



# **The Spark**



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### **Greece-how the left betrayed the masses**

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## Editorial

Some readers have asked us why we write about international issues when we have so many local struggles taking place. The point is that the same set of monopoly capitalists from the USA, France, England, Germany control the world and are in desperate competition with each other to increase their own share of the plunder of the masses of the world. The capitalist system is a world wide system of enslaving the working class. The world working class is one army against the handful of capitalists. In each country we are but one fighting division of the same army. It is in our common interest to advance the struggles of the working class everywhere on the planet. Some struggles are at a more advanced stage than others. When the working class is close to overthrowing their own capitalist regime, they enter a very dangerous period, where world imperialism unites, despite their differences, to crush the revolt. They know that, at the current moment when every working class is on the march against their own capitalist regime, any successful workers revolution could spark a world-wide revolution that could overthrow the world capitalist system. In Greece and Syria we see important battles, although there are also life and death struggles also being waged in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Palestine, Chile, China, DRC, etc. In the past 2 months Greece passed through a decisive struggle in which we feel, most of the world's left failed to rise to the occasion. We discuss Greece and its implications for the world revolution. [Note that our planned Glossary is still in preparation- we ask for patience.]

### **On the closure of refugee centres across SA**

Before we turn to the Greek question we call for sustained protests against the closure of all refugee centres across the country. We call for all of them to be re-opened. Since the 1950's and 1960's when the national liberation movements and the working class movement had been smashed, refugees from South Africa were welcomed with open arms across Africa. Now the ANC-SACP regime turns their backs on refugees from across Africa. **Who benefits?** The giant imperialist monopolies that plunder the masses across Africa, are the main beneficiaries of this. Across Africa the masses are starting to challenge the imperialist puppet regimes. Anglo American controls the whole of Southern Africa. Borders for plunder do not exist for them. The real objective of closing the refugee centres is to put worker against worker, to divide the working class. Ironically the ANC Western Cape took its decision to call for the closure of foreign-owned spaza shops, at Community House, which is home to a number of refugee groups. The ANC is prepared to attack the petty immigrant trader but they turn a blind eye when Anglo American and other imperialist monopolies take over R1 trillion in wealth out of the country every year. The ANC is fighting over crumbs from the capitalist table, while they ensure that imperialist plunder of the commanding heights continues. The capitalist system and the control of the wealth by the handful of imperialists is responsible for unemployment. The mines have always depended on immigrant labour from the sub-region. The working class from the sub-region has always been integrated, working side by side, exploited by the same Anglo American. The question of expropriation of Anglo American, without compensation, placing its assets under workers control, is a demand for the entire working class of Southern Africa. There can be no socialist revolution in South Africa that does not immediately pose the question of the working class taking power in Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia, the DRC, Angola, and indeed the entire southern Africa. Workers of Africa unite against all the imperialist puppet regimes. We have nothing to lose but our slave chains! As Africa is enslaved by



imperialism, the struggle in Greece and in other imperialist centres become even more important.

### **How the world's left betrayed the Greek revolution**

There has been a heroic resistance of the working class in Greece against the ongoing world capitalist onslaught. In the past 2 years again and again there have been national strikes against the austerity measures imposed mainly by US, German and French imperialism. The Greek Communist party, the KKE, have tried to tire the masses by restricting the fight to an economic level, splitting the working class action by separate actions and by actions which shielded the Greek regime from revolutionary mass action which could have developed into an insurrection.

A left reformist coalition, Syriza, came second in the May elections in Greece, dramatically increasing its support, while the capitalist parties, Pasok and ND failed to get the required 50% +1 majority, even though they had an extra bonus of 50 seats for the ND coming first. There opened up the possibility of Syriza winning the repeat round of the elections on the 17<sup>th</sup> June 2012 on an 'anti-austerity' platform, even though they had a reformist programme. The coming into government of an 'anti-austerity' party, would immediately have sparked the masses into action to pressure the Syriza govt to implement its programme of nationalizing all the banks. A Syriza government would have sparked the masses across Europe into greater mass actions against their capitalist regimes.

On the electoral platform the masses in Greece were spontaneously uniting behind Syriza, hoping to put a stop to the 'austerity programme' of imperialism. Syriza grew from 6% to 16% support for the May elections and was projected to grow overnight to more than 30% support. Because of the electoral rule that the party with the highest votes gets a 50 bonus seats, in a 300 seat parliament a 33% vote for any party (100 seats) would have been enough for them to rule on their own.

It was the task of the left to give every assistance to Syriza to get into government while at the same time raising a revolutionary programme so that the masses could go through the experience of seeing through not only the Syriza government, but of the fraud that capitalist elections represent. If the left had united behind a call for **critical** support for Syriza they would have had the ear of the masses to listen to our programme for Soviets (workers councils of delegates). By **critical** support for Syriza, we mean saying to workers that they need to set up their own organs of self-rule, councils of workers delegates, which has armed workers militia as an integral part of it for self-defence against fascist forces or any attack from the state. These workers councils need to set up its own workers government, which is the only government that that really implement an 'anti-austerity' programme, nationalising the land, expropriating all the banks and monopoly capitalists, taking complete control of the shipping fleet and related industries, without compensation, placing them under workers' control. You workers do not believe us yet, so we will give you every support to get a Syriza government in and then we will fight side by side with you for a full anti-austerity programme, even if then we have to together with you, fight the Syriza government when it makes deals with imperialism.

The first step if Syriza became the govt was to organise a march on parliament to cancel the debt. Any hesitation by Syriza to nationalise the banks could have been met with the masses organising themselves to take over the banks. Attempts by imperialism to isolate Greece or expel it from the Eurozone could be met with appeals to the French, German,



Spanish, Portuguese and East European working class to deal with their own regimes. It is not to raise a demand to exit the Euro but a demand to be part of a Socialist, worker-controlled Europe. Thus the immediate question is not of a Socialist Greece in isolation from a Socialist Europe- the one leads directly to the other.

On the question of the armed forces- the Greek regime has thusfar kept the army off the streets because imperialism cannot be sure of their loyalty- surely the rank and file soldiers, their parents and families have themselves been suffering the austerity measures too. There is every possibility that the army would split, if sent into action against the masses. This is why imperialism depends on armed fascist thugs to destabilise the masses. An armed coming to power of the masses in Greece is not an option which is far removed from the possibilities of the moment. Besides carrying forward and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, one of the first acts of a workers government in Greece would be to send arms and brigades to support the Syrian masses against the Assad regime and to help disperse the imperialist puppet reserve clique, the SNC and the heads of the Free Syrian Army.

A Socialist Europe would immediately reverberate with workers revolutions across Africa, Central and South America, across Asia; the masses in China would be emboldened to overthrow the Stalinist regime; the masses in Japan and North America would see their way clear to deal decisively with their own brutal, imperialist regimes. A Socialist workers revolution in Syria would place all the regimes in the Middle East under immediate threat of being overthrown.

#### *The responses of the forces with the working class?*

Continuing with its policy of splitting the working class, the Stalinist KKE, refused to give critical support to Syriza (although about half their usual base did, against the wishes of the leadership)- the KKE stood on its own, showing that, despite its rhetoric, its always acts in the final analysis to prop up the capitalist machinery (the KKE has been part of coalition govts in the past with parties far to the right of the current Syriza platform) ; the 4% who voted for KKE would have been enough for Syriza to obtain the 33% they required. As it is the KKE deliberately split the vote to allow the conservative ND to win

A number of the left called for a direct, uncritical support for the reformist Syriza- this was incorrect as it promoted illusions in reforms within the capitalist framework, disarming workers from the need to wage mass action, against parliament, ultimately for workers to seize power through their own organs.

Another group of the left called for support for the Antarsya, a left anti-capitalist coalition which stood on a platform for the scrapping of the debt and expropriation of the commanding heights of the economy. This call to vote for Antarsya split the working class and weakened the opportunity to expose Syriza in practice, which, could have been the last straw for the working class to turn decisively to building soviets (councils of workers delegates outside and against the capitalist apparatus). [Syriza can now hide behind the fact of their minority in parliament, maintaining illusions of a 'real' opposition to austerity]. Despite the call for the vote for Antarsya, 2/3 (two-thirds) of its base appear to have voted for Syriza. However they voted for Syriza with illusions that it may really stop or reverse the austerity programme. Instead of a blow against parliament, electoral illusions have been reinforced.



Then there were those who called for a critical support for both the KKE and Syriza, hoping for the masses to dispel illusions in both. This line was in general correct but incorrect in practice as it assisted to divert a section of the vanguard away from giving Syriza the necessary support to thrust it into the first position in the elections, compelling it to become the govt. This would have been the best way to help the masses overcome their electoral illusions.

The Greek masses have been of the most combative in the world up to now. No working class can be on the march indefinitely. There is a danger that the electoral defeat could lead to widespread disillusionment and apathy. Already 38% of the electorate did not take part in the elections. The revolutionary forces of the world working class need to draw the lessons of the electoral defeat of the Greek masses. One great step forward is that the base of the stalinist KKE and pro-imperialist Pasok within the unions and broader working class has been greatly weakened. If the EEK and Antarsya had called for critical support for Syriza, they could have spearheaded the removal of the counter-revolutionary leadership of the trade unions and the putting into place of a new, revolutionary leadership. As it is, they find themselves isolated, not having the ear of the masses. The task remains of removing the counter-revolutionary leadership of the trade unions, the KKE for splitting the working class and allowing thus the ND to win and the Pasok, for being part of yet another austerity regime. Short term entrism into Syriza, and/or the proposal of a united action front with them, for the purpose of fighting for renewal of leadership in the unions and for preparation for a General strike, may be an option to prepare for the fight ahead.

While world imperialism united against the masses in Greece, intimidating them into submission, partially offering some steps to delay further attacks against them, the world's left let slip an opportunity of significance to the world working class, betrayed the Greek masses. Let us draw the lessons in our struggle to refound a revolutionary International, which for us is the refounding of the Fourth International.

### **On Syria**

The defection of 4 Syrian pilots with their planes to Jordan shows that there is a deep crisis within the Syrian army and that, despite the masses being largely unarmed, the situation is equalizing. Imperialism is preparing for a post-Assad period by strengthening their counter-revolutionary forces within masses. Imperialism, through their control of the heads of the Free Syrian Army, is trying to divert the fight into one supposedly between Alawite and Sunni. Imperialism, through Qatar is giving a token number of pea shooters to buy support in order for their agents, the SNC and the heads of the Free Syrian Army. Thus the programme to counter the ongoing attempts by imperialism to hijack the struggle of the masses should be centred on the expropriation of the entire oil sector and all imperialist assets, without compensation, placing these under workers' control. This goes hand in hand with the expanding and generalizing of the grassroots councils into councils of workers delegates. These councils start off with dealing with immediate issues such as the provision of food, electricity, sanitation, health, self defence. These grassroots councils of workers delegates should form the basis of a workers' government which also nationalises the land and takes under its control all the commanding heights of the economy, setting up of agricultural farmworkers collectives in the case of large commercial farms and also providing cheap aid to the small peasant. This workers' govt should be based on the right of instant recall with the representatives who should get the wage of an average skilled worker. No to the SNC; share the work among all who can work without loss of pay, arm all the masses; the workers militias



should be under the direct control of the grassroots councils of workers delegates; disband the police, the Assad army and the Free Syrian Army; for the dissolution of the reactionary parliament. For international worker brigades to support this programme for Syria. A successful workers revolution in Syria would place all the capitalist regimes in the region under threat from being overthrown, from Iran, to Israel, to Saudi Arabia, etc. This is why world imperialism is desperate to crush the Syrian masses. It is why the world Stalinist forces and the pro-imperialist supporters within the workers movement work together to discredit the Syrian masses and to isolate them. It is why all proletarian forces should work night and day for the successful seizure of power by the Syrian working class and the overthrowal of all the reactionary regimes in the region.

### **On Egypt**

In June the first step the Muslim Brotherhood candidate, Morsi, did, was to resign from the Muslim Brotherhood, claiming that he would represent all Egyptians, ie he would respect the Egyptian capitalists, and that he would respect the military regime, both of which are tied hand and foot to US imperialism. Considering that the SCAF (Supreme Council of the Armed Forces) generals had just dissolved the parliament, it shows that in the past elections, US imperialism had in fact 2 candidates, Shafiq (the representative of the old Mubarak regime) and Morsi. Morsi had promised that he would take the Presidential oath only before parliament but went back on his word and took the oath before Mubarak-era judges. US imperialism controls the Egyptian military; they give it support through billions of dollars every year. Morsi has not even torn down the border between Egypt and the Gaza strip, which shows that he is really a total puppet of US imperialism. The question is now of setting up councils of workers delegates in Egypt to defend themselves against attacks from the military junta and its fascist gangs. These workers councils should set up a workers govt based on the expropriation of the Egyptian capitalist class and all imperialist assets, without compensation, placing these assets under workers control. This means the workers councils delegates to take control of the protests in Tahrir square, laying siege to the SCAF headquarters, ultimately dispersing them. The leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood, despite their rhetoric, have shown themselves to be in the pocket of US imperialism- this is one of the most important lessons of the past elections.

### **On the 3 year closure of Jooste hospital**

We condemn the 3 year closure of the Jooste hospital- they could easily have made the upgrades in stages while keeping it open. How many people will die from the Nyanga-Manenberg area because they cannot reach the Mitchell's Plain hospital in time? The capitalist state is callous. Why should it cost R550 million? Who is making a killing out of this? Murray and Robbers again?

### **Youth wage subsidy or youth slavery?**

This year's Yellow pages in the Cape Peninsula is 160 pages less than last year's, that is equivalent to 16 000 -30 000 workplaces that have shut shop in the past 2 years- this is a loss of jobs of 80 000 to 150 000 just in the Cape Peninsula (assuming a 5 person per company average). and the DA and ANC want to implement a 'youth wage subsidy'- where is the market for more employment if 16 000 small companies have closed down because of the shrinking space to operate? (in a capitalist sense). Really, what this 'youth subsidy' is, is just another means to dismiss more existing workers and employ the youth at slave levels.....



### **We condemn the Boko Haram**

We condemn the attacks by Boko Haram on the churches in Nigeria. The Boko Haram is like the Al Qaeda, doing the bidding of US imperialism to divide the working class, to make us fight each other while the capitalists get away with murder.....

### **Consumer Commissioner being victimised for taking on the cellphone thugs**

Mamoduphi Mohlala is being victimized by the DTI. As a commissioner of the Consumer Council, she was fighting for the modest right of everyone to terminate their cellphone contracts within one month's notice, instead of being bound to a 2 year contract; she was also fighting against the practice of the cellphone companies of automatically extending a cellphone contract at the end of 2 years, without your consent; she wanted airtime not to expire before a period of 3 years; she was also fighting against the high fees that they are charging. Now the DTI wants her out and unsurprisingly, big business (really the main instigator) has joined the chorus. we call for the defence of Mohlala against the cellphone gangsters.....

### **No to the bailout of the imperialist IMF**

At the current G20 summit, the ANC-SACP govt announced that it was going to help bail out the IMF to the tune of \$2bn (over R16 bn)- yet the state is only offering public sector workers 6.5%, they have no plan to build houses for all, the public clinics and hospitals are being collapsed. if the state succeeds in imposing a 6.5% wage cut then all the private sector workers will suffer the same fate.... To the SACP, the current govt is a 'developmental state'; come July and September, the SACP and Cosatu leaders will still sing praises to the alliance with the black DA, the ANC, and once again confirm their commitment to build further 'working class hegemony'.....meanwhile Rome and Athens, Cape Flats and Soweto will be burning.....

### **Imperialism intimidates the Greek masses**

The ND could only gain support through world imperialism terrorizing the masses, and also through itself posing as wanting to fight to re-negotiate the terms of the austerity- ie to pose as 'anti-austerity'- imperialism was forced to take a step back from just a unilateral imposition of 'more austerity' - in other words, imperialism was forced to take a step back from its own austerity programme- ...to grant a temporary reform, in order to save the capitalist system itself- what forced this was the threat from the entire working class, from the Greek, to even the German and French working class- that 38% did not vote is not a sign of apathy but an indication of a huge break by the masses away from parliament- more thorough analysis is needed- the struggle is far from over

### **The ANC uses June 16<sup>th</sup> rallies to promote youth slavery**

The ANC used June the 16th rallies to call for the youth wage slavery subsidy to be implemented; here we have the alliance of the DA and ANC kicking workers in the teeth- this is why the DA marched on Cosatu office, because they have agreement with the ANC and their only way forward is to smash the organised working class. Come September, Cosatu shopstewards will again vote to maintain their alliance with the black DA, the ANC.

### **The Constitutional Court rules that unions may be sued for strike action**

The Constitutional Court in SA has ruled that unions may be sued for strike action 'collateral' damage. The Cosatu leadership have always peddled the lie that here is the



best Constitution in the world; and now? this best Constitution is kicking workers in the teeth and showing that ultimately it is just a tool of monopoly capital.....

### **National democratic revolution=crumbs for a tiny black elite while imperialist plunder continues**

On June 16th 1976, the regime massacred the youth who rose up against the cheap labour capitalist system; Mandela and Slovo agreed to keep the same state intact and just to change the managers. Anglo American and others continue to plunder while a tiny section of the black middle class have been given a few crumbs. Big capital still takes 20% of GDP out of the country every year without paying tax... for it. [This is a practice that hails from the apartheid era, which the ANC-SACP govt continues]. 10 protests every day in SA shows that the masses are starting to rise again. This time the ANC-SACP operate the means of suppression. The Cosatu members and others face low wage 'increases'. The state is to hand over R3trillion to big capital- there is no plan even to build houses for all. Eskom posts a profit increased by 60% while tariffs have risen again by 16% (a victory for workers according to the Cosatu leaders, when the majority of the working class already live in darkness). This is the political content of the 'national democratic revolution'. This is why we need a working class party that is independent of capital and the state. and yes we also need a new working class youth movement

### **Anglo American and the ANC gang up on 'illegal' miners**

The life of a black worker is cheap- 17 men are trapped underground at an abandoned diamond mine of Anglo American at Bontekoe- they are just a few metres from the surface. yet Anglo American has the technology to mine up to 3000m below the surface but sits on their hands. On Africa Day, Zuma is more concerned with his exposed private parts, while the DA is more concerned with passing legislation ...to tighten up on 'illegal mining'. It is an open secret that Anglo American and other monopolies take out 20% of GDP every year for decades, without declaring it or paying taxes on it. This why we need a revolutionary workers party (internationally). Socialist revolution is the only way to free humanity from the barbaric capitalist system. [The main 'news' story for the day is about corrupt police commissioner]. The Cosatu leaders are busy defending Zuma's spear. The Mineworkers Congress is on and painfully (to us) ignoring the plight of the trapped mineworkers because their leaders are shopstewards of Anglo American and not the working class..... 25 May 2012

The 'illegal' miners at Bontekoe were found (only 10 of the 17) by De Beers (Anglo American) after a delay of several days. De Beers has stopped looking for the other bodies and concentrated on quickly scooping up all the remaining gravel that contain diamond fragments. At the same time, Anglo American and other monopolies can take out 20% of GDP every year, **currently R600bn**, through transfer pricing, without paying any tax on it. This is the barbarism that the Cosatu leaders allow daily to be perpetrated against the masses. There needs to be an organised rank and file movement to dislodge this corrupt leadership. Workers need their own party, that is clear- time to break the alliance with the capitalist ANC-SACP govt....

**We further expose the Annan mission in Syria:** General Robert Mood, head of Kofi Annan's 'peace' mission in Syria, cannot see the link between the artillery shells and the 108 killed in Houla on Friday. Seeing that Kofi Annan is on the Board of JP Morgan and



thus acts only in the interest of big capital, what else can we expect. The so-called observers, really spies for imperialism, should be expelled immediately as they provide a cover for the massacres which are continuing. We call on the Occupy Wall street movement to launch an Occupy White house movement against the slaughter by imperialism in Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and around the globe. see [www.workersinternational.org.za](http://www.workersinternational.org.za)

### **We mourn the loss of cde Xolile 'Boss' Nxu**

We mourn the loss of cde Xolile 'Boss' Nxu who died in his sleep on the 24th May 2012- one of the few worker leaders prepared to take on the Cosatu bureaucracy, a supporter of the Unemployed Workers Movement in the 1980's when the stalinists were persecuting them; a worker leader who took the time to go to Palestine, asked us to present our view at a Samwu NEC (although it was diametrically opposed to the mainstream Cosatu leaders view), was strip searched by Mossad at Oliver Tambo airport at the Mossad office that their friend Ronnie Kassrils, then minister of Intelligence allowed them to have. Cde Boss supported a 1-state Palestine, not the bantustan, that the current Cosatu and SACP leaders propose.

the struggle continues until Socialism, Cde Boss, always present....

### **We expose how the Mandel presidency and the ANC regimes subsequently support Zionist Israel- how they have signed away the right to nationalise imperialist assets**

Many rank and file members of the ANC really believe that there is a debate on nationalization in the ANC. Reality shows the opposite, namely that the ANC leadership have long ago not only given up on nationalization but has given guarantees that even in times of revolution, they would not nationalize anything. An example of this is the protection of investment agreement between the ANC govt and its good friend, the state of Israel which was signed in 2004.

<http://www.workersinternational.org.za/20041020IsraelProtectionofInvestments.pdf>

In addition, SA has a number of protection of investment agreements with a number of countries around the globe. Thus, while many may think that the ANC is carrying out the wishes of the masses, the reality is that they are carrying out the instructions of big capital, of imperialism. Indeed they have taken over from the old racist NP as the new managers for imperialism.

Incidentally, many of the 'left' would love to portray Mandela as being a friend of the Palestinians. Yet, while he was President in 1995, the ANC govt signed an extensive co-operation agreement with Israel. As a result of this agreement, not only was military equipment sold to Israel from SA, but also missile propellants, helicopter and aircraft parts. the practice of most of SA diamonds from Anglo American mines going to Israel for cutting and polishing, continued.

<http://www.workersinternational.org.za/19950913IsraelJCC.pdf>

The ANC policy conference is one big hoax- the matter has long been decided by Mandela and others. The time has come to break with the ANC and SACP. we need a new working class party that will lead the fight for Socialism.



## **Open letter to the EEK on the path to working class power**

9.6.2012

Dear Comrades of the EEK

The world working class stands before a unique opportunity in that there is the possibility for the working class to take power in Greece and thus decisively change the balance of forces in favour of the world proletariat.

With 27 national strikes over the past 18 months, the working class in Greece has shown that the attempts by imperialism, Stalinism and reformism to demoralize you, have failed. A revolutionary period has opened up in Greece.

What makes the period so significant is that all over the world, including in every imperialist centre, the working class is on the move and the capitalist class is on the back foot. If the Greek working class seizes power, it shows the way to the rest of the world proletariat. In particular, the working class in France and Germany would threaten their own regimes; even in the USA, where the military veterans cast away their medals, the imperialist bourgeoisie will face a serious challenge. The point is that, despite huge efforts to isolate the Greek working class, you are not alone- the whole world proletariat is with you.

The rapid growth of the Syriza expresses the desire of the masses to decisively end the austerity programme. Insofar as Syriza is already beginning to move away from its reformist programme, and when the masses see their inability to deliver on their demands, they will turn away from them. It is good and well for the EEK to expose the limitation of the Syriza programme, but a huge section of the working class still has the remnants of constitutional illusions. It is good to call for workers councils but the question is how to set these into motion now to create a dual power situation, especially in the light of the movement of the fascists to become more bold. The setting up of workers councils is not a task to be postponed until after the June 17<sup>th</sup> elections.

We have noted (sorry we may be mistaken as we rely on the very poor version of Google-translate from Greek to English) that your proposed emergency programme is almost identical to that of Antarsya. We propose that you publicly call Antarsya to a meeting to discuss a united front on fighting for this programme. This means that you at all times appear before the masses with your programme and banner with complete freedom to differ with all other groups. Our proposal is that you then, together with Antarsya, but never submerging the EEK as an entity, publicly call for a meeting with the Syriza and the KKE to discuss a united front to fight for your programme. Of course, the KKE will refuse, but their rank and file will see that EEK is the one that wants to unite the working class. The proposal is that you give critical support and call on the working class to vote for Syriza, based on your programme, but with one central condition, namely that there be immediate setting up of workers councils and a call for an armed workers militia to defend the organizations of the masses from the fascist attacks. In this way, still, the entire Greek working class will see that EEK wants unity in action and a real fight for an anti-austerity, workers government. You have to warn even now, that the Syriza may back down from the agreements, may even form a government with the Pasok and ND, so workers need to be ready and not wait until then, but take immediate steps now. We have to make it clear that the anti-austerity emergency programme can only become a



reality if the working class seizes political power- only the working class in power can carry out the demands of the masses. This needs workers councils and for the working class, in the birthplace of democracy, to overcome bourgeois democracy. There has to be direct rule by the working class.

We need to warn the masses that in this period of capitalist crisis, the world bourgeoisie has to resort to temporary reforms in order to save the system from being overthrown- thus a Syriza-bourgeois coalition may offer some sops to attempt to win time for the capitalists. But this would only be a half-way measure. At the same time, the capitalists would openly prepare their fascist gangs. Imperialism and Stalinism do their best to divide the working class, we say, it would be fatal for us to wait until after the elections. Immediate steps are needed.

Please consider the above. The masses in Syria and Egypt face incredibly hard times- a revolutionary beacon from Greece could help give them courage and finally decisively split the base of the army to come over to the masses.

We apologise that we send this message via several means as we are not sure if they are reaching you.

Lastly it is obvious that there be a call made for the revolutionary organizations of the working class to gather in Athens to refound the Fourth International, based on the programme of working class taking power in Greece.

Are we wrong? We await your earnest reply.

WIVP

Dear Comrades of the EEK

We propose an additional point, namely that a call should be made on the PAME, [GSEE] and ADEEDY to also support a critical vote for the Syriza, but on the basis of your programme and , centrally, that there be an immediate call for setting up workers councils, which has to go with armed workers militia (committees for self-defence), firstly for preparing a defence of all workers organization against the fascist gangs. These self defence organs and workers councils would lay the basis for a dual power, namely to turn from defence to offence, once the real Syriza is exposed in front of the eyes of the masses. Thus on the Leninist basis, of extending critical support like a noose for them to publicly hang themselves- in other words to take the masses through the last remnants of electoralism, to expose finally its capitalist nature and thus support the turn to workers councils and the contest for power in the streets.

These are for urgent consideration.

Note that as Syriza is a coalition, the imperialists are pressuring it from the right. Our proposal is to support the left tendency within it, with the central aim of exposing finally, the remnants of electoralism as a capitalist fraud, helping to break the masses finally from the capitalist trap and towards workers councils.

12.6.2012

Dear Comrades of the EEK **A further note of clarification:**



The discussion on the Greek crisis has made us return to re-study Lenin's ***Left Wing Communism –an infantile disorder*** (the chapter on '*Left wing' communism in Britain*); we would suggest that you have a look at it again, and perhaps you may be able to get an even closer approximation of what is required, than what we are suggesting, to take the masses through the experience of the Syriza to discredit them and parliamentarianism once and for all.

We can only say that Lenin's text argues rather strongly for critical support of the Labour party which was at that time rather to the right of what the current position of Syriza is. We say that the lessons show that we cannot disregard the necessity for huge sections of the masses, including its backward sections, to go through this experience with Syriza. The question is how can we use this moment to help decisively discredit parliament once and for all.

The programme of the EEK and the Antarsya appear in essence to be the same (even though both of you fall short on directly calling for the closure of the Nato bases, which Syriza is calling for). Even if the name of the EEK cannot appear on the ballot paper, but there is agreement that in all platforms of the Antarsya, the EEK has the freedom of criticism and freedom of agitation as the EEK, inside and outside Antarsya, this should have been sufficient to form a united front with them. The idea is not to haggle over the number of EEK candidates. EEK does not stand for the purpose of winning parliamentary deputies but to use the platform to discredit parliament. We would argue that the EEK (whether inside or outside of a united front with Antarsya), should in any case have limited its candidates and should be mobilising for a critical vote for the Syriza. This is to say to the masses, here is the EEK programme which we should be fighting for, we know that the Syriza is already having secret meetings with the bankers and imperialism, they would not want an overwhelming victory because they would have no excuse not to carry out their minimalist programme; we will mobilise workers to vote for Syriza, What we want to emphasize is that a workers government based on workers councils, the dictatorship of the working class is better than parliament, which is a form of the dictatorship of the handful of capitalists; we will defend a Syriza government from attacks from the ND, Pasok and the fascists but we cannot take any iota of responsibility for its actions. We think the Syriza will betray- you do not believe us now, but when the Syriza government turns its back even 1 millimetre on the masses, there has to be a confrontation with it and the entire Greek regime. This time, it will not be through parliament, but in the streets. It is for this result that we invite all workers to start preparing for NOW.

So while you are preparing for elections, we call on the working class to help build workers councils and self-defence committees- already the fascists are mobilising- we dare not wait for after the elections. History is full of half-way regimes, such as Allende in Chile in 1973, that faced a coup and a brutal crackdown, not forgetting your own experiences of fascist dictatorship.

The leadership of Syriza may disagree to meet with EEK (and Antarsya)- then you can clearly show that they are closer to the bankers than to the fighting organizations of the working class. Even then the EEK should still call for a critical vote for Syriza- raising all your criticisms.

It is unlikely that the Syriza will agree to the entire EEK programme- if they do, they would have to change their party programme. But your mere approach to meet them will



remove their highground of posing as willing to form an anti-austerity workers government. EEK will have the high ground.

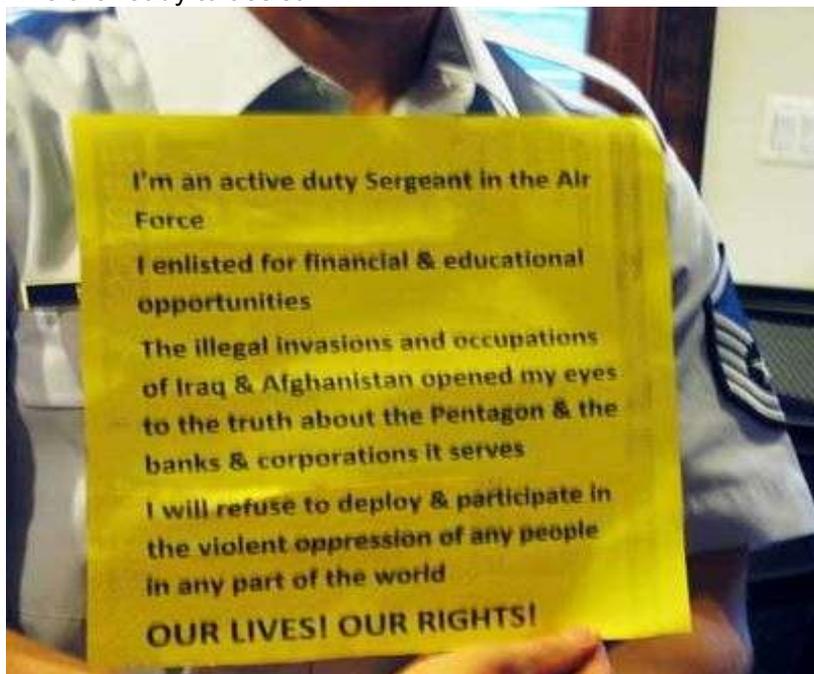
Even if the Syriza does not agree to all of the EEK programme, but only part of it- they can be exposed on the reasons where they differ. For example, you can unmask them by saying- you gained the majority in Athens, why don't you put your programme of direct democracy into practice right now. Indeed EEK could then, over the heads of the Syriza leaders, call for direct democracy, ie workers councils to be set up in Athen and elsewhere, through a process of exposure of the Syriza leaders.

Unless there is a massive experience before the elections that makes the masses see through the reformism of the Syriza, we would argue that there is still grounds, even in cases of partial or no agreement, of calling for a critical vote for Syriza.

The overnight bailout of Spanish banks with billions of Euros, supposedly without conditions, is being used by imperialism to bolster support for the ND-Pasok and even a Syriza government to argue that loans should continue. However already the Greek masses have paid 600 billion euros- really, they owe no-one, yet imperialism insists that the masses pay more and borrow more. Postponing payment is just delaying a debt which was not of the making of the Greek masses- the Syriza regime will turn its back on the masses at some stage to make them pay.

Further, we want to emphasize that we do not call for a critical vote for the KKE- its leadership has for the past 60 plus years played a counter-revolutionary role against the working class- we should call on the rank and file KKE members to break with it and to join the EEK/Antarsya.

Time is running out, but we hope that you may still be able to make a decisive intervention. We are ready to assist. WIVP



**The split in the base of the US military changes the world balance of forces**



## **Houla, Mazraat al Qubeir massacres in Syria- imperialism wants to perpetrate a 1000 new Sabra-Shatilla's**

<http://www.workersinternational.org.za/Houlaqubeirmassacres9.6.2012.htm>

Imperialism divided the Iraqi masses, deliberately putting 'Sunni' against 'Shia' in order to help defeat the resistance to the imperialist invasion and occupation. Now in Syria, imperialism is supporting the butcher regime of Assad by deliberately portraying the fight as being between 'Alawite' and 'Sunni'. In both Iraq and Syria, people of different denominations have lived in peace, side by side, often inter-marrying. To portray the fight of the Syrian masses as being against Alawites, is an artificial imperialist invention- divide and rule is what they are really wanting to achieve.

In 1982 the Israeli and Hafez Assad Syrian regimes worked together with the UN to support the Phalangist militias to slaughter the Palestinian masses in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. The UN promised the Palestinian fighters that should they disarm, they would be given safe passage out of Beirut. The Palestinian fighters disarmed and the Phalangist militias were let loose on them with the direct support of the Israeli and Syrian regimes.

Today we have the 'peace plan' of the UN through JP Morgan Board member, Kofi Annan. The centre of the plan is for 'both sides' to 'cease fire'. This has helped to further disarm the Syrian masses who have put down the few weapons they have. In any event, the leadership of the Free Syrian Army, which is headed by an ex-Assad general (and thus headed by imperialism), was only too willing to force the rank and file fighters to cease fire. This is in addition to the role of the leadership of the Free Syria Army to prevent the masses from getting weapons, just like in Libya, imperialism set up the Free Libya Army, led by ex-Gaddafi generals' as a means to gain control over the masses and more crucially, to keep the heavy weaponry away from the masses, ie to deliberately disarm the masses.

The result of the JP Morgan-Annan 'peace plan' is to create the space for fascist militia, Shabbiha, backed by the Assad tanks and heavy weapons, to commit the massacres in Houla on the 25th and 30th May and the massacres in Mazraat al Qubeir on the 7-8th June. The Kofi Annan monitors, despite tank shell fragments and tank tracks in evidence at the massacre sites, deliberately cover up for the Assad regime- they are not sure who is responsible! The Iranian and Israeli regimes are giving support to the Assad regime. The Stalinist WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions) is giving political support to the Assad regime, as are most of the world's 'left'. The Stalinist dictatorship of China, and the military dictatorship of Russia, are the suppliers of arms, to the brutal Assad regime, thereby fulfilling the wishes of their imperialist puppet masters to drown the Syrian masses in blood. The ANC-SACP regime supports the Assad regime through having signed 'most-favoured nation' status between them in 2010. The SA regime acts as the conduit for JP Morgan, through Sasol and Eskom, to provide 'gas to fuel' and electricity generation equipment to the Assad regime. The Syrian regime does not have sufficient oil refining capacity but the imperialist oil companies keep their tanks moving through continued supplies of refined fuel. The talk of 'sanctions' by the UN is nothing but a hypocritical cover for consumption of the masses on their home soil, to cover their



bloody role as the main sustainer of the Assad regime and thus of the current slaughter of the masses in Syria.

All over the world, in Spain, in Greece, in Egypt, in the USA itself, imperialism is showing its turn to greater repression of the masses through increasingly more bloody methods. Imperialism is fighting for its life. In Syria, imperialism wants to commit 1000 Sabra-Shatila's in order to attempt to bring an end to the world resistance of the masses against the capitalist system.

116 were massacred in Houla, 78 were massacred by imperialist-backed fascist forces of Assad, more than 50 were children. Yet the 'left' are in denial- the casualty figures are inflated they say. But imperialism is giving warning- Syria today, the world masses tomorrow.

We call for international brigades to support the Syrian masses in their fight against the imperialist puppet Assad regime. We call for the Libyan militias, for the Tunisian militias, for the Lebanese militias, for the Yemeni masses for the Egyptian, Jordanian, Bahraini and Palestinian masses to rally to a united front with the Syrian masses against the Assad regime. Today there are terrible atrocities being perpetrated by the Assad regime on behalf of world imperialism. Today it is Syria, tomorrow it will be all of us suffering the same fate. In opposition to the Arab League who support the Kofi Annan slaughter plan, we call for the mobilization of a region-wide general strike to stop the slaughter of the Syrian masses, and against the respective imperialist puppet regimes.

We call, further, on the Iranian, Chinese and Russian working class to rise up against your own regimes over their complicity in the slaughter of the heroic Syrian masses. Your regimes are the ones who drowned the revolution of 1979 in blood, who crushed the working class revolutions of 1989. Now they crush the Syrian masses, tomorrow, they will turn their guns on you.

To the Greek working class, the head of fascism is starting to raise itself. The same imperialists who wish to crush your heroic spirit are the main force behind the current slaughter of the Syrian masses. The fight against the Syrian regime is part of the same fight against your own regime. You need to set up workers councils and armed workers militia in your fight against your own regime.

To the working class and war veterans in the USA, we call for the transformation of the Occupy Wall Street movement into an Occupy White House movement- in other words, for marches and demonstrations to challenge the main and direct agency of Wall street in the suppression of the masses of the world. It is not for nothing that the CIA captures activists from around the world and renders them to the Assad regime for torture. The massacres by the Assad regime is just an extension of the real foreign policy of US imperialism. US imperialism, Wall Street, are the main instigators of the massacres of the Syrian masses. The Syrian masses are but one part of the same world proletarian army. Let us stand with them in their hour of need. If the Syrian working class takes power, the regional and international system of capitalist exploitation will be mortally threatened. This is why imperialism is so desperate to crush it. It is why the world working class has a duty to ensure that the masses succeed.

Arms for the Syrian masses. For armed grassroots workers councils in Syria- for the rank and file soldiers to break from the Free Syrian army and to join and arm the



grassroots councils. For a general strike to bring down the Assad regime. Down with the Assad regime, away with the SNC (Syria National Council).

We call for the exposure of the complicity of all the capitalist regimes, of the UN, of Kofi Annan-JP Morgan, in the slaughter of the Syrian masses. The slogan of 'defence of the Syrian masses' and 'down with the Assad regime' should become part of the localized struggles against the capitalist state. We call for working class organizations in South Africa to make a start on this. We also call for June 16th rallies and activities to be turned into rallies for the defence of the Syrian masses.

For the masses to shut down all Syrian embassies and to blockade the Syrian regime.

The struggle for workers councils to be set up and for workers to take power in Greece, Libya, Tunisia and Egypt must go hand in hand with support by the masses to help overthrow the Syrian regime. The fight to overthrow the Zionist regime and the imperialist puppet regimes in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Lebanon, Iraq, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Yemen, the Emirates and Iran is part of the same struggle to overthrow the Assad regime. The fight for a United Socialist Soviet states of Europe is inextricably linked to the fight for the overthrow of the Syrian regime, the TNC, the Zionist regime, the Bahraini regime, the Tunisian regime, the Egyptian regime, and indeed all regimes in the semi-colonies and colonies.

For an international congress in Athens to refound/rebuild the Fourth International, with sections, revolutionary working class parties, in every part of the globe, based on the above programme.

Workers International Vanguard Party 9.6.2012



***The full picture slogan: There is no flag large enough to cover the shame of killing the innocent. US soldiers are increasingly realizing that they are being sent on missions for the 1%.***



## **The 'youth wage subsidy'- the DA and ANC are in alliance with Anglo American against Cosatu and the rest of the working class**

There are enough resources for full employment in South Africa, including for complete employment of the youth. There is mass unemployment because South Africa is capitalist- the wealth is controlled by imperialist monopolies. Every year **Anglo American** and other monopolies take over **R600 bn in profits out** of the country. In addition to this, Anglo American and others **smuggle out another R600bn every year** through transfer pricing (exporting goods but declaring them with a much lower value and sometimes labelled as something else). The ANC-SACP and Cosatu leaders know this, yet they allow the monopoly capitalists to get away with this massive fraud.

Capitalism is in crisis. Their profits are falling so the capitalists have come up with scams to exploit workers more: They have increased food prices; they have increased the petrol price, they have increased housing prices by over 400%; they charge workers massive interest for loans; they have retrenched over a million workers since 2009; they have increased electricity prices; at the same time, housing construction, the public health and education sectors have been collapsed.

Now the capitalists have come up with a new scam, called the 'youth wage subsidy'. The ANC and DA support this plan to lower the wages of all workers. The ANC and DA want billions of rands to be paid to the bosses, increasing their profits, hoping that they will be 'kind' enough to create more jobs.

### **Problems with the 'youth wage subsidy'**

- All the bosses will do, is dismiss current workers and employ some youth at a slave wage- the youth stand to become general workers of labour brokers to be recycled every 6 months through the subsidy scheme
- In the past bosses just claim the subsidy but employ no-one
- After the subsidy is finished, the bosses just retrench the youth- this happens in Chile where only 6 out of every 100 youth on the programme, gets a permanent job- and even then the company was planning to expand in any case; In Chile youth taken on are not covered for injury on duty nor any benefit- they can be instantly dismissed and the company is not obliged to employ them afterwards;
- If the subsidy is only given to some companies, the other un-subsidized companies cannot compete and some close down- thus the subsidy can actually cause more unemployment than job creation
- There is no adequate training component so the youth will just become cheap unskilled labour;
- Some companies will shut down and relocate to subsidy areas;
- Bosses will keep wages low just to qualify for the subsidy.

The ANC and DA want the working class to pay for the subsidy to the bosses through cutting public services and lower wages.

**Seize the R600bn which Anglo American and others steal every year- here is the money for job creation; ban labour brokers, share the work among all who can work, without loss of pay; nationalise Anglo American and all the monopolies guilty of transfer pricing; ban overtime, for a shorter working week without loss of pay; jobs for all at a living wage. Break the alliance with the capitalist ANC-SACP government. Forward to a revolutionary working class party; forward to a workers summit to prepare for a general strike for our demands.**

**Workers International Vanguard Party 28.6.2012 ph 0822020617**

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## The 'youth wage subsidy'- the DA and ANC are in alliance with Anglo American against Cosatu and the rest of the working class

On the 15<sup>th</sup> May 2012 the DA marched on the Cosatu Head office in Johannesburg to demand that the ANC proposal for a 'youth wage subsidy' be implemented. The DA march was for lowering the wages of all workers, tearing up the gains that workers had won through many years of struggle. Workers have every right to march on their union offices, to occupy them, holding their leaders to account for breaking mandates or for not representing their interests. We recall, for example, the case of the SARHWU workers who occupied their union offices and kicked out their national leaders because they signed an agreement without a mandate from their members. But the DA march was aimed at destroying working class gains and thus was correctly repelled by the counter-march of workers and youth.

The call for a youth wage subsidy in South Africa comes from the US imperialist Harvard advisors to the ANC government. The Harvard team are driving economic policy for the Zuma administration as much as they did to the Mbeki-led regime. [Polokwane just changed the face of the manager of imperialist control over the masses].

The ANC and DA want R5bn from public funds to be used to pay the bosses to create slave wage 'jobs'. They turn a blind eye to the **R600bn** that **Anglo American** and others **smuggle out** of the country **every year**, through transfer pricing (declaring export goods far below the actual value so that the real sale value is realized outside the borders and fully for the profit of the capitalists); this is **besides the R600bn that are officially declared profits** of the capitalists, most of which is not reinvested here but taken offshore by the very same Anglo American and others.

The DA and ANC want to hide the fact that Anglo American and other monopoly capitalists are responsible for the mass structural unemployment, not only in SA but in the region, and indeed all over the world.

The path to full employment for the youth can only be through the expropriation of the commanding heights of the country, without compensation to the capitalists, and placing these under workers control.

### **Structural unemployment- an inherent part of the world capitalist crisis**

Capitalism requires unemployment- the greater the unemployment, the more competition there is between workers for jobs, the less the wages. Capitalists need to pay workers just enough so that they keep returning the next day for work or face starvation. By about 1900 the world had been carved up between the various imperialist powers (USA, Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and to a lesser extent Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Holland, Belgium). The only way the various imperialists could advance from then onwards was to take by force, from another imperialist power. Thus opened a period of wars and revolutions. The 2 world wars were wars between the imperialist powers for a re-division of the world among them. From 1900, world capitalism has been in decline; thus while there is now here and there technical progress, the trend is still one of general decline.



From the late 1990's and early post 2000 period, there has been great development of computers and cellphone technology but this has gone hand in hand with wars in the DRC, the source of much of the raw materials for laptops and cellphones, where over 6 million people have died and millions more displaced so that Anglo American and other monopolies can lay their hands on the wealth of the country. Today the monopolies control over 80% of the arable land and most of the mineral wealth, in the world. There is an interconnected ownership of the major banks and major industries in the world. The major banks own the major industries and the major industries own the banks- this a key feature of imperialism.

Because the world economy is stagnating, there have been scams that the monopoly capitalists have come up with to take more profits from the masses of the world. Around the world, suddenly, virtually overnight, house prices have doubled and tripled, creating huge artificial profits for the major banks of the world. House prices have increased the most in South Africa over this period, than anywhere else in the world, over 400% (4X).

Other scams include the sudden hikes in food and energy prices, purely as a means of the monopolies wanting to not have lower profits, ie to sustain ever growing profit levels. The report of Masters into high food prices in the USA showed for example, that while the real cost of cornflakes was 3 US cents, it was selling for 90 times that in retailers.

Further scams included fake infrastructure programmes where airports, shopping malls, and additional coal and nuclear power stations would be built even though there was no real need for them and where cheaper, more sustainable alternatives were available. Other scams include what is called derivatives, which is speculating on what future housing, food and mineral prices are going to be.

Another important mechanism for the world capitalists to increase profits was for imperialist companies to shift production to the massive slave camp which is China. For example, Apple shut all their production units in the USA and moved them to China. Hundreds of thousands of factories closed down around the world, as the big capitalists shifted their manufacturing units to China. The major banks, such as JP Morgan Chase, Deutsche, Credit Lyonnaise, Citibank, Goldman Sachs, HSBC etc, with their control of the world's major retailers, shifted their orders to the slave camps in China, where huge factories of thousands of workers were set up with the help of the main labour broker in China, the Chinese Communist Party.

Matters came to a head in 2008-9 when millions started defaulting on housing loans on massively inflated property values. The manufacture 'boom' that went with the housing bubble, also exploded and over 100 million workers were retrenched world wide.

In every country in the world, the youth unemployment is 2 or more times the average unemployment rate- this is a structural feature of world capitalism. Since 2008, this has gotten worse- this is why the youth around the world are leading the revolts against the regimes- they realize that they do not have a future under the current system.

The Chinese workers have started rebelling- for the past 3 years there has been a massive strike wave- in 2011 there were 160 000 strikes in China. Workers are winning wage increases. Today the rural Chinese worker has won a wage of \$200 per month for a seven day working week (this is R1500 for the month for working seven days a week). The worker in the industrial southern China has won a hourly wage of \$0.80 per hour



(this is R6 per hour and R1636 per month for a seven day working week, assuming a 9 hour working day). Today, as a result of the struggles of the Chinese workers, many workers have gone back to the rural areas and there are huge labour shortages in the southern industrial belt. Wages are rising in China- no longer are the capitalists assured of cheap labour of the past decade. The capitalists are looking elsewhere in the globe- India, Vietnam etc.

When Anglo American and other capitalists say that they want workers in South Africa to be competitive, they are referring to competition with the Chinese rural worker earning R1500 per month, working 7 days a week. It is this drive by the monopoly capitalists to lower the wages of the working class in South Africa, that is behind the proposal by the ANC and DA for the 'youth wage subsidy'.

#### **What is at the centre of the ANC-DA proposal on the 'youth wage subsidy'?**

The principal aim of this scheme, according to the July 2007 Treasury report is to reduce the cost of labour, that is, to reduce wages. The ANC government says that by reducing wages, profits of the capitalists will increase and then they will employ more workers. In other words, this is same 'trickle down' principle of GEAR, Asgisa, and in general of the imperialist IMF: make the bosses more rich and they will create jobs, according to the ANC-DA alliance. Gear and Asgisa has failed to create jobs and there is no reason why the 'youth wage subsidy' will succeed now.

#### **What are the central problems with the 'youth wage subsidy'?**

*Firstly*, the main aim of the capitalists is to make profit, not create jobs. Thus in the days of apartheid, when there was a jobs subsidy, the bosses just submitted a fake list of workers and pocketed the subsidy. This has also happened recently in the USA.

*Secondly*, in the past, once the bosses received the subsidy, they just retrenched the workers.

*Thirdly*, where there was a regional subsidy, such as creating jobs in the bantustans, the capitalists would just close their factories in urban areas and move them to the bantustans, paying the workers very low wages. Once the subsidy ended, the capitalists would just close up and move on to another area where their costs would be the lowest. This occurred not only in the apartheid era in SA but also recently in the USA. The DA wants the ANC government to implement the wage subsidy on a regional basis- the danger is then that some companies would close up where they are and move to the Western Cape, just to claim the subsidy.

*Fourthly*, higher paid workers could just be retrenched and replaced by lower paid workers. This has already been happening for years where bosses retrench workers and then hire some of them back without benefits and at low wages through labour brokers. The 'youth wage subsidy' could lead to entrenching of labour brokers who will just recycle youth every 6 months through their books. The big companies who were responsible for dismissing 1 million workers since 2008-9, would now have a platform for a new round of mass dismissals, while being indirectly subsidized through state funds. When the DA and ANC says that the labour market is too rigid, they mean that there are a number of union agreements in place that would not make it easy for the bosses to retrench workers. The ANC and DA wants the labour law weakened so that it is easier to dismiss workers. If the labour law is weakened then the bosses will continue with mass retrenchments and replace higher paid workers with lower paid young workers. This



does not lower unemployment but increases the suffering of the working class. There could thus be a mushrooming of more labour brokers.

*Fifthly*, there is the danger that the subsidy will be paid for workers that companies will have employed even if there was no subsidy. This would just enrich the company without any real gain in employment. This was the case in Ireland where 91% of subsidized workers would have been employed in any case by the bosses, even if there was no subsidy. The ANC govt admits that of the subsidized youth who are permanently taken on by companies, at least half of them would have been taken on even without the subsidy. In this case, paying the subsidy to the bosses amounts to theft from public resources- the ANC and DA have no problem with this.

*Sixthly*, if only a few companies in a sector receive a subsidy, then they would be able to sell their products more cheaply than those who do not receive the subsidy. Over a period the un-subsidized companies could be forced to close. Thus selective use of the subsidy, as what the DA is proposing for some companies in the Western Cape, could lead to more job losses than employment gains.

*Seventhly*, there is the question of stigma. In most countries, where there are wage subsidies, most workers are dismissed when the subsidy ends. Thus, when young workers go again to seek employment and companies see that they have already been on a wage subsidy programme, the bosses are reluctant to take them on. Thus a worker who has been on the wage subsidy once could find it even more difficult to find work than before. This is the case of the *Chile Jovem* programme where only 6% of subsidy workers are actually taken on permanently. The wage voucher programme in the USA is another example where bosses are reluctant to employ those who come a second time with a wage voucher.

*Eighthly*, once the wage subsidy system starts, the bosses will be reluctant to raise wages as they want to keep wages low enough to enable them to qualify for the subsidy. The wage subsidy will thus have the effect of a generally lowering of wages, and thus greater suffering.

*Ninthly*, there is the question of who will pay for the wage subsidy. The 2007 government document to the Unemployment Insurance Fund claims that the expenditure has to be between R20-R30bn. Where would money come from to enrich the bosses, in the vague hope that jobs would be created? Possible funding sources that are: increasing VAT, increasing taxes, decreasing public expenditure. Currently, public sector workers wages are being cut to help create funds to enrich the bosses in the hope they will establish more, low wage jobs for the youth.

*Tenthly*, the whole of Africa, including South Africa, has been treated by the monopolies as mainly areas of production of raw minerals and unprocessed food. The small manufacturing sector in South Africa shrank even further since 2008-9. There are only about 1.5 million workers in manufacturing. The 'youth wage subsidy' as proposed by the ANC-DA alliance is not linked to training for real expansion in manufacturing. For example, there are no plans for training diamond cutters and polishers that could process all the diamond production here, instead of having 99% of it shipped off to Israel for this purpose. There is no plan to link training to beneficiation of gold nor of metal products such as for computers and electronics. It is no accident that the diamond, gold



and iron ore mines are controlled by Anglo American whose deliberate policy is to keep SA as a source of cheap labour.

More than 60% of the unemployed have not completed secondary schooling- the 'wage subsidy programme' provides no real training mechanism for these workers; nor indeed is there any effort to ensure that such a training mechanism is in place for any youth, even with matric level qualification. Without a strong, well-defined training programme, a youth wage subsidy will fail as the nett result will be the replacement of older cheap labour with younger cheap labour, and no gains in employment.

But even with a strong training component, a real expansion in manufacturing will only come about through challenging the stranglehold of Anglo American and other monopolies over the wealth of the country. Thus, even though the 'plan' is that 140 000 youth 'jobs' will be subsidized each year for the next 3 years, once the subsidy ends, the youth will most likely be dumped out onto the unemployment line again, or some higher wage worker would have been retrenched and the youth fills his/her place. We need also remember that every year 400 000 new school leavers enter the labour market- thus this scheme does not even come close to even keeping unemployment from increasing.

More than 70% of the workforce are not unionised. Over the past 2-3 years, tens of thousands (if not hundreds of thousands) of small companies closed down. Many of these companies paid their workers less than the levels of the unionised factories- yet they closed down. According to Cosatu statistics, the average wage is less than R1000 per month. These thousands of companies were paying their workers this or less and still closed down. What makes the ANC and DA think that just because of a subsidy that suddenly 140 000 new workers would be taken on without displacing existing workers? Even if some are taken on, the current conditions will mean that as soon as the subsidy ends, most of these workers will be tossed on the street again. Many companies may have realized that they have retrenched too many workers in 2009- why should they be paid from public funds to employ new workers at slave wages, when they should be employing them at the current going rate?

#### **Preparing the way towards a compulsory pension fund?**

The state is also thinking about linking the 'youth wage subsidy' to covering some workers and company contributions to the planned compulsory pension fund. This is an extra 10% tax on all workers who are not in an existing pension fund. Thus some of the lower paid workers could have their pension contribution subsidized for a while. There are at least 2 problems with this. Up to now, the state pays a general pension to anyone who reaches pension age (assuming they do not have a pension already). But in future, this pension will now come from the workers own direct contribution. This means that the pension funds that the state currently spends will be diverted into the pockets of big capital. Secondly, the state plans that this pension savings paid by the worker would not be available to them if they should lose their job (like the current Providend funds allow). The money will only be available once the worker reaches a pension age. Considering that most workers die before they are 50, these pension savings will really just be handed over to the capitalist banks for profiteering. The state is now fond of quoting the 'Grootboom' case, showing how the Constitution guarantees the rights of workers. We should remember that Grootboom died before she received her house.

**The start of 'workfare'?** The state is also considering compelling workers that may be retrenched, to work in a 'wage subsidy' job before qualifying to receive UIF money. This



would amount to forcing a lowering of wages as the subsidy job is likely to be at a lower rate than what the worker had been working for. It would also encourage more companies to begin to dismiss more workers. Around the world, capitalist states have used 'workfare' as a means to lower wages for certain categories of work, such as in the public sector, as a means to cut public expenses and divert more funds from state coffers into that of the capitalists. The caregivers, teacher assistants and police reservists, who all receive only stipends and not standard wages with benefits, part of the proposals of the Dept of Social Welfare, are examples of 'workfare' already being implemented. These are all measures that the IMF supports in the re-direction of public funds from the state into that of big capital.

The DA uses the case of Singapore, Chile and Turkey to support their arguments. We examine them one by one:

### **The case of Singapore**

It is interesting that the DA promotes Singapore because it is a fascist dictatorship where workers have no right to challenge any retrenchment. The unions are so closely tied to the state that there are a group of MP's (members of parliament) that oversee the unions. Workers rights are so curtailed that there has only been 2 days of strikes since 1978. Workers have no real right to bargain for wages. There is no social security in Singapore. Workers and bosses each pay 25% of the workers wage towards the worker's pension. For many years, whenever there has been a crisis, the employer would be able to stop paying the 25% contribution to the worker's pension. Thus each time there is a crisis, the worker takes a wage cut. The conditions are so tough that many workers are forced to work until their 70's or 80's in order to survive.

The DA is correct that the unemployment rate dropped by 50% between 2003 and 2007, but this was not due to any wage subsidy. The official unemployment rate dropped from 4% to 2%. But since 2007 the official unemployment rate has started to rise despite the 12% wage subsidy scheme which only started in 2009. This subsidy was for low waged workers who were older than 35. Who knows what the real unemployment rate is in Singapore, which describes 25% of the population as non-citizens- their conditions are not counted in the official statistics.

There is also no freedom of the press. While Singapore scores the highest for literacy and numeracy for primary school, its participation rate for high school is only 25%- they do not take part in the tests for high school literacy and numeracy. Thus it is a cheap labour Mecca for the capitalist which list it as the most business friendly country in the world. Not surprising, the USA has a free trade agreement with this fascist dictatorship.

### **The case of Turkey**

Firstly, the Turkey youth employment programme is only a regional pilot study that has just started in Nov 2011 and has yet to be evaluated. Past efforts to implement a wage subsidy in Turkey merely resulted in more companies registering rather than employment increasing. In fact over the period 2000 to 2009 during which a wage subsidy scheme was attempted, youth employment grew steadily from 19% to 25%. Youth unemployment fell between 2009 and 2011 from 25% to 18% when there was no wage subsidy scheme.

Even the current pilot youth programme is limited in that it has as its central feature the employment of 8000 counsellors who would advise youth where existing vacancies and



training opportunities are, hardly a job creation exercise. Another feature is to consider giving tax cuts to bosses and to exempt them from paying certain social security contributions. Once again the principle is, make the bosses more rich and hope they create jobs- a trickle down approach that has failed everywhere on the globe. The Turkish economy grew the fastest, 7-8% per annum, between 2000 and 2006, when youth unemployment grew to historic high levels.

Turkey allows children aged 14 to enter the labour market. [Compulsory schooling ends at age 13]. It has a 30% unemployment rate for those with tertiary education- the highest from all groups of education. Overall, unemployment decreases as level of education decreases, which shows that Turkey is another cheap labour economy, like many other semi-colonies. Repression of government opposition is brutal. Despite having elections, it is a military dictatorship. In February this year 15 female trade unionists were arrested merely for planning an International Women's day demonstration. Mayday every year is brutally suppressed by the regime. There are 4000-5000 criminal cases against journalists for 'defamation' and 'terrorist propaganda'. Any attempt to report police brutality is illegal. This brutal police state is the second biggest recipient of military 'aid' from the US regime.

### **The case of Chile**

Training for youth in the *Chile Jovem* programme is run by institutes that are set up to make a profit out of providing their services. Nevertheless, the training provided has been described as 'poor'. The gains made by this programme is questionable as only 6% of youth that pass through this programme end up with permanent jobs.

When training is provided using company facilities, the company is not obliged to pay any wage to the young worker; the worker would receive a maintenance and transport stipend from the state which has been set very low as the programme does not want to lure other youth who may be at school or in permanent jobs to join the programme. The level of pay is about 50% of the union wage. While the youth are on the programme, they are not covered by any labour law nor do they receive any social security coverage. The youth can be dismissed at any moment nor are they covered if they are injured on duty. There is also no guarantee that the young worker will be employed after the 6 month training period.

Much of the repressive apparatus from the dictator Pinochet period is still intact. The police are brutal in their suppression of protests.

More than half the secondary schools and universities are private. Structurally, most of the working class are excluded from gaining tertiary education, which they see as the gateway to employment and a better life. The total failure of *Chile Jovem* to meaningfully address youth unemployment is shown by the pre-revolutionary situation that has existed since last year in Chile. The youth have spearheaded revolts, organised sit-ins and occupations of schools and universities, the central demand being to abolish private education and for the creation of free education. From the barricades of Chile the youth have raised the call for the total nationalization of the mines, without compensation and linked this to free education. Chile, like South Africa, has been kept as a producer of raw, unprocessed copper. Anglo American controls the copper mines in Chile and are directly responsible for youth unemployment there.



**Conclusion and way forward:** Capitalism is responsible for youth unemployment. Youth unemployment and unemployment in general can only be overcome through the working class overthrowing the capitalist system. The 'youth wage subsidy' is a means for the capitalist to reduce workers wages in general; it is a means to increase the rate of exploitation and will lead to more unemployment and suffering.

The Cosatu leaders direct our eyes only towards training but this covers the role of Anglo American and other monopolies play in ensuring that Southern Africa is a cheap labour economy. A capitalist economy today by definition means high youth unemployment. Relying only on training to solve youth unemployment is like giving morphine to a cancer patient instead of cutting out the cancer itself, ie instead of dealing with the capitalist system, once and for all.

The immediate funds for the creation of jobs are there: the R600bn that Anglo American and others smuggle out of the country every year through transfer pricing. No to reduction of public services and public sector wages to fund the bosses for wage slavery and more retrenchments.

Share all the work among all who can work, without loss of pay. Ban overtime; shorten the working week, without loss of pay.

It is time for Cosatu to break the alliance with the capitalist ANC-SACP government.

Nationalize Anglo American and other monopolies, without compensation, placing them under workers control. Here is the path to not only employment for all youth, but for all unemployed. Here is the path for decent housing for all, free, quality medical care; free liberatory education up to the highest level. Such a fight starts here but must extend to all Southern Africa, into the imperialist centres and indeed on an international scale.

**Workers International Vanguard Party** stands ready to fight side by side with any working class formation and progressive that supports the above. Let us prepare the way for the formation of general strike committees, comprising delegates of the employed and unemployed, workers' delegates from the factories, irrespective of their union, irrespective if they are permanent or casual, or local or immigrant, unionised or un-unionised. Let us extend and broaden the Cosatu Congress into an emergency workers' summit, let us place a real fight for the expropriation of the expropriators, on the agenda!  
26.6.2012



**Metalworkers message to capitalist icon Mandela who signed away nationalization**



## **The municipal wage negotiations- The ANC-DA alliance (Salga) launches an attack on the working class.**

The ANC-DA alliance (Salga) is launching an attack on workers gains by wanting to tear up workers gains on leave, sick leave and the exclusion of lawyers from disciplinary hearings, and by offering wage cuts to workers- this is an attack on decent work and amounts to the ANC going back on its election promises.

The attacks on workers rights and wage levels is part of an international attack launched by the big capitalists of the world, for example, workers in Spain, Greece, Chile, USA, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Portugal, Italy, UK, Bolivia, China, etc have all faced huge attacks by their own state on behalf of monopoly capital; World capitalism is in crisis; all capitalist countries are cutting public sector expenses by cutting workers wages and by casualization. At the same time, public funds have been handed over to the major banks to bail them out. These are the same banks that are responsible for increasing food prices to starve billions of the masses, the same banks who have pushed up the price of petrol, the price of electricity and the price of housing; millions of workers have been evicted by the same banks and millions more are kept homeless because they cannot afford the high house prices. Now the ANC govt, with the support of the DA and most of the Cosatu and SACP leaders, have set aside **R17 bn more** of public funds to bail out the international gangsters, the main international banks.

At the same time, all the ANC-DA alliance has to 'offer' workers is a 4.5%, a wage cut- all prices of food, electricity, transport, etc, go up all the time but when the capitalists, the imperialists call, they are given a blank cheque. (The mediator is offering 6.5% but even this is an insult to workers. The lowering of workers demands to 11.5% from an already low 18% demand shows that the Samwu leaders are not serious about launching a real fight in defence of workers' demands; ***all municipal workers should start setting up independent strike committees, uniting all workers, irrespective of which if they are Samwu or Imatu, or whether unionised or not, casual or permanent, directly working for the municipality or working for a labour broker;*** There should be mass strike committees and mass meetings before and during any possible strike- there should be mass participation in the negotiations and mass marches on the negotiating venues. These are all to counter the leaders watering down the demands and changing workers' mandate.

The municipal and public sector workers are in a weak position as they do not directly produce like the industrial workers do; a sustained fight for their demands must therefore involve solidarity with the rest of the industrial working class;

The tearing up (expiry of contracts) is a tool used by the bosses in the USA to smash working class organization- this is now being imported by the ANC govt into the municipal negotiations. Yet, the Cosatu and SACP leaders still justify that workers be in alliance with the pro-capitalist government;

The state is trying to force cutbacks on the municipal workers- the only way to launch a real defence is through a general strike- if the ANC-DA alliance succeeds in tearing up the hard won gains of workers in the municipal sector, all other sectors will face the same fate at the hands of big capital; it is time for workers to totally discard multi-year agreements- even one year is too long- **wages should go up whenever prices go up**

The state is handing over **R3 trillion to Anglo American** and other big capital- yet they have **no plan for houses for all**, there is no plan for basic infrastructure for all the masses- the



infrastructure scam is there to make Anglo American and others exploit the working class more efficiently;

Since the days of apartheid and every year since 1994, the ANC-SACP govt has allowed Anglo American and other big capital take out 20% of GDP every year through 'transfer pricing' (this is where Anglo exports goods but states their value at far less than what the real level is- **currently R600bn stolen every year**), **without paying tax on it, this is besides another R600 bn + in profits that are taken out of the country every year**- yet the working class is expected to tighten the belt and take wage cuts, cuts in services, closure of schools, collapse of clinics (Panado centres) and public hospitals, to survive in collapsing RDP brick shacks.

In this life and death struggle, the working class needs to unite to expropriate Anglo American and all monopoly capital, without compensation, and to place all these assets under workers control- this is not the Mandela-Mbeki-Zuma-Malema-type of nationalization which is just awarding a section of the black elite a bigger share in the continued exploitation of the masses by big capital- no to 10%, 20% or even 50%- there should be 100% nationalization, without compensation to the capitalists (they have stolen far more than the 'value' of their assets)- these must be placed under workers control

To lead such a fight, we need to start preparation for a general strike involving all workers, irrespective of being in a union or not, irrespective of being permanent or casual, local or 'immigrant'.

The youth and the working class in Chile are demanding the expropriation of the copper mines which are controlled by Anglo American. The masses in Chile have been on the march for about a year now. Even the workers in the USA are starting to wake up. 30 000 marched in New York on Mayday under the call for a general strike. [it is illegal to call for a general strike in the USA]. The slogan of 'we are all Americans' is now fading- most of the masses in the USA support the Occupy Wall Street movement- they realize that the 99% is being exploited by the 1%, the capitalist class. In North Africa and the Middle East the masses have risen up and overthrown old dictator regimes; the Saudi regime and others have been forced to give \$100 bn to the masses to prevent a revolution. The masses in Greece have had repeated general strikes against the capitalist attacks. Let us draw the lessons from all of their struggles and take the path of mass resistance to end this system of capitalism once and for all.

*Recall all the pro-capitalist leaders of Cosatu!*

*No to the bail out of the IMF!*

*Break the alliance with the ANC-SACP govt*

*Forward to a workers summit to prepare the way for a general strike*

*Bail out workers through jobs for all at a living wage; away with the 6.5% wage cut*

*Share the work among all who can work, at no loss of pay*

*Expropriate Anglo American and other monopolies, without compensation, place these assets under workers control.*

It is not enough to break the alliance with the govt, but we need an independent revolutionary working class party- WIVP stands ready to help with this fight.

**Workers International Vanguard Party 28.6.2012 ph 0822020617**

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## **The Labia bans the 'Roadmap to Apartheid' but the R2K and PSG gives a platform to the zionists**

A few months ago the Labia cinema banned the screening of the movie 'RoadMap to Apartheid' because of pressure from the Zionist lobby in South Africa. After some protest by the radical intelligentsia in Cape Town, the Labia will now screen the movie. But the Zionist lobby demanded to be allowed to address the audience. Once again, the Labia agreed to this and agreed to have only one screening (a free show) and to give the Zionist fascists the platform to lecture the movie-goers to give a 'balanced view' and thus counteract all that is in the movie. This deal was brokered by the R2K (Right to Know campaign) and applauded by the 'left' as a 'victory'. In fact, the Zionists have won. This is presented to us as a great 'achievement' for the masses!

The last Apartheid president, KW De Klerk, recently tried to justify the Bantustans- 'blacks did have the right to vote, they were free', according to De Klerk. He was rightly shouted down.

Thousands died fighting the old fascistic regime. Some are missing up to today. How can the masses who fought for democracy be equal to those who suppressed democracy? How can a platform be given to a fascist? Giving them a platform is a victory for fascism, a victory for Zionism.

This is not an academic issue but one of the life and death for Palestinians. Fascists have NO RIGHT to come and address us. Fascism must be abolished, not given a platform. The Jewish Board of Deputies is a direct agent of suppression of the Palestinians, a direct fascist agency, given refuge by the SA government. These fascists are expelling African Jews and Palestinians from historic Palestine. By giving in to the Zionists, the Labia gives support to fascism.

The people who we want to listen to are currently locked up in the Zionist gulag. These are the Palestinians who have the full right to come and address us, not the fascists.

We call for a total boycott of the screening of the movie under the eyes of the Zionists on 31st May 2012 at 1745 at the Labia. We call for the producers of the Movie and all the Palestine solidarity groups and movements to take it to the townships to show it to the masses, not under the eyes of Zionists. If the Palestine Solidarity groups are unwilling to do this, we will do it.

The R2K is promoting zionism and fascism.

Away with Zionism! The Labia and the 'left' is capitulating to fascism.

Forward to a 1-state Palestine.

We remember Cde Xolile 'Boss' Nxu who visited Palestine. He was strip-searched by the Mossad right here in South Africa- at OR Tambo airport, where ex-Minister of Intelligence, Ronnie Kassrils, gave them free reign to search any passenger en route to historic Palestine. Away with Zionism-fascism in SA.



## ***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 more deluded by reaction  
On tyrants only we'll make war  
The soldiers too will take strike action  
They'll break ranks and fight no more  
And if those cannibals keep trying  
To sacrifice us to their pride  
They soon shall hear the bullets flying  
We'll shoot the generals on our own side.**

**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. They established in the Commune a form of government more democratic than ever seen before. 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 Commune was a working body, not a talk shop. The distinction between legislative and executive arms of government was abolished. Marx's *Civil War in France* is a superb account of the history and significance of the Commune. The Commune was drowned in blood by the conservative French government in Versailles, cheered on by the ruling classes of the world.



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