



# **The Spark**



## **[Intlantsi yaBasebenzi]**

No 13 14 February 2014

Price R3-00 Solidarity Price R10-00

### **Numsa workers spearhead the break of the masses from the ANC and SACP regime**

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Numsa members join hands with the communities in the struggle against the state

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## Editorial

**1. Numsa's historic break from the ruling parties (ANC and SACP).** We salute the Numsa workers for their historic break from the ANC and SACP. Their Special National Congress (SNC) resolutions are contradictory but overall progressive as they break from the ANC- the limitation to the Freedom Charter as a starting point shows that there is contested terrain between those who want to reform capital and the base and the left that wants socialist revolution. In our next edition we will be raising the debate around what could be the basis for the programme of the revolutionary working class party that Numsa workers want to form.

**2. The masses are breaking more and more from parliamentarism:** We see a greater tendency of the masses to break from parliamentarism as the masses target more and more the symbols of the state- this is reflected in the masses rising against councillors and the protests where the masses surround police stations. (this is similar to the mid and late 1980's where the masses identified the system as the enemy). This is a reflection of a trend of the masses increasingly rejecting all the parliamentary parties. What we also see, ever since the Marikana strike in 2012, the impact of the spread of workers' committees uniting the masses in struggle irrespective of political or union affiliation, or whether employed or unemployed. Thus we have seen workers committees set up in Mothotlung, Relela and now in Sebokeng. This points to an increasing realization as to the character of the workers' party that the masses want, namely a revolutionary party that leads the struggle against the system.

The masses occupied vacant land (today called Boiketlong) in Sebokeng. Just before the 2009 elections the ANC govt promised to purchase the land and to build houses and provide services for the masses. The community was sent from pillar to post and even last year (Aug 2013) the ANC govt again said that they had secured the land and would begin construction. Nothing happened. Naturally the masses have been protesting every year since before 2009. In a move to silence the leaders, the ANC made false charges against the leaders of the community, resulting in them being banned by the state from attending meetings or any protest, much like the old apartheid regime did to the leaders of the masses. The court case against the community leaders has been ongoing for many months. The latest date of the court hearing against the community leaders was the 12<sup>th</sup> Feb 2014.

On Wed 5<sup>th</sup> Feb, while the leaders were in court, the masses were protesting against the broken promises of the ANC as well as against the victimization of their leaders- Lerata Rabolila was reportedly killed by the ANC (even though the mass media mistakenly reported that he had been killed by the police). The name of the alleged killer is known to the police but no arrest has been made. The ANC had clashed with protestors. The protestors report that when the ANC attacks them, the police do nothing but when the masses resist, the police intervene against them. In the latest protests another 12 protestors had been arrested.

On Fri 7<sup>th</sup> Feb 2014: the mayor had come to meet the masses in Boiketlong, saying that the lawyers are finalising the deal for the transfer of the land to the state, promising mixed housing - RDP rent and bond stock.

The masses were still not impressed- they had been lied to for many years. Perhaps if they see the agreement in writing by the next Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> Feb (when the mayor promises to return), they may begin to believe them.

The community remains concerned that their leadership have been serving a banning order for many months. They remain strong that the charges against the leaders be unconditionally withdrawn.

There should be a definite time frame for the houses to be built (under oversight of the community).

Residents have also raised concerns of the ANC now wanting to pay for the funeral of Lerata Rabolila. They are so angry, they say they would rather put their own pennies together rather than allow the ANC to wash its face for the elections.

Further, the community does not want bond houses- why make the banks rich and who can afford bond houses?



The EFF showed its opportunism by falsely claiming that one of its members had been kidnapped and beaten by the ANC- what these opportunists will do just to get votes! The working class should take note of this trend and expose them further.

#### **Draft demands which could be used by communities across the country:**

The first point to note is that there are many vacant hotels and buildings which could easily accommodate the masses- many of the mansions of the rich are mostly empty- they could easily have been used for housing.

Secondly, all the trillions of dollars of wealth stolen through transfer pricing and tax evasion by Anglo American and other mining monopolies, could have provided decent houses for all, jobs for all, free, quality health care for all, free, quality education for all up to the highest level, for the masses in the entire Southern African region and still have change left over.

- Expropriate Anglo American and all other mining monopolies, without compensation, placing these under workers' control;
- Expropriate the vacant spaces in the hotels, buildings and houses of the rich to provide housing for the masses;
- Decent low rental housing for all, close to places of work, with exemption for pensioners, the unemployed and all workers who earn less than R12500 per month;
- Nationalise the land
- Expropriate the major construction companies, without compensation, to be placed under workers' control
- Expropriate the banks without compensation to the capitalists, to be placed under workers control
- Free water, no prepaid water and electricity meters
- Drop the charges against the housing activists and lift the banning order on them which restricts their right to protest and their freedom of association
- Arrest the police and ANC members who killed housing protestors
- Expand and further organise committees in the communities of the employed and unemployed, like that in the Marikana strike wave, and form self-defence committees accountable to these community committees, to protect the masses from the ongoing attacks by the police. These struggle committees of the unemployed and employed against the capitalists and the state, is how the United Front that Numsa workers have proposed, should look like.

**3. How not to build a United Front:** As we said on the Numsa leaders, namely that they want a reformist party as the PT in Brazil while the base of Numsa wants a revolutionary working class party. The PT was formed with the inclusion of the churches and groupings that had a capitalist programme. These influences were used to rein in and curb the left and turned the direction of the PT into a capitalist party. The Numsa leaders have a similar notion with the inclusion of all sorts of NGO's that are funded by imperialism and thus limit their programmes to within the framework of capitalism- this is to limit the influence of the left. Numsa had their Struggle Expo on 1st Feb but revolutionary groups were not allowed to come, only NGO's and social movements. Just imagine, Numsa leaders invited the Black Management Forum and Nafcoc (National African Chamber of Commerce), which include labour brokers in their ranks, while the left groups were excluded! We are preparing a more detailed article on the United Front but would advise activists and workers to study Trotsky's article on the United Front in his work on fascism in Germany.

**4. Syria and Egypt:** The talks in Geneva are between sides which are both backed by imperialism- the capitalists need the masses to be brought under control so that the capitalist stability required for exploitation continues- the longer the war goes on the more the threat against all the capitalist regimes in the region



remains. At the same time the eyes of the working class of the world are also on Syria- if the workers were to seize power, it would reverberate around the world, even in the imperialist centres. Imperialism-capitalism is fighting for its life. We support the independent masses fighting against the imperialist forces within and the Syrian regime.

The resistance against the Sisi-US-backed regime is spreading to the broader working class. The crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood and on the few democratic freedoms that had been won over the years, is aimed at the masses- imperialism knows that the Muslim Brotherhood would cut a deal against the masses any time.

Meanwhile the Palestinians in Yarmouk refugee camp, in Gaza, in the West bank and in the refugee camps around the region remain dire. Objectively the Hamas controls the masses in Gaza, while the PA controls the masses in the West Bank.

In all areas, the time for building independent revolutionary working class parties is long overdue. The revolutionaries should take note and get to work, on the programme, and meanwhile unite in action against the capitalist regimes.

**5. The Platinum miners strike:** We salute the mineworkers for taking the path of strike against the very bosses who have stolen trillions and who still continue to steal trillions. The AMCU leaders only have an interest in getting a slightly better increase than what Num was able to get so that they can remain at the leadership of the mineworkers and will be able to get more subs from workers. The workers have boldly raised again the demand for R12 500- for which we salute them- this is definitely not the demand of the AMCU leaders. Thus the spirit of Marikana 2012 lives. What is necessary now is to build broader workers committees involving all workers irrespective of union affiliation and including the unemployed from the mining communities nearby. It is important to raise the demands of the masses for housing, water, health care, free education for all, as part of the strike- really it is part of the same struggle.

We condemn the role of the Wasp leaders who have misled some of the worker leaders from the ex-mineworkers committees into calling a press conference, just before the strike started, and openly opposing the strike. Here the leaders of the Wasp and the DSM are showing that they are the best friends of Anglo American and the other mining bosses- the Wasp leaders are strike breakers and have shown that they act in the interest of big capital. Instead of supporting the strike and from within supporting the workers demands while criticizing the AMCU leaders, the Wasp has handed the AMCU leaders a big favour- no more will any of their worker leaders on the mines be trusted by workers- the AMCU leaders have just, thanks to Wasp, had their power strengthened.

The mineworkers strike has to spread to other sectors, otherwise the capitalists will just wait until workers become hungry and tired- in this sense the AMCU leaders and the minebosses are on the same side.

**6. The university student uprising:** We salute the students for rising up against the govt and the cuts in funding that they have implemented. Through the struggles the SACP leader was forced to back down and give R1 bn more to the funding. At the time of going to print several universities remain either totally or partially closed (WSU, TUT, DUT, etc) while in many places students are still struggling to register. Students need to combine with the workers and parents to resist the attacks of the ANC govt (see our article on the subject).

## **7. ANC posturing for elections in Mothotlung**

The decision to only recall the mayor and Chief Whip of the Madibeng municipality is nothing but election posturing by the ANC. It shows that the ANC leadership are tied hand and foot to Anglo American and are indeed a lackey of imperialism.

It is on record that Anglo American and other mining monopolies have stolen trillions of dollars of wealth from Southern Africa (and continue to do so). Here are the funds not only for adequate water for all, but decent housing, jobs for all, not only for SA but for the entire Southern Africa. The ANC ignores this corruption and



only symbolically targets some small fish fighting over the crumbs. Even then, the ANC itself had a recommendation in 2012 already that the corrupt water tenderpreneurs would be arrested. Now these officials are recalled and will probably be recycled elsewhere. Sipiwe Nyanda was supposed to also be brought to book but he has been recycled and is still serving elsewhere.

We call for the formation of workers committees in communities, on the mines and at other workplaces. Let the demand for water for all be raised at the strike lines, in the communities- it is time that communities and workers on strike unite, just like the 2012 miners strike.

The demand remains for the expropriation of Anglo American and other monopolies, without compensation, to be placed under workers control. The EFF, ANC, the Cosatu or Amcu leaders and others will not bring freedom for the masses; only revolutionary mass action will liberate us.

- \* Arrest the police and their commanders who killed the workers from Marikana to Mothotlung
- \* Arrest the bosses of Anglo American and other mining monopolies
- \* Expropriate Anglo American and other monopolies
- \* we demand the immediate return of all the wealth stolen by them
- \* Water and decent housing for all
- \* share all the work among all who can work at a living wage

## 8. JP Morgan Chase must pay

Now that JP Morgan Chase has to pay \$2.6 bn to the US government and the victims of Ponzi-thief Madoff, there are a number of questions that arise:

1. JP Morgan Chase is the leading shareholder not only of Anglo American but also of the SA Reserve Bank;
2. The Journal of Southern African Studies and the Africa Progress Panel both report that the mining corporations have been stealing through mechanisms like transfer-pricing and tax evasion, for at least the past 50 years. The scale of the theft runs into trillions of Rands and this is just from South Africa;
3. JP Morgan Chase and Anglo American should be investigated for theft and possible manipulation of the currencies from SA, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Chile and other countries where they operate. Their millions of victims should be duly compensated.

The alternative, of course, is to expropriate them, without compensation, and place them under workers' control. Now that would be the way to salute the class of 2013.

## 9. Free the Las Heras workers

Recently the Argentinian courts have sentenced the Las Heras oil workers to heavy sentences, purely for their long struggle for workers rights and against casualization in the South of Argentina. Read more about it, join the facebook group to get more information on their struggle and how you can help organize for their immediate release: <https://www.facebook.com/Solidarity.Las.Heras.workers>





Workers International

Vanguard Party-

who are we?

Consider the following: There are 5 monopolies that control more than 80% of the wealth on the Stock Exchange (the JSE). They are mainly Anglo American, followed by Old Mutual, Liberty Life, Rembrandt and Sanlam. Over the past 50 years Anglo American and other mining monopolies have been stealing (conservatively) R400 bn every year through mislabelling and tax evasion. The ANC and the old NP regimes deliberately over looked this theft while taking a few pennies of shares in return for looking the other way. Here is the money for creating jobs for all, decent, free health care, education and housing for all. Everybody of working age should be employed but millions are unemployed, living in shacks or overcrowded conditions and are malnourished. There is not a single parliamentary party that aims to challenge this violence against the masses of Africa. Thus we believe that the elections are a hoax, designed to give the false impression that by voting, real change will come about. In short, parliament is part of the problem. There are scientific journal articles that prove that the theft by Anglo American and others have been going on for a long time, but parties in parliament only pay lip service to tackling this. There is a rich history in the world of the working class organizing themselves independently of parliament and indeed against them. Consider for instance that in 1886 the First International, which was led by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, led a strike in many countries on the 1<sup>st</sup> May to demand an 8-hour day and 40 hour week. They won their fight, (This, by the way, is where the 'weekend' comes from- it was not a generous gift from the rich- it was won in sweat and blood). Note that in SA, we have a 46 hour week (which shows that we lag far behind world struggles of the workers). We present below a summary of a history of the Internationals and our own role in it. (if you find it too tough reading, you may skip it for now and go straight to the section titled '**Basic Principles**').

Over the past 160 years, workers around the world have tried building their own International organization, to unite their struggles against the rich (the capitalists) who control the world's wealth but who do no work. In summary we draw on the experiences and theory of the first 4 Internationals; in particular and more precisely, the 3<sup>rd</sup> International during the time that both Lenin and Trotsky were active (the first 4 Congresses- 1919 to 1924). We subscribe to the Fourth International up to the time when its first leadership was killed off by Stalinism and imperialism ( 1933 up to about 1940). We still stand for the rebuilding of the Fourth International as we believe its tasks are still valid today, namely the overthrow of world imperialism capitalism and politically defeating the Stalinist and other reactionary trends within the workers' movement. By imperialism we mean the rule of the large banks and corporates that control the world. Joseph Stalin took over the leadership of the Russian Communist Party after the death of Lenin in 1924- Stalin was a representative of a class of bureaucrats that parasited off the gains of the October 1917 workers revolution in Russia. Stalin killed off Trotsky, most of the old leadership of the party and millions of poor peasants who stood up against his rule. The method of executing and falsifying the history of your opponents while claiming to stand for Socialism, is called Stalinism. Today there are many parties around the world, for example the SA Communist Party, SACP, who continue Stalinist practices.

In South Africa we draw on the founding programme of the CPSA (Communist Party of SA) in 1921 (before it was Stalinised) and the early attempts to form the Fourth International (drawing the lessons of all its mistakes). We draw on the history of attempts to rebuild the Fourth International in the 1950's; we draw on the experiences of the youth from about 1983 to build independent revolutionary Marxist organizations in the fight against the slave capitalist regime (the old apartheid regime). We joined the Namibian and UK- based Workers International to rebuild the Fourth International (WIRFI) in 1990, despite having some misgivings. Some ex-members of the ANC military wing, MK, joined us in 1990 (they had been tortured and imprisoned by the ANC



in exile in 1985 when they tried to return to SA to help the masses fight the old regime- the ANC leaders refused to allow them to come). We left them (WIRFI) in 1995 after a long struggle against their attempts to liquidate the aim of building revolutionary working class parties as part of rebuilding the Fourth International. In 1996 we formed the Workers International Vanguard League. In 2009 we joined up with the South American based International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction (FLTI). We parted from them in 2012 when we formed the Workers International Vanguard Party. Our fundamental disagreement with the FLTI was their policy on Libya and Syria where they believed that the fight against the imperialist creations, the TNC, Transitional National Council, (Libya) and SNC, Syrian National Council, (Syria) had to be postponed until after the fight against the dictatorial regimes. We believe, despite the good intentions of the FLTI, that their policy led them into a bloc with the imperialist forces against the masses.

### **Basic Principles**

- Workers' control and working class control
- Proletarian internationalism (workers of the world are one)
- \* No age discrimination nor discrimination based on length of membership
- Non-racialism
- Against all the forms of discrimination of capitalism and its fore-runners (including gender discrimination)
- There is no parliamentary road to Socialism
- There can be no Socialism in one country
- The working class needs to take political power through its own mass action methods; this opens up the path to Socialism which can only begin to be established if the working class takes power in one or more of the main imperialist centres as well (such as the US, UK, France, Germany, Japan).

### **Past campaigns/activities**

- Building of the Unemployed Workers Movement which became an affiliate of Cosatu
- Support of the struggles of the masses against the old slave capitalist regime
- Support for the MK soldiers who were tortured in the camps of the ANC in exile
- Support of several strikes such as the WilsonRowntree, Fattis and Monis, Railway, Tiger oats, the 1995 nurses strike, cleaner, security workers, Equity Aviation, the struggle of the 1300 VWSA workers for reinstatement. Numerous other strikes
- Support of various community struggles for decent housing
- Campaigns against the old labour laws
- Campaigns against the sellout 1994 betrayal and the TRC which has protected all the mass murderers
- Campaign against high food and electricity prices
- Campaigns around anti-war activities such as the against the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan, in support of the Palestinian masses, etc

### **What do we propose to do and how do we propose to do it**

As we do not believe that parliament will meet any of the needs of the masses, we believe that the masses should organise outside and against parliament. We would support any campaign of the masses against the capitalist class. We stand for the independent organization of workers, youth, the unemployed, (ie independent of the state and capital), in our common fight against the world capitalist system. But most importantly, unless the working class forms it own revolutionary party, all the heroic struggles will come to nothing.

### **Examples of current campaigns:**

- Support of the working class movement to break the alliance with the ANC and for a new revolutionary working class party to be formed



- Support for the Palestinian struggle, for the Syrian, Libyan and Egyptian masses against their capitalist governments and the pro-imperialist elements within the workers movement
- Against casualization; support for the care givers struggles
- Against privatization of education, water and electricity
- For Jobs for all
- For the reinstatement of the 1000 soldiers placed on special leave since 2009 for marching to the Union buildings
- For justice for the masses in the DRC
- Against e-tolling and the plans for youth slavery
- For the nationalization, without compensation, of all imperialist assets, for these to be placed under workers control
- Support of the ex-Sappi workers for their pension payouts
- Against the Secrecy Bill

### On voting for us?

Sometimes, we take part in elections to expose it from within, but we are guided by world and local developments. The decision by the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (NUMSA) to not support any party in these elections, leads us to call for an active boycott of these coming elections. We are calling on the youth, workers and unemployed to form independent committees and unite in struggle around the demands of the masses for jobs for all, decent houses for all, free, quality education and health care for all, an end to the police violence against the masses, for the expropriation of the monopolies and banks in SA (without compensation and to be placed under workers control).

Most importantly we are calling for a conference of the Left to discuss a programme on which a revolutionary working class party of Southern Africa can emerge.

For more information on WIVP, check out our **website**:

[www.workersinternational.org.za](http://www.workersinternational.org.za)

We are also on **facebook**: **Workers International Vanguard Party- WIVP**

If you have any questions you can **email** us: [workersinternational@gmail.com](mailto:workersinternational@gmail.com)

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# ANC and SACP leaders in Cosatu plan to split Numsa and Cosatu

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The Cosatu CEC of 10<sup>th</sup> Feb 2014 signals that the ANC and SACP feel confident enough to split and attempt to destroy Numsa.

Let's look at the Numsa position again:

1. Numsa has not prevented any official or member from campaigning for the ANC- they can do it as long as they do it in their own time, not that of the union;
2. Any member of Numsa can vote and campaign for the party of their choice;
3. The decision to break from the ANC and SACP as the union, was reached after an extensive process of grassroots consultation leading up to the Congress- in fact the decision was shaped by the members, who went further than even their leaders intended- Their Congress decision is a demonstration of workers' democracy in action;
4. Cosatu is a federation and thus any affiliate can take different decisions and campaign for the other affiliates to adopt their views. Cosatu was not formally allied with the ANC and SACP until 1990; thus there is nothing wrong with workers discussing breaking or changing the alliance- in fact virtually every Cosatu Congress has discussed and evaluated the alliance and whether it advances or serves workers' interest and what to do to make sure that workers interests are paramount. Thus Numsa has not broken any working class principle- in fact they have been a model of workers' democracy.

What makes the ANC and SACP feel confident is that Fawu and Samwu are poised to declare that they will campaign for an ANC victory. Thus the ANC and SACP leadership feel that Numsa leaders are isolated and that they can move to split a section away to support the ANC in the elections. No doubt there is a right wing in Numsa, the faction that wants to support the ANC but they were politically defeated at the Numsa Congress. Workers should not allow the ANC to split Numsa. This will only serve the interests of big capital who want a passive, docile and if need be, fractured workers movement. In fact, big capital would welcome a split Numsa as they would be able to accelerate attacks on workers such as retrenchments, lower wages and greater exploitation and the continuation of labour brokers.

The Cosatu CEC statement of 10<sup>th</sup> Feb is a rather shocking example of what a lapdog of the ANC that the Cosatu leaders have become: For example

- In the past 5 weeks at least 10 protestors for basic service delivery such as water and housing, have been killed by the police and one, Lerata Rabolila of Boiketlong, by ANC members. The Cosatu CEC blames the protestors for the violence; not a single word of condemnation of the actions of the police or the ANC is uttered by the Cosatu leaders;
- 9 workers have died at Harmony's Doornkop gold mine, yet not a single word it uttered to criticise the ANC head of Harmony, Patrice Motsepe, for perpetuating unsafe working conditions that put mineworkers lives at risk every day;
- The Cosatu leaders deny the Constitutional right of Cosatu members to debate the pressing issues facing the working class, because their funds will be used to campaign for the ANC. It claims that a CC (Central Committee) will need to be called- so why did it not use these funds as well as the millions it has in investments, to call a Special Congress?



- WSU, TUT, DUT are closed while the ANC plans to enshrine labour broking as a permanent feature of the economy, youth slavery and dismissal of existing workers, relaxing dismissal provisions of the LRA, are all part of the NDP which form part of the ANC election manifesto, as are fracking, biofuels, coal and nuclear power. Farm workers wages were raised only from R105 to R111 per day by the ANC govt while the wine bosses increased their sales by 26% last year. Thousands of farmworkers have been retrenched since the strikes. The ANC is moving away from building houses to housing 'opportunities' and is committed to upgrading shacks by providing some basic services, but moving away from building RDP houses to more bond houses- in other words a policy that serves the banks and not the masses. Yet the Cosatu leaders have no problem with campaigning for this anti-worker programme.

### **The way forward**

Every union in Cosatu should be challenged to call a special Congress before the 7<sup>th</sup> May elections so that the workers can debate and decide on their positions on the ANC track record as well as the content of the ANC manifesto. Workers should formulate their minimum platform of demands as a basis to support a party of their choice and to discuss the proposal by Numsa for a workers party.

Workers should be vigilant against any attempt to divide Numsa by the ANC and SACP. Workers should also take a stand on the Marikana massacre by the police, in defence of the mineworkers and mine worker communities.

Numsa has consulted its base, the workers, the other unions should be challenged to do the same- if they dare. Then workers will really see who is undemocratic and who is on the side of the labour broker leaders of the ANC and big capital. How long are workers going to allow Anglo American and other mining monopolies and international banks, to steal trillions through transfer pricing and tax evasion? How long must workers wait for the wealth stolen over the past 50 years to be returned? Surely, here are the corrupt capitalists who are responsible for robbing our youth of their future and the current generation of a life?

12.2.2014

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**ANC leaders make R25 000 per water container while the masses are without water**



## We respond to the Numsa leaders whose politics is fundamentally the same as that of the ANC and SACP

The Numsa leaders are claiming the leadership of the fight against the pro-capitalist politics of the ANC and SACP. We show that their position is in essence the same as that of the ANC and SACP. Capitalism-imperialism does not allow vacuums, even less do they allow real working class independence. The formation of the PT (Workers Party) in Brazil was to pre-empt the further development of independent working class committees and to contain the existing committees onto a trade union terrain, ie within a capitalist framework.

65% of Cosatu workers support an independent workers party and 70% of Numsa members support an independent party, **without it even existing!** If it were to exist, the percentage in Numsa and Cosatu, and beyond, that would support it would be closer to 100%. This means, not only the death of the ANC but a mortal blow against capitalist relations not only in SA but also in the whole of Southern Africa. Decisive sectors of the working class would be united in the fight against the handful of capitalists and their agents. Even further, in a world where every capitalist regime is under threat, a truly independent revolutionary working class party would accelerate the development of revolutionary working class parties in the imperialist centres, threatening the entire capitalist system. Thus, if the capitalists cannot contain the masses within the ANC any longer, they would even support the development of a party like the PT in SA that would once again contain the masses within the capitalist framework. This is where we see the class role of the current Numsa leaders come it, to create a reformist PT in SA, it is the essence of what their 'Lula moment' really means, they offer themselves to big capital to play this role to contain the masses for the next 20 years.

### **What little revolutionism there was of the black middle class up to 1990, has ended**

Up to 1990, when the Codesa talks started, the black middle class had an interest in the overthrow of the slave capitalist regime because it was also based on the suppression of the development of a black capitalist and middle class. Once the slave capitalist regime and its imperialist masters started making democratic concessions, to set up a republic which began to incorporate the demands of the black middle class, marked the end of its revolutionism.

This is what Lenin wrote in 1905:

'The complete victory of the present revolution will be the end of the democratic overturn and the beginning of a decisive struggle for the socialist revolution. A realisation of the demands of the contemporary peasantry, the complete shattering of the reaction, the winning of a democratic republic, will be the complete end of the bourgeoisie, and even of the petty bourgeoisie. It will be the beginning of the real struggle of the proletariat for socialism.'

This is what Trotsky wrote in The History of the Russian Revolution (Appendix II):

'In 1917 the dictatorship of the proletariat grew out of the non-achievement of the democratic tasks.'

Now, it is quite possible that Lenin and Trotsky were wrong on this point. We have yet to see any proof on this issue. The conduct of the ANC leadership since 1990 through their inability to achieve even a single democratic demand, has been another striking confirmation of the words of Lenin and Trotsky. On the contrary, the Marikana massacre and the role of the ANC uniting with the mining monopolies to shoot down striking workers, is a bloody confirmation of the words of Lenin and Trotsky.

Yet the Numsa leaders argue that what is needed is that the alliance should be the 'strategic political centre' and not the ANC on its own. In other words, the Numsa leaders argue that the working class should be in alliance with elements, the black middle class and capitalist class, who have lost all their revolutionism. The alliance of workers with the ANC, that has taken up a stake in the maintenance of capitalist exploitation, is not to control the black capitalist but in reality reduces the working class to the level of hostages of the very ones



who have lost all their revolutionism. The Numsa leaders acknowledge that '*the ANC and perhaps SANCO, represents the bourgeoisie of the Alliance*', yet they argue that an alliance with this same bourgeoisie is necessary. Is an alliance with the ANC going to stop labour brokers, or stop the Secrecy bill, or stop e-tolling, or stop youth slavery? Will it stop more Marikanas? No.

The Numsa leaders insist that their programme for Socialism is the Freedom Charter. This Freedom Charter is based on the 'people' shall govern, the 'people' shall share, in other words, the very upper middle class white and black, capitalist class, white and black, have their interests enshrined in it. In other words, the Freedom Charter creates the illusion that there are no class differences, but in reality, it places on an equal footing the very classes that have lost their revolutionism, who control the wealth of the land, with those who have nothing, the driving force of the revolution. The past 20 years of the ANC rule has shown that the dominance or dictatorship of the capitalist class has been unable to achieve any single democratic demand. The 'people' shall share means that the capitalist has the lion's share while the masses have crumbs. This is the essence of the Freedom Charter.

### **Reforming Democracy or overcoming it?**

This is what Lenin had to say about capitalist democracy, in his **State and Revolution**, written in Aug 1917 when there was much confusion about the tasks of overthrowing the democratic government:

'A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism, and therefore, once capital has gained control (through the Palchinskys, Chernovs, Tseretelis and Co) of this very best shell, it establishes its power so securely, so firmly that *no* change, either of persons, or institutions, or parties in the bourgeois republic can shake it.'

The Numsa leaders claim that an 'alliance political cente' or a change in the top 6 of the ANC, or a change in the reactionaries at the top of the ANC, can open the path to Socialism. One of the options of the Numsa leaders is to set up a new workers party to contest elections. Even the programme of the Numsa leaders does not address the question of the trillions stolen through transfer pricing, does not address the massive subsidy that the motor sector bosses receive, does not even provide a solution to the massive unemployment.

Lenin answers the Numsa leaders decisively, none of their proposed changes go far enough to shake the foundation of the capitalist democracy. The past 20 years has shown through, the Polokwane and Mangaung conferences that capitalism has not been shaken but further entrenched. The past 20 years is confirmation that the type of revolutionary working class party we need is not a parliamentary one, but one that unites the working class in mass action outside and against parliament.

The Numsa leaders argue that the Rand should be devalued, etc. In other words they argue on a nationalist basis, policies that will act in the interest of the local capitalists and in reality act against the working class. If workers earned \$1 per hour (R10) and the Rand was devalued to say, R15 to the \$, then in Rand terms the value of the workers wage would drop from R10 to R7.50, on an international basis. The Major retailers and monopolies all link their prices to the dollar, so a devaluation of the currency means a massive rise in prices. In 2001 when the Rand devalued to R13 to the dollar, all the main retailers raised their prices, when the currency strengthened, their prices did not come down. A devaluation is a capitalist policy does not strike at the heart of the issue that the means of production are in the hands of monopoly capital and not the working class.

A transitional demand to address unemployment would be to call for all work to be divided among all who can work and for the working day to be lowered accordingly, without loss of pay. Expropriation of the 30 000 large commercial farms, *without compensation, under workers control*, would have to be essential to address the question of food and land. Such demands are absent from the nationalist, capitalist programme of the Numsa leaders.

What is needed is a series of transitional demands that lead the masses into action, outside and against parliament, to overcome the wage slavery that is inherent in capitalist democracy.



## **Socialist National Democratic Revolution or Working class power opening the path to the international Socialist Revolution?**

Numsa is clear, they stand for the National Democratic Revolution, only they give it a red colouring, 'Socialist National Democratic revolution'. This is what Lenin has to say:

'Not for one minute have we forgotten, nor will we forget the weakness of the Russian working class in comparison with other detachments of the international proletariat....but we must remain at our post until our ally comes, the international proletariat. ' .....(May 14 1918 at the Central Executive Committee of the Bolshevik Party)

'We always staked our play upon an international revolution and this was unconditionally right.....We always emphasised the fact that in one country it is impossible to accomplish such work as a socialist revolution.'(Speech on 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Oct revolution)

'We have always and repeatedly pointed out to the workers that the underlying chief task and basic condition of our victory is the propagation of the revolution at least to several of the more advanced countries' (Feb 1921 at the congress of the workers of the needle trades)

Nowhere in the documents of Numsa is there any link between the struggle for Socialism in SA, to the fate of the working class in the region, let alone to that of the working class in the imperialist centres. Such is their break from Leninism precisely because in all fundamentals, their position is politically identical to that of the Stalinist SACP.

The entire world is divided among one or other imperialist powers, there is an international division of labour and the SACP and the Numsa leaders want us to step back in time to build a paradise in one country. Take for example the production of the cell phone: US imperialism backs the war groups in the DRC so that the land is cleared and the mining of cassiterite (the raw material for cellphones) is mined for Anglo American. This is shipped out to China where slave conditions are sustained by both US imperialism and the Chinese Communist party; the cell phones with technology made in the USA, is then shipped around the globe by agencies of imperialist companies and to cellphone companies that are controlled by imperialism. No, although the Numsa leaders rightly criticise the SACP for glorifying the leap back to the ox plough in Cuba, but their solution is not much different, perhaps they prefer workers to pull their own ploughs (labour intensive production). The Numsa proposes that workers reform capital until one day we wake up in a local heaven called national socialism. This is contrasted to what Lenin would have called for, namely that the workers mobilise on the unfulfilled democratic demands, seize power on their own, with the support of the poorer sectors of the lower middle class, and hold power until the masses in DRC, China and the USA take power themselves.

The Nehawu leaders claim that the 'workerists' want to jump to Socialism. This is the old Stalinist lie of saying that Trotskyists want to skip stages. What the Nehawuleaders propose is that workers remain tied to the capitalist ANC, accepting labour brokers, e-tolling, wage slavery, wage restraint, dying early deaths while imperialism continues to strip the region of the wealth. The Nehwau leaders are waiting for the second stage of the transition- this is nothing but a postponement of unifying the workers for the seizure of power, through its own mass action methods, in other words, a shameful capitulation to capitalist violence that is inherent under parliamentary democracy. The creation of the CCMA, the Hawks, the NPA, etc, etc, has not rolled back capitalist exploitation, only entrenched it.

### **The Way Forward**

What is needed is a decisive break from any alliance with the ANC. Further:

The calling of a conference of the left to adopt a revolutionary programme which includes democratic, transitional and Socialist demands



- A break from the nationalist NDR and national Socialism and a return to an internationalist conception of Socialism
- Such programme to be the basis of the setting up of a revolutionary working class party
- That the unity of Cosatu be preserved and a campaign waged to remove the leadership in Numsa and the entire Cosatu, who are aligned to the Stalinist NDR and their replacement with an independent revolutionary working class leadership
- The calling of a workers summit where all unions and all workplaces and committees from working class communities send delegates, to prepare a programme of action against the capitalist imperialist class and their state and for the demands of the working class; the setting up of independent workers committees at every workplace that unites not only all the workers irrespective of unions but also delegates from the communities.
- The consideration of an electoral tactic only as a means to expose all the parties that are trying to tie the masses to parliament.

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15.12.2013

## Crisis in Mothotlung ANC hitsquad and empty promises

The hype around the ANC manifesto launch on the Sat 11<sup>th</sup> January had hardly died down when a mere 2 days later 3 protestors lay dead in the streets of Mothotlung. Mike Tshele and Osia Rahube were shot by the police while Lerato Seema was, it is alleged by residents, assaulted and pushed from a moving Nyala. Enoch Seimela died on the 19<sup>th</sup> January of wounds the police had inflicted on the 13<sup>th</sup>. The ANC Manifesto promised to fight corruption and crime, 'to restrict public servants from doing business' but again the echo of Marikana is being felt around the country.

Mothotlung is in the Madibeng municipality, which is home to the 3<sup>rd</sup> biggest ferrochrome deposits in the world and the biggest platinum deposits. There is also the famous Hartebeespoort dam. Water is aplenty and the mines have never experienced water shortages or cut-offs, not so for the working class areas.

Residents of Mothotlung report that water shortages have been coming on a long time. In 2012 there were similar, long cut-offs and protests. Residents were injured then, too. The IPID promised then to look in to the police brutality, but have since then taken no action against the police. Rather upsurprisingly, residents do not trust the police nor the IPID nor the Minister of Police, when they say that they will look into the deaths of the 4 residents.

This time, water cut-offs have been ongoing since about August last year. When the latest round of cut-offs occurred on the 10<sup>th</sup> January, residents resolved to march to the municipal office on the 13<sup>th</sup>. The first thing they noticed was that the police were not from the area and they were insistent that no protestor should reach the municipal office.

Residents had long ago discovered that one of the ANC councillors was linked to the company that provides water in a tank, each time the water is cut off. Apparently the company receives R25 000 per tank delivered. A committee was formed to take the matter up. Mike Tshele was one of those who went to the water pumps and they apparently found that the pumps had been tampered with. Now Mike Tshele and Osia Rahube, who had been raising questions about this corruption, are dead and 6 others of the leadership are in hiding; the



community report that the ANC has drafted a hitlist and the remaining leadership are under threat of being eliminated.

Despite claims by Minister Molewa that all the water has been restored, residents still report, as on the 19<sup>th</sup>, that some areas are still without a drop.

In 2011/12 water rates increased by 14% and in 2012/3 by 20% (even higher than the electricity increases at municipal level); the projected increases for the next 3 years is 18% annually. For the 2013/4 budget R58.6 million was allocated for water. What happened to this money? The municipality has been installing water meters. The ANC-linked BEE company Wiphold, has shares in the company that manufactures the water and electricity meters. The ANC has turned water into a commodity

After the funerals of the 3 this weekend, the situation is still tense. Residents do not trust the parties who come for their votes, not even the EFF and their sacrificial cows. Residents face charges while the police who assaulted and killed their comrades, walk free, ready and able to act again and again.

Some activists in the area have appealed for Numsa to come to their assistance.

### **Update on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2014**

While residents were without water and now without electricity, the mayor has an uninterrupted supply. Residents continue to be billed even for the long periods when they do not have water or electricity.

In Oukasié phase 2 the electricity has been off for the past 4 days; residents have lost perishable goods and still the water supply is intermittent. Children go to school dirty. The housing shortage is as severe as many other areas- RDP houses have tin shacks in their backyards of their tiny stands. There are no toilets.

Residents are demanding reconnection of electricity and water, proper toilets and decent housing. On an international scale 85 capitalists earn the same as 3.5 trillion people. In Madibeng the contrast is similar- Anglo American plunders the wealth while the masses live in destitution.

Another uprising is brewing.



**The unarmed masses confront the state**



## On the uprising in Relela in Limpopo

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On the 24<sup>th</sup> January 2014, Kgomotso Rakgolane was killed in the village of Relela, just north of Tzaneen. It is alleged that this was a muti killing as one of her hands had been chopped off. Such killings have been occurring time and again in the area. The masses complain that often the killers go free and that the police turn a blind eye to the killings. This time the community exploded into revolt, which intensified after a child was found mutilated in a car of a local small business owner. The masses burnt the business owner's vehicle, shop and house and then converged on the local police station. The police shot dead 3 people including Tshepo Baloyi (who was on his way to a shop and was not involved in the protest) and Mohale Selowa.

A few days later, in Bronkhorstspuit, the police shot dead another protestor after the masses surrounded a police station in protest against the cut of electricity (the pre-paid meters were not working and the community was left without electricity).

Police Minister, Nathi Mthetwa, is threatening new measures to counter what he sees as increasingly violent protests. Having survived decades of slave capitalist violence, the masses have had to endure further capitalist violence over the past 20 years.

Anglo American controls most of the mines in Limpopo. The Mototolo Platinum mine is a joint venture with Xstrata; Bokoni is a joint venture with Atlatsa which is chaired by head of Cosatu Investment company (Kopano ke Matla), Tumelo Motsisi, while its CEO is Harold Motaung, ex Dupty Chief Inspector of the Department of Minerals and Energy; Modikwa Platinum is a joint venture between Anglo American and Africa Rainbow Minerals; Tamboti Platinum is a joint venture between Impala Platinum and the SACP.

Thus the leadership of the ANC-SACP and Cosatu are tied hand and foot to big capital. This is why they do not dare really challenge big capital. Anglo American has been stealing trillions through tax evasion and transfer pricing (deliberate mislabelling of mineral exports). The alliance leadership turn a blind eye to this stealing, which could have not only provided jobs for all, decent houses, free education up the highest level, free quality health care for all but have developed the entire Southern Africa and wiped out poverty and suffering overnight. Is the enforced hunger and starvation not the biggest violence against the masses? Yet when the suffering is unbearable and the masses start to protest, suddenly the ANC govt is worried about increased 'violence'.

What we need to realize is that the workers' movement needs to break from the ANC and SACP- these leaders are the agents of the capitalists within the workers' movement. What is needed is for the working class communities and the workers in the workplaces to set up independent committees and as part of these to set up self-defence units. The committees that set up road blocks should be brought under the control of workers committees in the communities and the workplaces and mines in the area. Prices continue to rise, wages stay low, unemployment rises and more workers are retrenched- yet, to the ANC-SACP this is not violence against the masses.

What we need is for the working class to take political power through its own mass action methods. But for this struggle to succeed, we need to unite the working class activists and community activists into a tightly knit revolutionary working class party, in SA, Southern Africa and the world.



# Students under attack at the universities

At every university students have been under attack. Workers have protested at CPUT, TUT, DUT and others. On the 31<sup>st</sup> Jan 2014 TUT was closed and students evicted from residences. While students have successfully opposed the evictions, the university remains closed. What is behind the attacks on students by the government and how can the attacks be resisted?

## Background to the attacks on students

First of all, there has long been attacks on education as a whole by the ANC regime. Not only is education not free, but fees are very high- without the NSFAS funding (loan-bursaries) the children of the working class would be totally excluded. Most of the staff in tertiary institutions are on contract and most of the cleaning staff are suffering under labour brokers.

Up to 1994 students raised political demands against the system but since then students have focused on their narrow self-interest (fees, exclusions, benefits, etc).

The crisis in education reflects the stagnation of the world capitalist system- the economy is in decline and few new industries are developing-which means that less skilled workers are needed; on the other hand, the need to accelerate profits means that areas that were formerly under state control, such as education, are now being more and more open to privatization and profiteering. These processes are captured in the ANC's NDP, which is now the cornerstone of their election manifesto. Less funds are being spent on universities and some of these funds are being taken away and diverted to FET colleges- thus there is a drive away from skilled labour towards semi-skilled labour- this is also reflected by the greater and greater collapse of the manufacturing industries. Some NSFAS funds were also taken away from universities and diverted to FET's. This shows the lie of the ANC Manifesto which claims that they are working towards free tertiary education. In fact what is happening is the gutterization of the currently problematic education system.

The ANC could quickly find R100 bn for stadiums, a R30 bn for the white elephant Gautrain, but refuses to find a few pennies for the education of our future generation.

## Proposals for the way forward

Our challenge to the students are as follows: even if you get your degree or diploma, what future is there for you? Most of you are destined for unemployment; what can you do to help support the struggle against the system of exploitation, that relies on the waste of human potential? What role can you play to help raise the political and cultural level of the masses?

In Chile the students joined hands with the mineworkers, demanding the expropriation of the mines, so that education and other needs of the masses could be met; students and workers took over the universities. Why can't students give support to the striking Platinum workers and other mineworkers?

The Numsa workers have taken a bold decision to break from both the ANC and SACP. Surely you should be discussing what are the political implications of the attacks on students? Surely you should also boldly also find your independent path and follow Numsa's example? Remember, on their own, students are impotent- the state will merely wait until the students become tired and divided.

We call for you to set up joint committees of students, workers (including the labour broker workers servicing the universities), staff (including the contract staff) and where possible, the parents of the students). These committees should then formulate joint demands such as free education, unconditional right to register and enter studies, permanent status for all staff and an end to labour broking, and of course, for the expropriation of the mines (without compensation and to be placed under workers control), for the return of all the trillions of



stolen wealth by Anglo American and other mining companies over the past 50 years (here is the money not only for free education, but decent housing and quality health care for all, for jobs for all, etc).

In this way, if the state goes further on the attack, they will have to deal with the working class too- then the balance of the struggle will turn against them. No elections nor any parliamentary party will solve the demands of the masses. What is needed, in the final analysis, is the setting up of an independent revolutionary working class party, but let us take these first steps. 1.2.2014 WIVP [workersinternational@gmail.com](mailto:workersinternational@gmail.com)



**Students should link up with workers and community struggles too**

## Towards understanding the war in South Sudan

On the 15<sup>th</sup> December 2013 some of the South Sudanese troops allied to ex-Vice President Riek Machar, tried to seize a major weapons arsenal in the capital, Juba. They were repelled by forces loyal to the President Salvar Kiir. The previous day, Machar had tried to get a motion passed at a SPLA/M (Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement) meeting for him to become the main candidate for the ruling party for the next elections. His motion was defeated.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> Dec, as troops loyal to Machar were driven from the capital, it is reported that Machar was shielded by the US embassy, who assisted with his escape from there back to his stronghold. Since then Machar's troops have gained control of Jonglei state and is in control of much of Unity state (where most of the oil deposits are) even though the control of Unity state is being contested by forces loyal to the President of South Sudan, Salvar Kiir. The regime of the SPLA/M which rules South Sudan, is also supported by US advisors.



Since 1983 US imperialism has supported the formation of the SPLA and actively supported its main leader John Garang through a think tank headed by Roger Winter. In addition, despite supposed sanctions and isolation of Sudan's Omar al Bashir's regime, the CIA has provided intelligence and logistical support to it, through the supply of equipment that would enable it to monitor and track its opponents. In 2011 the forces of the Sudanese regime invaded the Abyei region, committing atrocities; soon after this, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2011 CIA official and Obama's chief advisor for 'counter-terrorism', John Brennan, visited the Khartoum regime, 3 days later the regime invaded South Kordofan state. According to the research work, **Compromising with Evil**, both the Bush and Obama administrations have been working with the repressive forces of the Sudanese regime. In fact there is a long history of the CIA working with the Sudanese regimes post- independence.

How is it possible that US imperialism works with Omar al Bashir, Salvar Kiir and Machar? Is this not a contradiction? We explain why it is not, below.

During the period 1898 to 1956 Sudan was a British colony. The colonialists and imperialists had a divide and rule policy. For Sudan, in 1922 the Lord Milner report proposed, among others:

- To reduce the wanton exploitation of the resources in the south
- Abolish the slave trade
- Preserve the cultural diversity of the black southerners
- Check the spread of Islam in the south and into central Africa
- Initiate the separation of African Sudan from Arab Sudan.

Thus the imperialist policy was to bring the exploitation of the southern resources under central imperialist control, preserve tribalism, create religious divisions by bringing in missionaries into the south and to partition Sudan so that the masses would be better brought under control. After the Second world imperialist war, US imperialism displaced British imperialism in many places across the globe, so too in Sudan.

In virtually every peace agreement since the independence of Sudan, there have been clauses about the partitioning of Sudan. This was a long term project of imperialism. Divisions and partitions are part of the imperialist form of rule in some places, eg the division of East and West Germany, Yemen, Palestine, Korea, the Balkans etc, are all illustrations of this.

US imperialism has actively sent Christian missionaries into the south, sometimes under the excuse of campaigning against the slave trade (which appears to exist even today), buying the freedom of those taken captive. The NGO's propped up the tribal chiefs as they used them as avenues to distribute food aid. The NGO's also allied themselves to different warring factions. Oil was discovered in Sudan by about 1974. The company that first exclusively exploited the gas and was the main explorer for oil, was Chevron. In 1981 the White Nile Petroleum corp was formed as a joint partnership between the Sudanese regime and Chevron. By 1983 the SPLA was formed, funded and supported by US imperialism. In 1985 there was a general strike throughout Sudan which threatened to bring down the Numeiri regime. To pre-empt the masses taking over, a military coup replaced the govt. The military brought about limited elections but even this regime was overthrown in 1989 by the ultra-right National Islamic Front(NIF) of Omar Al Bashir (who is still in power in Sudan even today).

Even though Chevron nominally withdrew by 1992 due to attacks on its installations, US imperialism remained in control of the oil. By 1997 Greater Nile Petroleum Operations Company, GNPOC, was formed with a 25% stake of Talisman oil (Canadian), Chinese CNPC (thus indirect US imperialist control), and Petronas (Malaysia and thus also indirect US imperialist control), with Sudapet, locally, only having 5% stake. This 5% stake forms the bulk of what is left to sustain north and south Sudan (95% of total income). The GNPOC controlled 12,2 million hectares of oil land by 2001.

The formation of the SPLA (of John Garang) and its breakaway the SSIM (South Sudan Independence Movement of Riek Machar) and its wars with the Khartoum regime, occurring after the discovery of oil and in the wake of workers' revolts had a two-fold aim- these sections of the Sudanese elite were tasked, for the price



of the few pennies, to wage wars to clear the land for capitalist-imperialist exploitation. In Sudan as in most of Africa, the land is under communal ownership and control. The wars broke this hold and through mass expulsions of millions, the land was cleared (and in this case, land had been occupied by both Dinka and Nuer among others). In these imperialist backed wars, it is reported that 2 million Sudanese died. The second aim of the wars was to keep the insurgent masses of the Sudanese permanently destabilised so that a revolt such as in 1985 would never occur again. In 2005 Garang died in a helicopter crash in mysterious circumstances and a more pro-separationist Salvar Kiir was installed as head of the SPLA- by 2010 imperialism achieved one of its objectives of the partitioning of Sudan.

There is no strong trade union movement and thus the means of control by imperialism is by brute force. The reason for the coups and wars in Sudan as well as elsewhere in Africa is because any limited development of bourgeois democratic norms implies the development of a local capitalist class. Capitalism came late to Africa which meant that its introduction was by monopolies who were already in decline. These monopolies do not brook the development of even a minor competitor, only entities that are totally subjugated to themselves. [incidentally the other companies operating on the oil fields are Agip (Italy), Elf-Aquitaine (France), Gulf (Qatar-Sudan), Totalfina (France-Belgium), Mobil (US), National Iranian Gas, OMV (Austria), Shell (Netherlands-UK), Talisman (Canada)- all of these are directly and indirectly funding the armed conflict to clear the land for capitalist exploitation].

### **So why the attempted coup on the 15<sup>th</sup> Dec and the current war in South Sudan?**

There is still, since 2011, a world wave of mass revolts against the puppets of imperialism. One by one these puppets have been kicked out and imperialism has used every trick in its book to try and curb and decisively end these revolts. If any revolt really succeeds anywhere in putting in a new system or leadership elected through direct democracy then its precedent, could threaten the very existence of the world capitalist system. This is why US imperialism still works very closely with the Omar al Bashir regime to keep it intact, even though they know it has and still is committing atrocities against the masses.

From the 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2013, for a period of ten days there were mass protests against the Khartoum regime. They were brutally put down and hundreds of activists and rank and file protestors were shot down and killed. Undoubtedly the US regime used its surveillance technology and advisors to assist in the crackdown. The protests may formally have died down but the mass resentment still remains.

As part of the partition of Sudan, the Khartoum regime was promised \$40bn in compensation, from the oil revenue from the south and from international banks. This has largely not happened and as a result, the regime had to raise fuel prices- almost doubling them. This sparked the revolt.

In the south, the regime has plundered what little income there is, for the elite. Machar had long ago been promised 75% of all the oil revenue in the south (at the time he went into alliance with the Khartoum regime). However, he was not getting enough from the coffers of the South Sudan state. If imperialism wanted to, they could easily have disciplined him (all the elites in north and south are on the payroll of imperialism). That imperialism provided cover for Machar in his coup attempt and current war, is to prevent a similar uprising of the masses in the south and at the same time to clear more of the masses off the land that is due for exploitation, by imperialism, not only for oil, but for gold, diamonds and other minerals. Imperialism makes sure that where the masses are in revolt, they infiltrate every bourgeois opposition so that if, in the final event the masses cast aside the current puppet, imperialism would still stay in control. This is why US imperialism supports Bashir, Kiir and Machar.

This is not a tribal war nor was it inevitable, it is a calculated destruction of the Sudanese masses in order for imperialism to remain in control. The masses in the Sudan (north and south) should form grassroots committees, irrespective of ethnic or religious differences, to expropriate all imperialist assets, without compensation, and place these under workers control. Nationalise the land, set up collectives for food production for all. Away with slavery! Away with capitalist relations! The working class activists should form a



revolutionary working class party. Down with the Khartoum regime, the regime of the SPLA and the factions allied to Machar. Forward to a workers' government based on the grassroots committees.

WIVP 16.1.2014.

### **Explanatory note on the Nuer and Dinka**

[The Nuer and Dinka are the largest tribal groups in South Sudan; they have been in the area for hundreds of years; the Nuer have been more nomadic and have developed advanced breeding of cattle in the lower flood plains of the area, while the Dinka have historically been more agricultural, occupying the higher grounds in the region. During times of flooding or of drought there has been pressure on each of these groups to expand into the other's area- this has been the basis of conflict over many decades. In recent times, with the increasing influence of capitalism in the region, the tribal differences have weakened; there have been inter-marrying and mixing of the groups. The British colonialists sought to exploit the historical differences and now too, the Machar and Kiir groups try to play and exaggerate the differences, as a cover for their push for becoming the local managers for imperialism, acting to destabilize the masses so that imperialism remains in control.]

## **Reinstate Alide Dasnois (and now Terry Bell too)**

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It is with outrage and shock that we learnt of the dismissal of political Editor, Alide Dasnois, allegedly due to a report on the Public Protector into the Nkandla debacle (or fishing quotas, or falling sales or lack of appropriate coverage of the old man's passing).

Sekunjalo, the new owners of the Cape Times, among others, is directly linked to the ANC leadership. The attack on Ms Dasnois is thus clearly politically motivated. The old man is hardly in his grave and already there is an attack on freedom of the press, a right that was not won lightly, the blood of the masses flowed for it.

The Public Protector is on record that the Cabinet has tried several times to delay and obstruct her work. Indeed they (Cabinet) had promised that they would issue the report this week. At issue is the conspicuous spending just on security upgrades of over R200 million at the Presidential palatial home. Contrast this with a province, Kzn, where the HIV infection rate among women of child-bearing age is 44%, almost 1 in 2. Yet the health budget has recently been cut in this province, due, ironically, to a decline in population due to HIV-related deaths. Lack of funds prevent the 500 000 new cases of HIV infection from being tackled- the budget only allows for 200 000 new cases.

We are reminded of the words of the old man that if the current regime oppresses the masses that it should be treated as the old apartheid regime was.

As a start we are calling for the immediate reinstatement of Alide Dasnois. We call on the broader community to stand up to the amabhulu omnyama, starting with letters and calls of protest, extending to pickets and other mass action activities until Ms Dasnois is reinstated. Now we hear that INL and Surve have suspended Terry Bell's column (Inside Labour). The cracking down on critical voices was the real aim of big capital and their new henchmen, the ANC capitalists. Cosatu and the workers movement should go beyond just statements and organize broader mass protests against the attack on freedom of expression.





# Obama is no friend of the masses

On the 10<sup>th</sup> December 2013, Obama addressed the crowds at the FNB stadium at the Mandela memorial. That he was cheered, admittedly, more as a contrast to the crowd's rejection of Zuma, shows the working class movement is still dominated by nationalism, something deliberately cultivated by the SACP and Cosatu leadership.

Firstly, the policies that Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma have carried out are directly in line with the dictates of imperialism, and US imperialism in particular. Tax breaks for monopolies, privatization and the collapse of the public sector, etc are all international capitalist policies. By imperialism we mean the domination of the world by a handful of industrial and banking monopolies, that are backed up by military force. There are 5 monopolies that control the SA economy: Anglo American (by far the biggest), Old Mutual, Sanlam, Liberty, Rembrandt. The US bank, JP Morgan Chase, controls Anglo American and also the SA Reserve bank (being its major controlling shareholder, albeit directly and through proxies). US banks are the main shareholders of Sasol, as they are of the gold, platinum, diamond and most other mines. Every year, the mining giants take out hundreds of billions of Rands worth of wealth, through transfer pricing (direct stealing) and export of profits. US banks and mining giants are almost single-handedly responsible for robbing the masses in SA and most of Southern Africa of our future. Thus the one who represents US imperialism should have been booed more, in fact, protests should have been far wider and more intense.

Obama talks of a 'oneness to humanity' and the 'human spirit', yet US imperialism has more than 1000 military bases and warehouses around the world, taking up 2.2 million hectares, the space of 55 times that of the Gaza strip. The 1.4 million man US army is larger than the population of more than 40 countries. There are US military bases in Botswana, Djibouti, more than 600 soldiers in Egypt, and US army personnel in a number of other African countries. A few years ago, when the Rwandan army invaded the DRC, there were US arms and military advisors used in support of this. Since about 1996, more than 6 million people have died in the wars in the DRC. The main beneficiary of the wars in the DRC have been the US corporates. For example, the main source of raw material for the production of cell phones, laptops and playstations, namely cassiterite, comes from the DRC-vast areas where villages used to be, are now used by mining operations linked to Anglo American, ironically protected by SA soldiers. The US army uses drones (unmanned aerial vehicles) that have killed many children in Pakistan and Afghanistan. There is no 'oneness to humanity', there are deep irrevocable class divisions in the world- the masses of the world who are enslaved to the handful of giant corporates. Such slavery is guaranteed by violence, by force of arms of the US imperialist and other imperialist war machinery. Much more is taken out from Africa through theft like transfer pricing, tax breaks for companies, much higher interest rates for unnecessary bank loans, than what imperialism gives as 'Aid'. The ground in Angola is so fertile that it could feed the whole of Africa, but US imperialist support of Unita in the decades long war there has reduced the land to an empty mine field. The very reason for the massive starvation and poverty in Africa is the violent plunder by mainly US and French imperialism. While the means exist to produce enough to feed the world several times over, the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few, billions are starving. Capitalism is based on the crushing of the 'human spirit'.

## **Enforcing racism and sectarianism**

Obama talks of 'every race', 'racial justice', 'racial reconciliation', a 'multiracial democracy', as if there are separate races. There is only one race on this planet, the human race. So why does he talk of separate races as if these are scientifically defined categories? It is to emphasize and reinforce the artificial divisions that capitalism uses to put one section of the working class against the other. It is for the same reason that he refers to Mandela's Thembu tribe and 'sectarian war'. The mining corporates have a long history of using tribal divisions to make one worker fight another, while they continue to extract massive profits. In the war in Iraq, it is on record that British soldiers disguised themselves as locals to plant car bombs to deliberately fan fighting between 'Sunni' and 'Shia'. Such inter-sectarian fighting has been deliberately promoted in Iraq by US



imperialism- it is a means to keep the masses destabilised, fighting each other, while imperialism carries off the oil undisturbed. The divisions between 'Hutu' and 'Tutsi' was a deliberate tool of control by imperialism in Rwanda-Burundi. The deliberate attacks on churches and mosques, fanning fighting between Muslim and Christian and Muslim in Nigeria and Egypt, is a tool of US imperialism to keep the masses divided and destabilised, fighting each other and not their state which is a puppet of US imperialism.

He deliberately talks about 'sectarian war' when the capitalists are permanently at war with the masses of the world. He wants to misdirect people as if the enemy is Jewish or Muslim, whereas the common enemy of the masses is the handful of capitalists.

### **Saviour of capitalism**

Why did all the world's mass murderers and dictators line up to honour Mandela? Is this not a contradiction, to see Bush, Prince Charles, Mugabe, etc, side by side, all paying respects? Obama exposes the real reason: '...he was not afraid to compromise.....(to) protect minority... rights'. What he meant is that the domination and absolute control by the imperialist monopolies was guaranteed by the ANC under the leadership of Mandela. At the very time when the capitalist system was under threat from being overthrown by the masses, the ANC reached a compromise with the capitalists so that their plunder could continue.

At the very time when there was massive class hatred against the US regime over the war in Iraq, imperialism hauled out Obama to win time for them to continue their exploitation of the masses in the US and the world. So it is true that Obama and Mandela played the same class role, one of betrayal of the masses and ensuring that the monopolies benefit.

The price? Incorporation into the system, for a few pennies. Thus it is true that 'Michelle and I are the beneficiaries of that struggle'-Obama and Mandela and a tiny section of the black middle class were incorporated into the system of capitalist exploitation, on the backs of the masses. Indeed Mandela and Obama have 'learned the language and customs of his oppressor' all too well. They became managers for the imperialist masters.

### **Prisoners of conscience or jailor of the masses?**

Obama says 'we still see children suffering from hunger and disease, run-down schools and few prospects for the future' and hides the fact that US imperialism, that he represents, is the main agency that has robbed the masses and our children of our future.

He 'laments' 'men and women are still imprisoned for their political beliefs and are still persecuted' and those who 'dissent' are targeted by government leaders but conveniently 'forgets' his own promise to close down Guantanamo bay military prison, he 'forgets' that Bradley Manning is serving a 20+ year sentence for 'dissent', exposing the crimes of the US military in Iraq; Edward Snowden is being hunted for 'dissent', exposing that the NSA (National Security Agency of the USA) is spying on most of the world's telecommunications; Mumia abu Jamal, ex Black Panther member, was framed for 'dissent', for a crime he did not commit and is currently on death row (for more than 20 years). Thousands of Palestinian political prisoners are being kept in Israeli jails (US imperialism funds Israel at least \$2 bn every year [R20 bn], to keep the millions of dissenting Palestinians in chains and open air prisons as well as closed wall prisons). The Egyptian military is funded over \$1 bn every year by US imperialism- this military has just declared that anyone who dissents with them can face from 5 years in jail or even the death penalty.

US imperialism backed the Indonesian dictator who killed off more than 1 million dissenting Communists. US imperialism (specifically backed by JP Morgan Chase, Anglo American and Pepsi) organised the coup against a democratically elected government in 1973 in Chile and installed the Pinochet military junta that killed off thousands of activists. (Allende, the overthrown President only slightly dissented, yet he was overthrown and killed).



Obama was silent of the role of the CIA who collaborated with the apartheid regime, not only in the capture of Mandela and many other anti-regime activists, but also over the fact that the US regime still listed him as a 'terrorist' until as recently as 2008.

Mandela did not free the prisoner, he freed the jailor, he saved imperialism from revolution. The masses are still in the capitalist jail. On what core principle did he remain 'unyielding' considering capitalist violence has continued? We can only conclude that his unyielding principle was compromise.

Obama deliberately flatters with references to Gandhi, King, Kennedy, Kruschev, Lincoln and the founding fathers of the USA. These are the heroes of capitalism that saved the capitalist system when faced with revolt from the masses. Lincoln was forced to abolish slavery to make it easier to create a pool of 'free' labour for the more rapid development of capitalism; at the same time, it was preferable that the state freed the slaves rather than they freed themselves as the mass slave revolts could have gone beyond breaking the chains of slavery, it could have threatened even the rule of capitalism. Obama extended the hand of greeting and thanks to Raul Castro for beginning to privatize Cuba's state assets and for the role of the Cuban regime in preventing other Cuba's from developing in South America [Fidel Castro went to Buenos Aires in 2001 to beg the masses in revolt that there should be no more Cuba's].

The Second Amendment of the US Constitution includes 'the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed upon'. Compare this to Mandela's call the masses to 'throw your weapons into the sea'. The USA was formed out of armed revolution against British colonial domination. The right to bear arms against an oppressive regime is entrenched, on paper that is, in the USA. The ANC called for the masses to lay down arms to ensure the continued domination of imperialism. The founding fathers of the USA used arms to break from colonialism but to continue slavery and wage slavery.

When Obama was a student he framed an opponent to have her disqualified from the varsity elections so that he could win. Now he wants to lecture world leaders about when to step down from power and tolerating dissent. Actually he is advising the puppet leaders that it is a tool of capitalist control to regularly change leaders otherwise the masses turn to the streets to remove them, thereby threatening the system. It is not out of generosity that the maximum that a US President can sit in office, is 8 years. By this time there is so much class hatred against the President that if he/she stays on longer, revolution against the system may result. Obama is also advising the puppet leaders to give a few more crumbs to save the whole system.

Yes, Mandela fought against white domination (because it did not give the black middle class a stake in the system) and against black domination (because an unrestricted democratic rule, without a property clause to protect the monopolies, would have threatened imperialist domination and capitalist rule itself).

Mandela promoted reconciliation of the irreconcilable- The TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) led to a handful of the killers being jailed but the vast majority of the apartheid killers went free, were not even charged, the real organizers of slave capitalism, the imperialists, got off scott free, they continued to rule and indeed their profit levels rose to levels much higher than pre-1994. The apartheid regime charged companies 48% tax on profits, the ANC charges companies 28%. Many attacks on the masses that would have led to mass revolts, if they had been introduced by the old regime, have been introduced by the ANC govt.

The real tragedy of Mandela's life is that imperialism put him in jail for 27 years and hauled him out to head off a revolution. Mandela was freed in 1990 but imperialism was the master of his fate, the captain of his soul, even up to his death, his memorial and burial.

If we learn one thing from Mandela and Obama is that a black capitalist ruler can be as cruel an exploiter and oppressor as a white capitalist ruler. Just ask the Gogos and Tatas who are starving in the townships, the unemployed starving in the rural areas, the men, women and the youth who are all still in the capitalist prison.

WIVP

29.12.2013



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

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



Herman Wallace, a leader of Black Panther movement, held in solitary confinement for decades, died within days of his release; he was part of the Angola 3



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