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We Fight Ideas with Ideas

DIVISIONS WITHIN THE WORKING CLASS

So many things divide us!

Michael Yates asks the question that's on the minds of all of us: "Can [the working class] bring about a global transition in which capitalism is superseded by a radically democratic socialist mode of production, with maximum substantive equality across as many social outcomes as possible?" (Page 67)

Can we do so with the multiple obstacles confronting us – not least those undermining our efforts at unity?

In South Africa, group identity is arguably the major cause of division, not only among workers, but in society at large. It's going to take more than a neoliberal constitutional democracy to rid us of the scourge of racism and identity-based power struggles. One is often reminded of Adolph Reed's point: "If your anti-racism is not at the same time an anti-capitalism, then you're on the left-wing of neoliberalism." In other words, the best your efforts will produce will be a tolerance of those you deem to be of other race-groups, but no substantive change in the distribution of wealth, beyond affirmative action.

En masse the world has embraced Critical Race Theory – a politically correct form of apartheid. There has been no pushback from tertiary institutions, and civic organisations have remained largely silent on this matter – as they all went down on bended knee. Afriforum challenged some of the key points of this "progressive" doctrine, but that's about it! So too the new gender theories that have overrun higher education with subtle changes to entrance forms actually crushing freedom of religious association. The larger issues facing global society such as war, hunger and corporate control over governments (Fascism), are overlooked as these new debates over the

personal identity of a speaker overrides the content of their speech.

Racism's twin sibling—nationalism—might have seen more progressive days when it acted as an anti-colonial rallying call, but today in South Africa it all too often expresses itself as xenophobia. Capitalist bosses are ever-ready to exploit the vulnerability of "foreign nationals" by employing them in ultra-precarious job-roles, at the same time swelling the ranks of the "reserve army of labour" expanding the surplus number of job-seekers in the market, thereby intensifying the competition for limited job opportunities. And unethical politicians are quick to seize on the opportunity to score voting points by fanning the flames of nationalistic/neo-fascist/xenophobic conflict among the poorest-of-the-poor – "Zimbabweans are stealing our jobs!" A Tweet attributed to Gayton McKenzie on 29 July had the following to say:

Most illegal foreigners are holding jobs in South Africa, arrest and deport them, such an action will already alleviate part of our unemployment problem. We need firm action no matter how unpopular to save our country.

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The actual workplace is also set up to divide workers in many ways. The division between “intellectual” and “manual” labour, the competition for promotion and other individualised benefits, the singling out of workers for rewards and punishments, the casualisation and de-skilling of work - these are all part of the *normal* workplace, designed to ensure obedience to the imperatives of profit-making.

Approximately 225 million people lost their jobs during the covid-19 lockdowns.ⁱ In South Africa 3 million became unemployed.ⁱⁱ The unions and civil society were crippled by fear, as the press repeated the narratives of “deaths” and “social distancing,” “masking” and later “safe and effective vaccines.” The only winners in this scenario were the pharmaceutical corporations who raked in billions in profits,ⁱⁱⁱ courtesy of terrified taxpayers.^{iv}

Instead of uniting the working classes, the pandemic fractured the fragile structures even more as mass meetings were cancelled, and some meetings and organisations even required proof of vaccination for attendance. It remains to be seen whether the subsequent revelations at the European Union regarding the Pfizer vaccine’s effectiveness against transmissibility^v will galvanize the working classes into action against these huge corporations, or whether they will stand by mutely as they did during the pandemic while corporatized science dictates what can and cannot be questioned.^{vi}

In essence, the Covid-19 pandemic has given the corporate and political elites the keys to democracy. Over a period of two years a virtual global coup has taken place as the entire citizenry of the world was shut up behind closed doors and force-fed stories of terror and death. The absence of a voice within the ranks of the working class has led us to this point. The so-called “free press” is nothing more than a stenographic service for the corporate elite. A new information system needs to be designed that is unfettered by the digital chains of the Internet – where “unacceptable views”^{vii} can be banned. This is a global war of propaganda and the elites are winning.

Labour unions have been a critical factor in ensuring worker resistance and the struggle for better conditions in the workplace – what late Marxist thinker Ellen Meiksins Wood referred to as “non-transformational struggles *within* the system of capitalism” over the terms and conditions of work.

Now these two kinds of politics - the struggle for social provision and the class struggle over the

terms and conditions of work - are indispensable under capitalism in all its forms. Capitalism will, needless to say, always and necessarily, mean the exploitation of workers, unrelenting attempts to intensify exploitation, to increase the gains that capital can extract from workers, and this will always, and necessarily, mean a fundamental antagonism of interest between capital and labor. So struggles over the terms and conditions of work are always necessary and always appropriate.

Few would dispute the progressive role played by COSATU in ensuring an enlightened labour dispensation at the beginning of SA’s neoliberal era in the late 1980s/early 1990s. However, the very act of transforming our raft of labour laws served to pull the teeth of labour militancy, most notably by tying workers into the new labour relations process to ensure “industrial peace” via bodies such as NEDLAC. For the new elite, the end of apartheid was also the end of revolution, and so it was possible for many former radicals to settle into comfortable bourgeois life styles. Michael Yates might have been talking specifically about SA when he observed:

. . . if we look honestly at most unions, it is remarkable how often they come to resemble in their structure and actions their adversary. They are bureaucratic, with undemocratic chains of command. Their leaders take on many of the trappings—expensive homes and cars, overly large expense accounts, private schools for their children, and the like—of their class enemy. Their radical beginnings have often given way to distrust of the rank-and-file, rampant nationalism, and conservative politics. (Page 101)

And so, an important part of what divides workers is the potential for its leadership to undermine solidarity by making common cause with the bosses. (Reminiscent of George Orwell’s classic line in *Animal Farm*: “The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which.”)

Currently, there is some turbulence within the ranks of organised workers in South Africa. Of the 24 trade union federations registered with the Department of Trade and Industry only three, COSATU, FEDUSA and NACTU, are members of NEDLAC. SAFTU, which has a membership larger than NACTU and FEDUSA

combined, is not. Then there is the infighting going on within NUMSA on the one hand and between NUMSA and SAFTU on the other. At the time of writing, two trade unions are leading an uncompromising wage battle against Transnet, which media is warning will “hurt” the SA economy. While not directly related, this action is occurring at the same time of news that all cabinet ministers and their deputies were set to enjoy uninterrupted electricity and water supplies to their official residences even as the rest of the population would remain subject to load shedding! (This privilege was hastily withdrawn in the face of a public outcry) It is indeed impossible to “tell the men from the pigs!”

We close this short piece with the same thoughts with which Michael Yates closed his book, “Can the working class change the world?”

It will take time for a class riven with so many fundamental cleavages, by race/ethnicity, gender, and imperialism most importantly, to unify itself and destroy its class enemy. Mother Earth may take her revenge on us before that. In the meantime, though, best to do what we can, in whatever ways of which we are capable: by any and all tactics, everywhere, all the time, in every part of the capitalist system. Fight landlords, disrupt classrooms, take on bosses, write, nothing is unimportant. And as we do this, remember that those who have suffered the most—workers and peasants in the Global South, minorities in the Global North, working-class women everywhere—are going to lead struggles or [those struggles] are likely to fail. (Page 150)

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Working Class Agency in the 21st Century

As we are well aware, capitalism might be in terminal decline, but the owners and beneficiaries of the system will never voluntarily concede to a new, socialist order. Under pressure, the best they would be willing to do would be to (grudgingly) adapt the system – which is another way of saying, “concede one or two reversible reforms.” We might in coming years see a transition to a form of neo-Keynesianism, in which governments attempt some measure of redistribution via increased public spending to boost demand in the marketplace – in the hope of stimulating jobs growth. If this sounds like pie-in-the-sky-thinking, how about the notion currently being peddled on social media: led by Elon Musk, the rich are looking to escape our burning planet for Mars(!)?

Today, more than ever, the vast mass of humanity has no independent means of subsistence – we are dependent on the capitalist system for a job, and therefore, for the means to access the market for our survival. But (global) joblessness is at an all-time high and growing. Increasingly, what jobs are created tend to be largely precarious/vulnerable/casualised jobs – no different from those of fruit pickers during harvest time; in other words, micro-jobs, contract-based, low-paid, low-skilled and lacking security. Moreover, workers who vie for these jobs far outnumber the available jobs, even in times of economic growth. And because market conditions dictate rates of pay and working conditions, employers can get away with setting near slave-like terms.

Workers in this kind of situation are almost certainly not unionised – which is to say they lack organisation, and therefore, lack the power to even marginally force an improvement in their conditions of employment. This is the modern-day wretched-of-the-earth, a lumpen proletariat, an “underclass” lacking class consciousness but not lacking (potential) agency. However, such agency is all too often limited to riots, wildcat action and violent upheavals – bursts of rage which quickly exhaust themselves with little if any gain.

Ominously, we are reminded that

From Marx onward, writers have warned that this struggle at all times threatens to fall under the spell of reactionary impulse. The “lumpen” must be organised, these writers argue, else a “politics of inferno” beckons. In the politics of such neo-fascist sorcerers as Jair Bolsonaro, Narendra Modi and Donald Trump, the inferno is today raging, as age-old alliances between a downwardly mobile middle class and the dispossessed reassert themselves, and as

growing numbers look to reactionary forces for security and hope. (From Phil Jones: “Work without the worker,” Verso, 2021.)

In our own country, a sure sign that neo-fascism is on the rise can be seen in the way that certain elements within the middle-class political establishment attempt to provoke the masses to xenophobic violence. As recently as 30 August, leader of the Patriotic Alliance, one Gayton McKenzie is reported to have said in a speech to Eldorado Park residents that “If there is a South African, Zimbabwean and Mozambican patient on oxygen and I see a South African patient born and bred in South Africa, I will turn the oxygen off so that the South African can live.” (Reported by news24)

Progressive Health Forum convener Dr Aslam Dasoo rightly condemned McKenzie’s comments as “the language of ethnic cleansing and genocide.”

This is the language of fascism, a language that will thrive in the political vacuum created by a de-horned (or “de-fanged”) workers’ movement.

Today trade union membership in South Africa is estimated to be 25.3 percent

– a mere quarter of the formal sector workforce. The country’s unemployment rate – for decades in the mid-to-high twenties – is currently hovering in the thirties (It should therefore come as no surprise that nearly 50 percent of South Africans rely for survival on social grants).

Formal sector employment is no guarantee of job security or decent pay. With relentless, ongoing automation of the workplace, there is little prospect of improvement in the precarious living standards of the mass of society. This applies in respect of South Africa, as indeed it does in the case of most countries of the Global South. Increasingly, workers in the Global North



economies of America, Western Europe and the UK are entering the ranks of the precariat, where job opportunities in the formal sectors of those countries are shrinking as well, and where, as a result, more and more people are being driven to the margins of survival.

When one thinks of workers in places like China and Bangladesh, the word “sweatshops” readily comes to mind. Employment in Foxconn factories in China where Apple i-phones are assembled and packaged for distribution to global markets, and in the clothing factories of Bangladesh where top apparel brands such as H&M are manufactured, the pay and working conditions resemble the industrial-era Britain of Marx’s time, in

which workers were de facto “wage slaves.”

In short, the world in which we are living is rushing towards a kind of Armageddon. A permanent crisis of capitalism, global warming, mass impoverishment, viral threats – these add up to a powerful threat against the very existence of humankind. It is no exaggeration to say that increasingly the only option is socialism or barbarism.

Unquestioningly, the mega challenge facing workers and their allies on the Left is to unite and organise.



SOWING THE SEEDS OF THE ANC'S WINTER OF DISCONTENT

8 January 1564 saw the death of Galileo Galilei. Italian astronomer Galileo provided several scientific insights that laid the foundation for future scientists. In this, he made major improvements to the telescope.

8 January 2022, the president of the ANC, Cyril Ramaphosa, whilst telescoping the political landscape in our country and mimicking Galileo did *not* announce improvements in the lives of the citizenry. For many, he was unimaginative and sterile. One could characterise his speech as "*Promises, Promises*". He mentioned that OR Tambo in his 8 January 1972 speech on the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the ANC had made the theme of his speech "*The Building of a Nation*". We are as far from *Building the Nation* today as night is from day. Why, after 28 years of ANC-style "democracy" has this not been achieved?

The most tumultuous year in SA politics lies behind us. Will future historians view 2021/2022 as a historic watershed? SA with all its ills and the world emerging out of a pandemic and a crisis exacerbated by the global lockdown as well as against the background of a possible world war, is fertile ground for becoming anarchistic.

Yet the ANC seems to be saying, "Crisis, what Crisis?"

Certain developments during the last twelve months have thrown up challenges that have impacted on the political landscape of South Africa. Let us look at a few of these:

Firstly, it is estimated that 14% of the total population in SA live in squatter camps. The ballooning number of shacks is an indication of never-ending poverty that afflicts our country. This disparity remains after 28 years after apartheid was abolished. This is the result of the neoliberal policies adopted by the ANC from the outset in 1994.

The ballooning number of shacks symbolizes persistent poverty among black people who make up some 93 percent of the total population of South Africa. The disparity remains almost a quarter of a century after apartheid was abolished. The top 1 percent holds almost 70 percent of wealth in our country.

Secondly, the KZN and Gauteng **FOOD RIOTS** in July 2021 at one stage seemed uncontrollable and even insurrectionary. 350 lives were lost, whilst damage to property and goods expropriated amounted to R50 billion. The upheaval ignited by the refusal of Zuma, the former president to appear before the Zondo Commission and his subsequent imprisonment is the flame that lit the powder keg.

The food riots and resulting civil unrest on that scale indicated a change in the struggles of the people. The impact of inflation on the price of staple foods and the cost of energy is a clear indication that the class struggle in SA has taken on a new dynamism.

The food riots caused an abnormal rise in the price of foodstuffs. The riots disrupted transport and as a result all agricultural activities, the sugar cane industry in KZN alone lost R260 million. Poverty has spawned an absence of responsible citizenship and looting has become an everyday occurrence.

This is the second such riots that occurred in SA (admittedly not on that scale). It is more than likely that the frequency of such civil unrests is set to increase.

Thirdly, prior to the July food riots, day-to-day crime, infrastructure 'demolition' – vandalism (a high school building was carried away in Veeplaats - Gqeberha), municipal facilities being carried away brick-by-brick, Eskom's cable theft reportedly amounting to R2 billion a year – a low intensity looting is taking place all the time.

Ramaphosa and the ANC promised economic growth, jobs for the youth better education and less crime. None of these has been accomplished or even attempted. Is it lack of implementation of policies, inept governance or just flawed policies?

Fourthly, **INEQUALITY** in South Africa is rooted in the legacy of racial and spatial apartheid. Income inequality is evident and has increased during the post-apartheid period. Social grants and the R350 grant for those without work have thrown the social network much wider in the lower echelons of society. Those on

social grants increased to 50,6% (2021), that equates to more than 30 million individuals.

Shocking facts that illustrate the rate of inequality are

- I. The average CEO earns the same as 461 black women in the bottom 10% of earners.
- II. The World Bank reported that the richest 20% of people in South Africa control almost 70% of the resources.
- III. In a survey conducted by the Department of Social Development it was found that 70% of applicants for the social grant of R350 p.m. were found to be below the age of 34, and most had matric and higher education qualifications.
- IV. Income inequality as well as unequal access to essential services and access to opportunities impacted negatively on the Gini coefficient making SA the polecat of the world.

After almost thirty years of “democracy” in SA, one would have thought that we could have done away with shantytowns, that we would have had better roads, adequate housing, access to health care and quality education. Certainly, we could have done away with pit latrines – provided better sanitation.

Race has reared its ugly head on a number of occasions, especially in our schools. Race remains a key factor in South Africa's high levels of inequality. Afrophobia and xenophobia, manifestations of racism, have been prevalent in SA and has erupted into violence on a national scale since May 2008.

Inherited from the previous regime, CORRUPTION is probably the thin edge of the wedge as far as the ANC is concerned. Corruption and scandals surrounding SA's State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) abound. The collapse of SAA, the DENEL scandal, Corruption in Home Affairs, PRASA, and tenderpreneurship at local government level – corruption is spiralling out of control! Eskom cannot produce electricity without including blackouts in its schedule. Yet, the power utility wants to increase the cost of electricity by a whopping 32% in 2023.

Service delivery, particularly at local level has bugged the political landscape since 1994. Potholes pockmark our roads such that citizens have taken to repairing some of the roads. On the national level, on visits to train stations, one can easily find an empty shell –

such as at George, once a bustling station now a deserted dilapidated rickety shell.

The road ahead for the ANC at present is littered with self-destruction caused not only by factionalism that is however inherent in its structure and governance.

What are the causes of the decline in the ANC's popularity?

Whilst the ANC is at present fast losing ground amongst the voting public, they will certainly maintain the majority status in the 2024 elections. No parliamentary political party can realistically challenge the hegemony of the ANC. Whether the ANC will maintain its huge majority, is an open question – It is expected that far fewer than half of the electorate of an eligible 43 million voters will go to the polls. This reflects the mounting dissatisfaction with the main political parties and growing scepticism in electoral politics.

The question thus remains, do we have a democracy or a “demockery”?

THE EFF AND THEIR RACE-BASED POLITICS OF VIOLENCE

The EFF has openly declared a bloody Civil War on 'White South Africa' at its third Peoples Assembly held in the Western Cape in October 2022.

The banners displayed a spine-chilling message: 'The honeymoon is over for White people in South Africa' and 'A revolutionary must become a cold killing machine motivated by pure hate'. Malema's address to the assembly provided the explanatory notes to the banners, so to leave nothing to the imagination, and to reinforce the gory message.

Malema's address to the assembly provided the explanatory notes to the banners, so to leave nothing to the imagination, and to reinforce the gory message. Malema openly called on his supporters to 'kill' because 'killing is part of a revolutionary act' and that the 'revolution has reached a point when 'there is no longer an alternative but to kill'. He stated that 'anything that stands on (sic) the way of the revolution must be eliminated in the interests of the revolution' and the manifesto of the EFF says that they will take power by 'all means necessary'.

The EFF's mindless racist rants against Indians and Whites are well documented as are their acts of wanton violence. But never before has there been this sense of explicit urgency and immediacy on their part.

The EFF has done away with not-so-subtle innuendo like we will 'slit the throat of white arrogance' etc. The proverbial gloves are off.

The message unapologetically stirs up race hatred against Whites, and calls for the cold-blooded killing of White people and equates these heinous and barbaric acts, to a 'revolution'.

The alarming tone and brutal language of this crude and gut-wrenching message instilled a sense of shock and astonishment, even amongst seasoned politicians who are accustomed to the usual wild extremism of the EFF. So alarmed was the battle hardened Mazzone of the DA, that she took the unprecedented step of reporting the matter directly to the National Intelligence Agency as a matter of Treason and Terrorism bypassing all the usual channels.

There is a justified sense that this is one too many steps too far, even for the insane EFF.

The only sensible and prudent conclusion history allows us to draw, is that the EFF is brazenly preparing the social and psychological grounds to mobilise frenzied mobs *en masse* in a genocidal civil war. After all, according to Malema the 'revolution' has reached a point where there is 'no alternative' but to 'kill'. The EFF has effectively placed the Nation and all Democratic forces on notice.

The July insurrection of the RET forces, the fire-bombing of Parliament, the ongoing sabotage of Eskom and PRASA, the terror of the construction and transport mafias, the attacks on the independent judiciary and undermining of the constitution/bill of rights and law and order generally, the murder of state witnesses

in corruption cases and the murder of councillors, the xenophobic violence of Operation Dudula, the xenophobic actions of the Patriotic Alliance and Action SA, and the recent unlawful assault of illegal miners (Zama Zamas) by civilians in the presence and approval of the police, all point to a larger emerging pattern of a gradual escalation to mass scale mayhem.

This is the revolt of the narrow chauvinistic Africanist petty bourgeoisie, against the 1994 negotiated 'multi-racial' Neo liberal Constitutional Social Democratic Order, hatched between big Capital and local Collaborating Elites.

The African chauvinists believe that they have inherent 'Nativistic' rights bestowed on them by virtue of pure African birth, blood and soil and that these rights have pre-ordained them for racial dominance and superior status in the new post '94 status quo. According to them the compromises struck in '94 in favour of 'White Monopoly Capital' and a handful of select Black beneficiaries was a betrayal of these inherent rights. The 'revolution' that Malema refers to is aimed at avenging this historical 'betrayal' of Africans by 'all means necessary' to reverse the democratic gains of 1994 by violently establishing an African-centered dictatorship. The EFF finds its twin flame and eternal soul mate in the RET faction of the ANC.


It is now more obvious that the professionally planned and co-ordinated July uprising staged by the rising Africanist petty bourgeoisie was a mere 'dress rehearsal' for the more menacing confrontation to follow.

There are two distinct but interrelated struggles being waged simultaneously in South Africa.

The first struggle is more a nationalistic one between the rising elitist right wing conservative Africanist petty bourgeoisie against the more liberal democratic African billionaire elites aligned to Big Capital. The principle struggle between these two sections is about the character of the capitalist state and the best method of political rule within it.

The right wing demands a Fascist-like highly centralised dictatorship where the African majority will enjoy supreme racial dominance and the elite enjoy unfettered power to the levers of state and its coffers.

The liberal elites are committed to a democratic Constitutional order based on human rights and civil liberties, 'multi racial' equality, separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary where



the constitution is supreme but which is constrained by conservative neo liberal economic policies that favour Big Capital.

Insofar as political systems go Fascism and Liberal Democracy are historically related but irreconcilable and mutually destructive.

These two broad and fundamentally conflicting and irreconcilable systems are what has caused the irreversible split in the ANC. This blood-soaked fault line runs through the ANC and the entire *body politik* of South Africa. This is precisely why the ANC is unsustainable and destined to self-destruct either by explosion or implosion. This struggle presents itself to the entire world as 'State Capture' and 'corruption'. This struggle is the one that dominates the emotional and political focus of all South Africans who fall into either one of two distinct camps of 'for or against', cutting right across lines of colour and class.

The second simultaneous struggle has a more distinct social character. This struggle irrespective of colour, is the struggle of all impoverished labouring classes, the unemployed and a large section of the debt-ridden middle classes all of whom are plummeting into poverty as a result of the disastrous effects of exploitative neo liberal economic policies. This struggle is objectively and historically speaking against the national and global capitalist elites, their local collaborators and junior partners. This struggle is both national and international; it is against economic exploitation, political oppression and neo liberalism. The broad aim of this struggle is to build a genuinely democratic and equitable society where the producers of wealth irrespective of colour, have the substantial share of power to decide on the structure and direction that society takes.

Importantly, in the particular political juncture that South Africa finds itself today, this social struggle of necessity is also a struggle *against* all Fascist and RET forces and stands diametrically opposed to their programmes, strategies, tactics and method of struggle. This gives the struggle of the workers a combined and transitional character. There are no common interests between the struggle of the workers and the war of the fascists. Democratic freedoms are essential weapons in the arsenal of the workers to fight exploitation and Fascism whereas the destruction of the very same democratic freedoms is an indispensable precondition in the Fascist war to build a dictatorship. The working class must stamp its authority and leadership on both struggles within a principled, non-racial, non-collaborationist United Front so that both struggles can be resolved in the interest of the poor and exploited.

The petty bourgeois Fascists can only play an independent role for a finite period. In time they are compelled to lean on the big bourgeoisie for support. As the class struggle becomes more acute, and the workers assert their strength against the bourgeoisie the anti-communist face of the Fascists is revealed more clearly and the Fascists will turn their attention to crushing the working class. It is around this time that the Fascists will come to need

the material and political support of the big bourgeoisie for their final push to seize state power. The anti-capitalist rhetoric is turned low and the anti-communist rhetoric is turned up. This is also the time that the big bourgeoisie or sections of it comes to lean more towards the Fascists and as a very last resort experiments more seriously in excruciating desperation with the hazardous and costly idea that the Fascists and their crude frenzied armed mass mobs could violently smash the workers struggle and take firm control of the state power and society and wield it in their class interest. Before this the Bourgeoisie keeps the mad-cap Fascists in play but only as a reserve force to be deployed only in the event that the usual bourgeois-democratic means of breaking the working-class struggle prove useless and ineffective.

The destruction of the working class which must start incrementally before the fascists seize power goes into full over-drive after they seize power. This is when the death camps are erected and mass killings take place and all democratic structures are destroyed and the working class 'atomised', demoralized and dehumanised. It is here that Malema's 'cold killing machine motivated by pure hate', in full throttle, shall ride over our bodies crushing skulls and spines.

This is the dystopic future we face if the Fascist/RET forces seize state power. Hence the urgency of the working class and its leadership to wake up from its slumber before it is too late. No one can honestly say that Malema didn't give them fair warning. He could not have spelled it out any more clearly than he already has.

The socialist struggle of the working class represents in historical terms a giant leap forward and an advance to a higher level of development and is therefore revolutionary. In direct contrast the 'revolution' that the EFF is committed to is diametrically opposed to this because their 'revolution' is aimed at propelling South Africa in a giant leap backwards to a racist undemocratic dictatorship in which exploitation will be intensified and the human spirit, beauty, the pursuit of truth and life itself will be crushed.

The suffocating dust and ear shattering noise created by the drama of the first nationalistic struggle often obscures the second socialist oriented anti-capitalist struggle. This occurs not because the socialist struggle is less important or insignificant but only because it is in a relatively fragile emerging state. This struggle is yet to develop an independent substantive coherence and gain meaningful traction and project a mature conscious voice that is distinctly audible above the noise. Another reason is that because of this immature subjective development this struggle is often and easily side tracked and misled by the more nationalistic struggle into dead ends. The Malemas of this world appear strong only because the workers movement is still very weak.

The EFF is located squarely within the first struggle and only opportunistically intervenes in certain aspects of the second struggle to leverage influence in the first struggle. This opportunism is typical of the vacillating upwardly mobile petty bourgeoisie who are sandwiched between the two big classes (the workers and the bourgeoisie).

Objectively the EFF is no friend of the poor exploited. They have no interest whatsoever in radically overturning the capitalist system and rebuilding society along equitable socialist lines because this would cut them off from their aspirations to accumulate wealth. They would never cut their own noses to spite their designer faces, after all their 'time to eat' has arrived.

The EFF's aspirations are firmly entrenched within the capitalist system with all its cheap glitzy trappings. The EFF is decidedly the upwardly mobile parasitic petty bourgeois inter twined with particular elements of Big Capital and its criminal fringe elements. The EFF is farcically 'anti-capitalist' only to the extent that they are on the outside looking in. They would much rather be firmly on the inside looking out.

The EFF opportunistically references the suffering and degradation of the poor African majority caused by capitalism to appeal to the most vulnerable sections of society. The EFF mass propaganda relies on shallow anti-capitalist, anti-colonial rhetoric and pseudo socialist sloganeering spliced with racism as a necessary and indispensable tool to build and mobilise a mass base with the broadest populist appeal.

Malema's support of the poor has echoes of *Mein Kampf* to it all. Germany of Hitler's era was exactly about economics. Poor Germans were told that the only reason they were poor was because Jewish people were controlling the economy.' (Fiona Ford: 2011:240 *An Inconvenient Youth: Julius Malema and the New ANC*)

The militaristic imagery and symbols of the EFF reinforce its anti-democratic authoritarian regimentation, toxic masculinity and violent nature.

Malema the child soldier turned demagogue is the charismatic supreme spiritual head, the fearless iron leader who shall 'eliminate' anything standing in the way of the revolution by 'all means necessary'. The EFF draws inspiration from the accumulated muck festering in the dark gutters and swampy back waters of history where the toxic fumes spontaneously suffocate all scientific reasoning, logic and freedom. Such is the nature of barbarism.

The EFF are very much in the same position as the fascist Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie of the Nationalist Party who harboured deep antagonisms towards old English Capital particularly post the Anglo- Boer War and the 1910 Union of South Africa.

The EFF's position in the South African political landscape also bears a heavy resemblance to the position that Hitler and the National Socialist German Workers Party found themselves in during the 1920's and 1930's as they railed against the evils of capitalism, spewed race hatred and denounced and mourned the betrayal of the German 'Volk' by the burdensome terms of the Treaty of Versailles and spouted pro-socialistic slogans.

It is no coincidence that the EFF and the Fascist Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie and the Nazis also share the same parochial racist chauvinistic nationalistic outlook.

And neither is it a coincidence that the 'muddle headed' reactionary spiritual guide of the ANC Youth League, Anton Lembede was a rabid anti-communist and African chauvinist, who deeply admired both Verwoerd and Hitler and drew inspiration from them.

Both the German Nazis and their Afrikaner South African counterparts had their 'cold killing machines' driven by racial fanaticism and 'hate' that Malema dreams of having today.

Malema's dream is our worst possible nightmare.

According to Leon Trotsky the era of fascism begins seriously after an important and, for a certain time, decisive victory of the bourgeoisie over the working-class. (L.Trotsky 1931: *What is a Revolutionary Situation? The decisive importance of the Communist Party.* (Marxist Internet Archive))

The 1994 negotiated settlement was such a decisive victory of the bourgeoisie over the working class.

The negotiated settlement therefore did not avert a blood bath but only deferred it to a later date.

That deferred moment of violent crises is now looming large upon us.

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