class International, with working class parties in the USA, all its neo-colonies and indeed across the globe. This is the way to get justice for the victims of the Boston bombing and indeed for all the crimes of US imperialism.

Forward to Socialism.

Issued by **Workers International Vanguard Party**, www.workersinternational.org.za

Email: workersinternational@gmail.com 20.4.2013



Write to the Remaining Guantánamo Bay Prisoners

(see this website or www.workersinternational.org.za for the full list of names)

<http://www.nogitmos.org/writerremainingguantanamoabayprisoners>

Eleven years is a long time to be held in an offshore prison, away from family and friends, with no idea when--if ever--they will be freed. Please let them know you are thinking of them by writing a brief letter or sending a card to one of them. The prisoners are currently on hunger strike and are being violently force-fed by the authorities. Many are in danger of dying. We call for worldwide protests, including protests against Obomba's visit to Africa from 26 June to 3rd July 2013.

Here is a list of some of the remaining prisoners at Guantánamo

Please address your letters to:

Detainee Name

Detainee ISN

Guantánamo Bay

PO Box 160

Washington, D.C. 20053

The first 11 men listed below have been cleared for transfer by federal judges, yet they remain in Guantánamo. In fact 86 have been found 'not guilty', yet they remain. We demand the release of all the prisoners and the total closure of Guantanamo Bay.

Name	Country of Origin	ISN
Yusef Abbas	China	275
Hajjakbar Abdulghupur	China	281
Said Muhammed Salih Hatim	Yemen	255
Saidullah Khalik	China	280
<u>Ravil Mingazov</u>	Russia	702
Hussein Salem Mohammed	Yemen	1015
Mohamedou Ould Salahi	Mauritania	760
Uthman Abdul Rahim Mohammed Uthman	Yemen	27
Shaker Aamer	Saudi Arabia	239
Mahmoud Abd al Aziz Abd al Mujahid	Yemen	31



Muieen A Deen Jamal A Deen Abd al Fusal Abd al Sattar	United Arab Emirates	309
Abd al Malik Abd al Wahab	Yemen	37
Abdelrazak Ali Abdelrahman	Algeria	685
Omar Hamzayavich Abdulayev	Tajikistan	257
Omar Khalifa Mohammed Abu Bakr	Libya	695
Mohammed Rajab Sadiq Abu Ghanim	Yemen	44
Abdul Rabbani Abd al Rahim Abu Rahman	Pakistan	1460
Omar Said Salem Adayn	Yemen	549
Ahmed Adnan Ahjam	Syria	326
Majid Mahmud Abdu Ahmad	Yemen	41
Abdul Rahman Ahmed	Yemen	441
Fahmi Abdullah Ahmed	Yemen	688
Haroon al Afghani	Afghanistan	10028
Muhammad Rahim al Afghani	Afghanistan	10030
Moath Hamza Ahmed al Alwi	Yemen	28
Muhammad Ahmad Abdallah al Ansi	Yemen	29
Fouzi Khalid Abdullah al Awda	Kuwait	232
Ali Hamza Ahmad Suliman al Bahlul	Yemen	39
Ismael Ali Farag al Bakush	Libya	708
Abdul Khaled Ahmed Sahleh al Bedani	Saudi Arabia	553
Ghaleb Nassar al Bihani	Yemen	128
Tolfiq Nassar Ahmed al Bihani	Saudi Arabia	893
Adil Said al Haj Obeid al Busayss	Yemen	165
Ahmed Muhammed Haza al Darbi	Saudi Arabia	768
Khalid Mohammed Salih al Dhuby	Yemen	506
Mohammed Ahmad Said al Edah	Yemen	33
Mohammed Abdullah al Hamiri	Yemen	249
Mustafa Ahmed al Hawsawi	Saudi Arabia	10011
Ahmed Umar Abdullah al Hikimi	Yemen	30
Abdul al Salam al Hilal	Yemen	1463



Internationale

Words by Eugene Pottier (Paris 1871) Music by Pierre Degeyter (1888)

**Arise ye workers from your slumbers
Arise ye prisoners of want
For reason in revolt now thunders
And at last ends the age of cant.
Away with all your superstitions
Servile masses arise, arise
We'll change henceforth the old tradition
And spurn the dust to win the prize.**

**So comrades, come rally
And the last fight let us face
The Internationale unites the human race.
So comrades, come rally
And the last fight let us face
The Internationale unites the human race.**

**No saviour from on high delivers
No faith have we in prince or peer
Our own right hand the chains must shiver
Chains of hatred, greed and fear
E'er the thieves will out with their booty
And give to all a happier lot.
Each at the forge must do their duty
And we'll strike while the iron is hot.**

The Internationale was written to celebrate the Paris Commune of March-May 1871: the first time workers took state power into their own hands. Representatives were mandated on policy questions by their electors, they were recallable at any time and were paid wages that reflected those of their constituents. The distinction between legislative and executive arms of government was abolished.



Greedy clothing bosses subcontracted to Walmart and Hershey in Bangladesh, built 4 storeys in top of another 4 storey building; it collapsed killing over 1000 clothing workers; 260 were buried without identification; here are workers marching demanding death to the clothing bosses



The Spark

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