

**THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION**

**THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM**

**1 DEFINING THE CRISIS**

**1.1 Introduction**

To say that “capitalism is in crisis” is to comment on the *normal* condition of capitalism. As Stuart Easterling reminds us:

*Capitalism is an economic system that is inherently crisis-prone. It is driven by forces which cause it to be unstable, anarchic and self-destructive. This is as true today as it was over 150 years ago, when Karl Marx and his collaborator Frederick Engels described capitalism in the Communist Manifesto as "a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, [that it] is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells."*

*(Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Chapter 1, page 27.)*[[1]](#footnote-1)

Capitalism *“has always been an improbable social formation, full of conflicts and contradictions, therefore permanently unstable and in flux,”* says sociologist Wolfgang Streeck, who adds that it is *“highly conditional on historically contingent and precarious supportive as well as constraining events and institutions.”*[[2]](#footnote-2)

In essence, crises within the capitalist system arise from two basic sources - at the level of production (that is, at the point where surplus value[[3]](#footnote-3) is *extracted*) and at the level of exchange (that is, at the point where surplus value is *realised*).

**1.2 Crises at the Level of Production**

Displacing labour, the source of all new wealth, from production is bound to be counterproductive for profitability in the long run.[[4]](#footnote-4) Yet, this is what capitalism - by its very nature - is bound to do. In order to remain competitive, and thus to survive, let alone prosper, individual capitalists must constantly innovate, constantly be introducing labour saving technologies into the production process to reduce the cost of production, and so to stay ahead of the competition.[[5]](#footnote-5)

In capitalism, there is thus a tendency towards constant technological revolutions. The main weapon in competition between capitalist firms is cutting production costs. More advanced production techniques and more ‘rational’ labour organisation are the main means to achieve that purpose. The basic trend of capital accumulation in the capitalist mode of production is therefore a trend towards more and more sophisticated machinery. Capital growth takes the dual form of higher and higher value of capital and of constant revolutions in the techniques of production, of constant technological progress.[[6]](#footnote-6)

The net effect is well-explained by Stuart Easterling:

*One aspect of accumulating capital is that the capitalist has to invest more and more in machines and tools in order to raise productivity and stay ahead of the competition. So the capital they invest is composed more and more of machines ("constant capital") than labor power ("variable capital"). For example, over time, in a particular industry 50 percent then 55 percent then 60 percent of the total capital might go into machines……The capitalist ends up investing more capital to make the same amount of profit.* [Our emphasis] *Thus, the rate of profit has fallen - the capitalists’ rate of profit will suffer, because the amount of total capital invested has increased, without changing the amount of surplus value generated…. The inherent drive to invest and increase productivity is the same process that leads the system to crisis*.[[7]](#footnote-7)

Inevitably, the capitalists will seek to counteract this tendency by, for example, intensifying the exploitation of the workers (for example, making them work harder and for longer hours) as well as by attacking their wages and benefits, and by moving production to parts of the world where labour is cheaper or more exploitable. The process will unleash what James Petras has referred to as “*class struggle from above*,”[[8]](#footnote-8) which would include a war against worker organizations and the undermining of trade union organization and power. In his article, Petras defines “*class struggle from above*” as including “*the principal owners of the major means of production, distribution and financing.*”[[9]](#footnote-9)

He adds:

“*In the era of imperial globalization, international class forces, political and economic, play a major role in class struggle. In Latin America the US, Canadian and European imperial states and multi-nationals and self-styled international financial institutions play a major role, especially in ‘class struggle from above’ by imposing economic paradigms (‘neo-liberal economies’) and policing them via ‘structural adjustment policies*.’”[[10]](#footnote-10)

To quote Easterling once more:

*“If there are no profits…. (or even if they are squeezed) then businesses close, people lose jobs, debts are not paid, banks collapse, governments run out of money – in short, there is an economic crisis*.”[[11]](#footnote-11)

**1.3 Crises at the Level of Realisation**

Production is the level at which surplus value (or the capitalists’ profit) is created or extracted. The marketplace is where it is realised. Clearly, if the product or service “doesn’t sell,” surplus value will not be realized, and the market will be in a state of over-supply. Put another way, a crisis of “over-production” will have resulted. Crises of over-production under capitalism are inevitable, given the built-in tendency for production to over-shoot the market’s absorptive capacity.

*“Capitalist economic crises are always crises of overproduction of commodities (exchange values)….. Under capitalist crises, expanded reproduction - economic growth - is brutally interrupted, not because too few commodities have been produced but, on the contrary, because a mountain of produced commodities finds no buyers. This unleashes a spiral movement of collapse of firms, firing of workers, contraction of sales (or orders) for raw materials and machinery, new redundancies, new contraction of sales of consumer goods etc. Through this contracted reproduction, prices collapse, production and income is reduced, capital loses value. At the end of the declining spiral, output (and stocks) has been reduced more than purchasing power. Then production can pick up again; and as the crisis has both increased the rate of surplus-value (through a decline of wages and a more ‘rational’ labour organisation) and decreased the value of capital, the average rate of profit increases. This stimulates investment. Employment increases, value production and national income expand, and we enter a new cycle of economic revival, prosperity, overheating and the next crisis.”*[[12]](#footnote-12)

**1.4 An Unresolvable Contradiction**

A so-far unresolvable contradiction encountered under capitalism is that the inexorable drive to reduce production costs in the quest to maintain or boost profitability leads to the weakening of labour. This in turn means that capitalism’s consumer-base is weakened, and in the process, demand. When demand is weakened, the core condition for over-supply or over-production has been established. This is so because workers are not only workers, they are also buyers (of the commodities produced by their labour power). In a world where the vast majority of workers live in a state of poverty, it is inevitable that working-class purchasing power in the market will be restricted - and thus, capitalist profit realization restricted too.

As David Harvey puts it:

*“Lack of effective aggregate demand in the market (as opposed to the social demand for needed use values on the part of a penurious population) creates a serious barrier to the continuity of capital accumulation. It leads to falling profits. Working-class consumer power is a significant component of that effective demand. Capitalism as a social formation is perpetually caught in this contradiction*.”[[13]](#footnote-13)

To summarise, profits are “*created*” in the production process through the exploitation of labour. Capitalist competition leads to the imperative for individual capitalists to be constantly acting to minimize or reduce their production costs. This exerts a general downward pressure on labour, which in turn reduces the working class’s capacity as consumers of the commodities produced; this in its turn creates the conditions for over-production in the marketplace. But if the marketplace is where the profits created in production are to be realised, then clearly, they cannot be realised if locked up within unsold (over-produced) goods and services.

As Petras forcefully reminds us, *class struggle from above* is all about the capitalists waging war on the working class. He trenchantly observes:

*“In times of capitalist crisis with declining economic wealth, growing threats of bankruptcy and intense demand for state subsidies, there is no basis for sharing wealth – even unequally – between capitalist, bankers, creditors and workers, debtors and rentiers.  Competition over shrinking resources intensifies conflict over shares of a shrinking pie.  The ruling class, facing a life and death struggle over survival, strikes back with all the forces – state and private – at its disposal to ensure that its financial needs are met. The public treasury exclusively finances its debts and stimulates its recovery of profits.  Ruling class warfare defines who pays for the crisis and who benefits from the ‘recovery… of profits’. The crisis is, by turn, a temporary threat to the capitalist economic system and then, in the course of recovering from the crisis, a political, economic and social pretext for a ruling class general offensive aimed at reversing labor and social advances over the past half century:  Capitalist class warfare dismantles the social safety net and undermines the entire legal and ideological* *underpinnings of ‘welfare capitalism.’ ‘Austerity’ is the chosen term to mark the ruling class’s seizure of the public treasury on its own behalf – without any regard for its social consequences.  ‘Austerity’ is the highest form of class struggle from above because it establishes the arbitrary and unilateral power of capital to decide the present and future division between wages and profits, employment and unemployment and the returns to creditor states and the interest and principal payments of neo-colonial debtor states*.”[[14]](#footnote-14)

**1.5 The Current Crisis**

The emergence of neo-liberalism in the 1970s and 1980s was in large measure a response by capitalist class interests to the falling rate of profit resulting from working class power (mainly in the advanced capitalist countries) over the preceding three decades following WW2. From the late 1960s-early 1970s, capital could no longer deliver the growth necessary to ensure continued prosperity. “Declining profits caused by low interest rates, high investment in fixed assets (physical, capital, plant and machinery), high state expenditures and high wages were causing inflation and sluggish growth (stagflation).”[[15]](#footnote-15)

This was to be the beginning of the end of:

*“…..politically guaranteed full employment, collective society-wide wage formation negotiated with free trade unions, worker participation at workplace and enterprise level, state control of key industries, a broad public sector with secure employment as a model for the private sector, universal social rights protected from competition, tax and income policies that kept inequality within tight limits, and government cyclical and industrial policies to secure steady growth.”[[16]](#footnote-16) “This was the beginning of the neoliberal era - a “stage of capitalism that emerged in the wake of the structural crisis of the 1970s. It expresses the strategy of the capitalist classes in alliance with upper management, specifically financial managers, intending to strengthen their hegemony and to expand it globally*.”[[17]](#footnote-17)

Wikipedia provides a nice value-free description of what neoliberalism is:

*“Neoliberalism refers primarily to the 20th-century resurgence of 19th-century ideas associated with laissez-faire economic liberalism. These include economic liberalization policies such as privatization, fiscal austerity, deregulation, free trade, and reductions in government spending in order to increase the role of the private sector in the economy and society. These market-based ideas and the policies they inspired constitute a paradigm shift away from the post-war Keynesian consensus which lasted from 1945 to 1980.”*[[18]](#footnote-18)

George Monbiot is more forthright:

*“[Neoliberalism] has played a major role in a remarkable variety of crises: the financial meltdown of 2007‑8, the offshoring of wealth and power, of which the Panama papers offer us merely a glimpse, the slow collapse of public health and education, resurgent child poverty, the epidemic of loneliness, the collapse of ecosystems, the rise of Donald Trump.*”[[19]](#footnote-19)

He tells of how Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan’s rise to power saw the initiation of *“massive tax cuts for the rich, the crushing of trade unions, deregulation, privatisation, outsourcing and competition in public* *services. Through the IMF, the World Bank, the Maastricht treaty and the World Trade Organisation, neoliberal policies were imposed – often without democratic consent – on much of the world*.”[[20]](#footnote-20)

We have now reached “*grotesque*” levels of inequality: “*New estimates show that just eight men own the same wealth as the poorest half of the world. As growth benefits the richest, the rest of society – especially the poorest - suffers. The very design of our economies and the principles of our economics have taken us to this extreme, unsustainable and unjust point. Our economy must stop excessively rewarding those at the top and start working for all people.*”[[21]](#footnote-21)

Reuters tells us that “*Global debt levels rose to more than 325 percent of the world’s gross domestic product last year as government debt rose sharply*,” and that “*global debt had risen more than $11 trillion in the first nine months of 2016 to more than $217 trillion.*”[[22]](#footnote-22)

Wolfgang Streeck has drawn attention to the *“persistent decline in the rate of [global] economic growth, recently aggravated by the events of 2008*.”[[23]](#footnote-23) His observations are supported by Michael Spence (Economist and Nobel laureate) who says:

*“A remarkable pattern has emerged since the 2008 global financial crisis: Governments, central banks, and international financial institutions have consistently had to revise their growth forecasts downward. [Our emphasis] With very few exceptions, this has been true of projections for the global economy and individual countries alike . . . and most important, the magnitude and duration of the drop in aggregate demand has been greater than expected, partly because employment and median incomes have been lagging behind growth. This phenomenon preceded the [2008] crisis, and high levels of household debt have exacerbated its impact in the aftermath. The stagnation of incomes in the bottom 75 percent of the distribution presents an especially large challenge, because it depresses consumption, undermines social cohesion (and thus political stability and effectiveness), and decreases intergenerational mobility — especially where public education is poo*r.”[[24]](#footnote-24)

The combined impact of declining growth, heightened debt levels and extreme inequality (three “mutually-reinforcing, intertwined long-term trends”) have led sociologist Wolfgang Streeck to the conclusion that capitalism’s days are numbered. “*It is high time,*” says he, “*in the light of decades of declining growth, rising* *inequality and increasing indebtedness - as well as of the successive agonies of inflation, public debt and financial implosion since the 1970s - to think again about capitalism as a historical phenomenon, one that has not just a beginning, but also an end.*”[[25]](#footnote-25)

His prognosis is largely pessimistic:

*“The demise of capitalism……is unlikely to follow anyone’s blueprint. As the decay progresses, it is bound to provoke political protests and manifold attempts at collective intervention. But for a long time, these are likely to remain of the Luddite sort: local, dispersed, uncoordinated, ‘primitive’ – adding to the disorder while unable to create a new order, at best unintentionally helping it to come about. One might think that a long-lasting crisis of this sort would open up more than a few windows of opportunity for reformist or revolutionary agency. It seems, however, that disorganized capitalism is disorganizing not only itself but its opposition as well, depriving it of the capacity either to defeat* *capitalism or to rescue it. For capitalism to end, then, it must provide for its own destruction – which, I would argue, is exactly what we are witnessing today*.”[[26]](#footnote-26)

But, as Turkish Marxist Elif Çağlı reminds us:

*“Capitalist economy inherently contains seeds of crisis. However, it would be utterly erroneous to argue that crises will spontaneously lead capitalism to its destruction. Unless it is overthrown through a revolution of the working class, it can continue to exist, going through new periods of booms and crises. Some assert that the ongoing crisis will mark the end of capitalism. This idea was also put forward during previous crises. While it seems very difficult for capitalism to overcome the deep crisis it is currently engulfed in, and moreover that capitalism becomes weaker with time in terms of overcoming its crises, it would be erroneous to link the collapse of capitalism with the prophecy of a final crisis. An example of this misconception was also seen in the Comintern debates of the early 1920s, where some participants argued that capitalism would collapse as a result of the accumulation of its internal contradictions that originate merely from its economic workings. As pointed out by Lenin and Trotsky, there is no such thing as a final crisis that will lead capitalism to a spontaneous collapse. Unless overthrown through the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the ruling class would find a way to survive their system at the expense of causing most destructive disasters for human societies*.”[[27]](#footnote-27)

**2 THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM**

**2.1 Introduction**

When capitalism is in crisis, it goes to war. It manufactures reasons in order for it to go to war. Imperialist nations use well-paid think tanks to create credible scenarios to sanction their desire for war. Studies by Hosea Jaffe[[28]](#footnote-28), in life a member of the Unity Movement and an anti-imperialist economist, indicate a definite trend that when economic recessions dump the capitalist world into financial crises, it seeks relief via war. Not only do the spoils of battle swell dwindling coffers, but the arms industrial complex creates jobs and sells arms.

Profits also fill the individual pockets of the very state officials who beat the drums of war[[29]](#footnote-29). Corporatisation of the military whereby military functions are increasingly outsourced is becoming progressively worse in the United States. According to the Nobel Prize winning economist, Joe Stiglitz, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan will exceed $5 trillion. Wars are thus conducted for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many.

Both World Wars I and II were preceded by a series of economic recessions. World War I (1913-1918) occurred after global economic downturns from 1902 to 1913. World War II (1939 – 1945) was preceded by recessions from 1920 to 1937 which included the well-known great depression starting in 1929. Similarly, the global recessions which ended in 2001 were followed by attacks by imperialist powers on Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003.

Always the *casus belli* (cause of war) was some pretext which camouflaged the real reason for war. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria was used as the trigger for World War I while Hitler manufactured (“false flag” incident[[30]](#footnote-30)) a *casus belli* to invade Poland which in turn led to the axis powers having reason to declare World War II. His REAL reason for attacking Poland, as revealed in his book, *Mein Kampf*, was his policy of *lebensraum* (living space) for the German people.

Attacks by imperialist powers on Afghanistan happened and failed on a number of times: by Britain in 1838- 42 & 1878-1880 and by Czarist Russia in 1865-1873. Britain ostensibly wanted to bring “*civilisation*” to a “*backward*” country. The real reason for the British invasion was economic, as given away in speeches in the House of Commons and the British Viceroys in India, viz. to seal the North-West frontier of their colony, India, against Czarist Russia’s attentions[[31]](#footnote-31).

The USA-led NATO invasion of Afghanistan started in 2001 under the pretext of a “*War Against Terror*” after Al Qaeda struck the New York Twin Towers. Their real reason was to improve their geographically hegemonic position in the region which included running an oil pipeline across the area to the Caspian Sea and keeping Russian influence in the area at bay.

This war-mongering campaign by the United States and other Western Imperialist countries include a political and military strategy for a war against the Russian Federation. Jaffe goes so far as to say that a WW III is well on the way to becoming the ultimate Re-colonisation War. John Pilger[[32]](#footnote-32) agrees, noting the signing of another bout of sanctions against Russia (July/August 2017). He makes mention that the US has encircled Russia and China with military bases and nuclear weapons using North Korea’s nuclear programme as an excuse. Japan has 28 US military bases.

War is in the DNA of the imperialist countries. As the late President Fidel Castro said, the United States has a culture of domination and an instinct for appropriation[[33]](#footnote-33). Their current warmongering mood reflects the prevalent economic crisis in capitalism. This warmongering is in fact, according to Jaffe[[34]](#footnote-34), part of a recolonisation of the world by the industrial powers.

Taking into account that the will of the people in the imperial nations no longer informs government policy and that government policy is determined by the corporates, this is by extension a recolonisation by the corporates. Noreena Hertz[[35]](#footnote-35) calls it imperial rule by the corporations. Our overview of the effects of the crisis in capitalism will show how this impacts many countries in the world.

**2.2 Africa**

Presently, decolonisation is again foregrounded by scholars both in South Africa and globally. The jury is still out on whether this is merely a sexy topic, an academic exercise, a project for radical economic transformation or a genuine attempt to transform into non-racial, non-sexist, just and truly equal societies. The effects of colonisation and effective processes to counter it i.e. decolonisation have been the major focus of many liberation organisations over decades. The analysis of scholars in the New Unity Movement (NUM) is always based on the principles and the Ten Point Programme (TPP) of the NUM. Thus, the rape and the ravaging of Africa is always framed within the backdrop of imperialism, colonisation and neo-liberalism. Given the constraints of this paper, we will focus on the war hot spots in Africa and trace how it is linked to the neo-liberal agenda.

**2.2.1 Africa at War**

In 2009 Paul Collier [[36]](#footnote-36) posed the question: “Why natural resources fuel civil war?” His study was sparked by the fact that civil wars are concentrated in Africa. According to a list released by the World Atlas[[37]](#footnote-37) currently there are 3 million refugees in the world of which two thirds are from or are hosted in Africa. In 2014 studies revealed that half of the world’s conflict is located in Africa although Africa only accommodates 16% of the population of the world. These conflicts stretch on an arc from Northern Mali through Southern Algeria and Libya into Egypt extending to the Sinai Peninsula[[38]](#footnote-38). Various resources identify the hot spots for wars in Africa as the Central African Republic (CAR) , Sudan, South Sudan, Nigeria and Somalia[[39]](#footnote-39)&[[40]](#footnote-40).

The picture of Africa at war indicates that Somalia suffered civil wars since the overthrow of Siad Barre in 1960. With no government in place it left a cleavage for warlords. In 2012 it held its first election since 1967. The situation is further bedeviled by Al-Shabaab and Al-Queda. In Darfur the government is attacking civilians. According to a 2016 UN report 160 000 people were displaced there to date. Altogether 2.6 million were displaced due to war. Since 2013 war killed 50 000 people and displaced 1.6 million in South Sudan. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) 50 000 refugees fled the country. Then there are the Hybrid wars which started in Mozambique but spread through South Central Africa into Zambia, Angola and Malawi. The fight is raging between the current FRELIMO government and the escalating opposition of RENAMO forces. Mozambique is also viewed as an economic power in that area. In Ethiopia the ethnic clashes are between the Oromo in the south and the Somali in the east. Northeastern Nigeria is another epicenter of conflict fanned by Boko Haram. The interference by the United States, the United Kingdom and France in Libya, getting rid of the Gaddafi regime resulted in arms and terrorist groupings pouring from Libya into Mali, Chad, the CAR and Nigeria[[41]](#footnote-41). So, the picture in Africa looks bleak.

In the words of the Kenyan legal expert and scholar, Patrick Lumumba[[42]](#footnote-42), “*the continent is not at ease*.” Delivering the 5th Onkyopotse Tiro Memorial Lecture at the University of Limpopo in September 2017, Lumumba questioned why Africa is seemingly viewed as the continent of “*the children of a lesser god*”, despite its rich natural reserves. He points to corruption as one of the main reasons why Africa’s people “*do not get a fair deal*.” The “*palace politics*” of finding the shortest route to wealth, Lumumba calls “*voodoo economics*”; the system of governance to benefit the few to the detriment of the millions[[43]](#footnote-43). For instance the DRC with the richest reserves in the world has the poorest people. He lambasts the political leaders for being “*hunters and gatherers of cars and buildings…*” He says though we are “freed” from colonisation by the Arabs, the European, the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Germans, the French and Belgium - in that order - and Apartheid, we remain enslaved by something else, namely greed and ethnicity. The electorate, according to Lumumba, also responds to money and bribes. The tragedy for Lumumba lies in theft and looters consumed with wealth and aided by their colonial masters43.

The emerging picture so far resonates with the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) report. Anastasia Voronkova, the editor of the report lists the reasons for Africa’s problems as “*state weakness, lack of legitimacy of state institutions, governmental problems and very weak state presence in areas of turmoil.*”[[44]](#footnote-44)

At this juncture one needs to pause for a moment and consider the spoils of war. War means loss of human lives, horrendous human atrocities, displacement and reintegrating. But more so, it means loss of persons with names and not merely statistics, loss of entire communities and its achievements and potential, loss of hopes and dreams, loss of the human spirit and dignity, loss of trust, loss of basic human rights. During wars the violence against the vulnerable, i.e. women, children, the elderly and physically challenged also escalate to unimaginable levels of suffering. It is often the women who are left to hold the family together amidst the madness of war, it is the mothers and daughters who are raped and mutilated, it is the wives whose husbands and young sons are dragged off to war, it is the women who bury their husbands and children, it is the women who have to live with the shame of giving birth to children conceived as a result of these rapes. The elderly and physically challenged are often left behind in flights to safety at tremendous emotional cost to themselves and their loved ones. In war-torn countries the physical lesions on the bodies of the children may fade in time, but the emotional scars are life-time burdens they carry. More and more stories of first world “adoption” agencies that closely resemble features of child trafficking are emerging. So, the colonisers just never really stopped selling Africa’s people into slavery.

**2.2.2 The Food Crisis in Africa**

Couple the above with a survey[[45]](#footnote-45) on the food crisis in Africa and the picture looks worse. Chronic hunger and malnutrition are spreading, escalating quickly into famine at times of financial or environmental crises. Starvation, hunger, wasting and malnutrition are different faces of the war on humanity. Studies by African or international agencies indicate that in most of Sub-Saharan Africa, agricultural output per capita has stagnated or even declined in recent years. According to World Vision[[46]](#footnote-46) in East Africa alone 25.5 million people are in need of food and water; 1.4 million could die from famine-like conditions in South Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria and Yemen; 4 million people in Kenya need food aid; disease outbreaks plague Ethiopia; 766 000 people in Ethiopia left their homes due to crop and livestock losses and water shortages; severe drought and food insecurity are ravaging entire communities in Niger, Chad, Nigeria, Cameroon, parts of South Africa and Yemen; about 10.7 million people need humanitarian assistance in the Lake Chad Basin.

Recurring drought, conflict and instability lead to severe food shortages. When people are displaced because of violence few farmers are able to harvest crops. Subsequently 40% of sub-Saharan children grow up stunted due to chronic malnutrition. They lack the capacity to learn and contribute to society. This perpetuates the human capital loss cycle in terms of leadership and innovative potential.

**2.2.3 War and Resources**

However, although all of the above are relevant and must be addressed, it only tells half the story of Africa. Thus, we must return to Paul Collier’s question above. Collier argues that the dominant reason for civil war is economic. He proposes that the main reason is not ethnicity, since Africa is so diverse that very few societies can boast one dominant group. His research shows that natural resources is a determining factor in civil wars. Africa has a much higher ratio of land to population than elsewhere globally. Under the land are the natural resources. Also, Africa did not break into the global market of manufacturing, yet. With regard to natural resources Collier identifies the economic term, “*rent*” as a key factor. It provides a “*honey pot*” in terms of revenue, especially for low income countries. But, it also diverts the public arena from the public good. Thus, governments disengage from the collective in favour of self interest and governing elites. Of course, the hand of international capital can also be found in the “*honey pot*”. This provides a haven for corruption, elite groups, war lords, secession as well as funding for rebel groups. The latter, according to Collier are presently privatised through protection rackets and even selling mineral rights before regime change. The “rent” of natural resources also leads to the “Dutch disease” i.e. the contraction of other resources. Another factor to consider with regard to the dependence on natural resources is the volatility of the market.[[47]](#footnote-47) Here Africa largely remains slave to the global market and imperial powers.

 In accordance with Collier, Mark Blyth[[48]](#footnote-48) highlights how the tension between capitalism and democracy and the compromises on both sides, shapes our contemporary political and economic world. He reviews three different authors pointing out the flaws in capitalism. They point to 1980 as the time when the problems for the capitalist system, i.e. the time *“when capitalism was taken over by neoliberalism: an ideology and a set of policies that recognize no limits to the commodification of the world”.*

Vusi Gumede[[49]](#footnote-49) postulates that presently the global economy is in a severe crisis which started in 2007. According to Gumede this crisis is more extended than the Great Depression of the 1930s. A research study Gumede cites, concludes that the recession is an inevitable result of an economic system that privileges the market over the state and society. The greed for huge profits incentives risky behaviour which plunges markets into crisis. Africa has been hardest hit, because of its *“lopsided integration into global markets in the form of unrestrained financial exposure, unregulated commodity markets and dependence on foreign aid”*[[50]](#footnote-50).

**2.2.4 Looting Africa**

In order to maintain this stranglehold on Africa - despite some wanting to argue that colonization is a thing of the past - imperialism needs friends. Wars are normally sparked and sustained by the divide-and-rule policy. It may come in the guise of divisions in terms of “race”, culture, religion, gender, language, politics, etc. If we dig deeper, resources lie at the heart of the conflict. In most cases, these resources will leave the country at war to satisfy the insatiable greed of the Imperialists. Militarism is another way to maintain these conflicts. According to Eddie Hayward[[51]](#footnote-51), “*the scale of military expansion which began in earnest under the Obama administration is part of a ‘new scramble for Africa’…which threatens to transform the entire continent into a battlefield*.” He mentions the 2011 US/NATO war in Libya; Washington’s $300 million embassy in Niamey; the French deployment in Mali and throughout West Africa - in Niger the French energy giant, Arven is extracting the country’s rich uranium resources; China National Petroleum Company (CNPC) securing the permit for oil drilling in Niger’s Agadem Basin and Beijing deals for pipelines through Chad, Niger, Burkina Faso and Cameroon. Of course, China’s involvement is a red flag to the USA. And when the elephants fight, the grass gets trampled.

So the looting of Africa continues. Ironically Africa is always portrayed as the recipient of loads of international funding. But, in the “*Looting of Africa*” (2006) Patrick Bond paints a different picture:

*“.…thanks to politicians and bureaurocrats in Washington and London, the IMF and the World Bank mandarins, Geneva trade huskers, pliant NGOs, banal celebrities and the mass media, the legacy and ongoing exploitation of Africa have been ensnared in ideological confusion*.”[[52]](#footnote-52)

Bond points out that all the First World grandstanding about “*make poverty history”* doubling aid and a “*development round”* of trade is meaningless because it avoids “*capital’s blustering violence, from Nigeria’s oil-soaked Delta to north-eastern Congo’s gold mines, from diamond finds in Botswana to the killing fields of Sudan.”* The crucial issues of debt, aid, trade and investment are addressed in only the *“most superficial ways”.* Within the context of economic volatility, Bond urges us to turn to Leon Trotsky’s analysis of capitalism’s *“uneven and combined development, and Rosa Luxembergs’s concern that capitalism needs to superexploit its non-capitalist periphery.*”[[53]](#footnote-53) Bond concludes:

*“In sum, we are left with a sense that the world economy retains features of volatility and unevenness that are untenable. These features are not accidental but are structured into economic interrelationships within the advanced capitalist world, and between North and South…. At least five components of capital accumulation and class formation - trade, finance, direct investment, uneven migration and comprador relations - remain central to Africa’s ongoing underdevelopment.”* [[54]](#footnote-54)

We can therefore conclude that internally Africa’s underdevelopment is entwined with the greed of its ruling elite, an electorate chasing after red herring instead of critical engagement and the continued looting of Africa by imperial powers.

**2.3 America and the War on Humanity**

Mankind’s experiment with capitalism has ended in catastrophic failure. This is now a fact of history, testified to by every newsreel glimpse of cities reduced to rubble, hundreds of millions of people uprooted and destitute, subjected to genocidal brutality, reduced to lives of unbelievable horror and suffering. This fact is no longer contested in academic debate and no longer defendable by self-interested spokespersons.

The vast plenitude of world society is run by capitalists, implementing the capitalist system and as such the world is the living proof of the capitalist outcome. This section of the International Paper examines the fact that the capitalist world is rotten to the core - and constantly rotting even further. And that this putrefaction is yet another route of capitalist crisis and decline.

**2.3.1 America and the Trump Administration**

The USA remains the bastion of world imperialism. While we will not give recognition to any imperialist political party in America, the Trump administration represents a thoroughly reactionary government - again, giving strong indications of the racist and imperialist ideology of Americanism. Given its electoral campaign and its initial announcements, it stands for: (a) “White” chauvinism, Islamophobia (the call to ban Muslims for entering the US, etc.), a policy of anti-immigration (building a wall along the Mexican border, mass deportation of undocumented migrants, etc.); (b) Economic protectionism (a 45% tariff for Chinese imports); (c) Neoliberal financial liberalization (e.g., reducing corporation taxes from the current 35% to 15%; eliminating Wall Street regulation etc.), (d) Immediate cancellation of the Climate Change Accord, based on Trump’s disingenuous charge that climate change “is a myth created by the Chinese to harm American manufacturing”; (e) Deep attacks against social and health care programs (the plan to abolish Obamacare, etc.); (f) Attacks on women’s rights like abortion; (g) Calls to reduce US obligations arising from long-term alliances with other states (e.g., demanding from the EU, Japan and South Korea to raise their defence budgets so that the US can reduce its expenditures defending them; (h) Calls for more military aggression against “Islamic terrorists.” Utterances are being made for an all-out war against North Korea and threats against Iran.

**2.3.2 Economic Crisis Hits the Capitalist/Imperialist Hegemony too**

At the centre of the capitalist system is America, a hegemonic structure that devises, oversees, polices and benefits hugely from the system. Underpinning and sustaining the American structure is the American working class, a huge mass of bought-over citizens, whose duty it is to impose the American system with conscience-less violence or clever sophistry or the ultimate sacrifice - when they are brought home in body-bags their loyalty to the system is rewarded by a share of the benefits that accrue to them as an “aristocratic” working class.

But what we are observing at the current time is that the crisis in capitalism is imposing consequences on the American worker as well. Here are some details of the shattering economic decline that this class has been experiencing for some time now.

**2.3.3 Poverty Level in the United States**

The official poverty rate is 13,5 percent (an estimated 43,1 million Americans). (US Census Bureau’s 2015 estimates). The estimates do not include those who are homeless so the situation is a lot worse. According to the Census Bureau, 19.4 million people reported “[*deep poverty*](https://poverty.ucdavis.edu/faq/what-deep-poverty)”. These individuals represented an estimated 6.1 percent of all Americans and 44.6 percent of those in poverty. Edin and Shaefer’s book “*$2.00 a Day: Living on Almost Nothing in America*” claims there are 1,5 million “ultra-poor” households that live on less than 2 dollars (±R30,00) a day. Those in poor jobs have had an increase in pay of only 7 percent since 1973. (US Census Bureau). Inequality makes poverty harder to bear. The US Census Bureau reports that the top 0,1 percent of all American families have about as much wealth in total as the bottom 90 percent of all families combined.

President Trump plans to cut or eliminate social programs to help pay for a huge increase in military spending. This will push many more people into poverty. It calls for cutting hundreds of billions of dollars from anti-poverty programmes like Medicaid, food stamps, and child insurance programmes. Furthermore the crisis is resulting in unemployment and reduced income (for those who remain in employment). These realities call for a re-evaluation of the theory that the “white” (or privileged) working class in the First World countries is reactionary. A Guardian article entitled “*The myth of the white working class*” claims that the concept is only viable during a period of imperialist expansion. In times of crisis the declining living standards lead to disaffection/alienation.

Economic crisis, therefore, makes America vulnerable to political crisis. However, since the class is unstable (volatile) it can go Left or Right under economic pressure and swing in the opposite direction once the pressure lifts. The election of Trump is a move to the Right [even though voting for Hilary Clinton (or the Democrats) would not have been a move to the Left]. Also, maybe because so many American families are from foreign countries with rich histories of political struggle, the aristocratic working class has a socialist heritage, which becomes influential during times of economic and political conflict and activism. So an internet search for “socialism in America” produces a large number of results. Here are a few of the Leftist organisations mentioned:

*Anarquismo en PDF; Burning River Anarchist Distro; Lehigh Valley Vanguard; Unidos por la reforma; Rocky Mountain Antifa; Hudson Valley Anarchist Network; Proletarian Liberation Front; Agencia de Noticias Anarquistas-ANA (Brazil); Students Against State Violence; Morgantown Ultra Left Network.*

Brief declared outlines of their programmes include the following:

* Lehigh Valley Vanguard: “*We speculate on late capitalism, the efficacy of mainstream politics ... and the fetishization of market relationships (neoliberalism)*.”
* Proletarian Liberation Front: “*Autonomous. Anticapital. Antistate. Antifa (antifascist). Direct Action. Insurrection. Revolution. No more games. We mean* war.”
* Students Against State Violence: “*A student group that is building a movement that is against patriarchy, white supremacy, socioeconomic inequality and imperialism*.”

All in all there are 77 such organisations/collectives named and briefly described on this website. More detailed information about principles, programmes and activities is required before one can make an assessment of their quality but they may become a factor as the decline of the economy makes the lives of those on the lower rungs more taxing.

**2.3.4 American Challenges**

America is central to the global struggle between capitalism and socialism. America is the champion of the capitalist/imperialist system. It is the hegemon that underpins the system. And now, suddenly, America is in decline - as much the result of internal as well as external pressure.

But It has become an object of universal hatred because of its grim history of urban devastation (in Syria, Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan, etc); because of its large involvement in flooding the world with arms in the pursuit of profiteering from armament manufacture and distribution; its history of war-mongering and the resulting death and destruction globally.

In November 2015 Christine Lagarde, the managing director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), announced that the IMF’s board had decided that the Chinese currency, the Renminbi, qualified for the SDR Special Drawing Right) basket. This meant that the Renminbi had joined the US dollar as a global reserve currency. This also meant the end of dollar supremacy: the US would no longer have a trade advantage based on its currency’s capacity to purchase huge quantities of products in exchange for mere paper dollar banknotes. It would also no longer be able to exchange paper notes for military hardware, the endless supply of which was an essential source of its global military power. The loss of the dollar advantage has meant the sudden end of the US’s military supremacy.

No longer is there military support in abundance for puppet regimes all over the world. No longer does the US have the most potent presence in the oceans with nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers. Whereas it had had powerful *ententes* with the major powers and up to fifty formal alliances with nations, the significance of these relationships has waned. And as Washington’s influence has declined so the influence of Moscow and Beijing has increased.

Another very significant development has been the rise of China to being the leading manufacturing nation, taking over from the US which had held the position for more than a century. This achievement has largely been due to the superiority of the Chinese education system. In 2012 the OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) tested 510 000 15-year-olds in 34 developed nations. The Shanghai pupils came first in mathematics, science and reading. Massachusetts, one of the leading education areas in the US, produced pupils who were 17th 20th and 27th in those three disciplines respectively.

The American Congress has cut the funding, to mathematics and science in particular: from 2% of the GDP in the 1970s to 0,8% by 2014, at the same time as Beijing’s investment has soared. The outcome has been a decline in research and development in America, and the subsequent lagging behind in innovation. In 2008 the US had second place behind Japan in patent applications with 232 000, China 195 000. By 2014 China had advanced to 801 000 while the US had 285 000.

One of the visible proofs of America’s lagging behind has been Chinese production of the most powerful supercomputers. China’s fastest, the Tianhe 1A, “blew away” the existing number one machines in America. China’s crowning achievement was the production in 2016 of supercomputers made with microprocessors manufactured in China. Supercomputers are essential for applications like code-breaking and the installation of missile defence systems and also play a vital role in the production of consumer goods.

In all these (and many more) ways we have reached the end of a unipolar world. Military, economic, political, industrial, etc, dominance by the US is ending. The dream of the American neo-Conservatives (the “neo-Cons”) of a “*second American century*” (the first one being the period of American dominance from the end of World War II) is crashing quickly. And the crash will have enormous significance for the history of the world. The impact of that reduced status will send out a strong message: how can it be that the strongest capitalist/imperialist state is failing? Its superiority in living standards, education, military might, etc all vanished overnight?

**2.4 Western Europe**

The accelerating economic and political contradictions of this period are increasingly pushing the European Union to a point of “*make it or break it*.” The exacerbated rivalry between the dominant imperialist powers pushed the larger European imperialist powers to impel the creation of political and economic pan-European institutions. Such a deepening of the EU integration can only take place under the leadership of German imperialism in alliance with France. There is a rise of right-wing populist parties in most European countries and increased signs of racism judging from the visible support for populist right-wing parties in most European countries. This section of the International Paper sets the scene of the serious consequences of the “crisis of capitalism” in the USA, Europe and the Middle East with particular reference to the refugee crisis as it currently unfolds in Western Europe and the Middle East.

**2.4.1 The Refugee Crisis**

Globally we have seen mounting numbers of migrants and refugees, many of whom were forced to endure alarming situations of humanitarian crisis and violation of human rights. The facts are stark. Today there are over 250 million international migrants, a growing number of whom have been forcibly displaced due to climate change, conflict, poverty and political oppression, factors, directly or indirectly attributable to capitalism/imperialism. Some 25 million people are displaced by disasters due to global warming every year and the numbers are bound to increase. In India alone some 300 million people lack drinking water. The rise of populism and xenophobia has exacerbated the civic, political, economic and socio-cultural marginality of migrants despite the fact that we know that immigration and diversity enrich societies and bring many benefits.

 More than 4 000 refugees drowned in the Mediterranean Sea in 2016. Some 11 million Syrians have fled their homes in the past 5 years of escalating destruction; 14 million are in need of humanitarian assistance within Syria. We have a matching scenario in Southern Africa. On the one hand, “natural” causes like drought have forced hordes of refugees to journey to South Africa. But once again these adverse environmental conditions have been as a result of climate change contributed to largely by the destruction of the natural environment by the capitalists and increasing the atmospheric carbon levels. But more directly, the large Another very significant development has been the rise of China to being the leading manufacturing nation, taking over from the US which had held the position for more than a century. This achievement has largely been due to the superiority of the Chinese education system. In 2012 the OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) tested 510 000 15-year-olds in 34 developed nations. The Shanghai pupils came first in mathematics, science and reading. Massachusetts, one of the leading education areas in the US, produced pupils who were 17th 20th and 27th in those three disciplines respectively.

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numbers of refugees to South Africa are due to the abject conditions of poverty caused by despotic regimes in many Sub-Saharan countries. Still, we witness tell-tale signs of xenophobia and discrimination in our very midst.

In Western Europe this migration has been “*forced*” upon the recipient EU countries meaning that the refugees have not formally applied as prospective immigrants, but have merely marched into these countries in order to safeguard their lives against the tyranny being executed against them in their countries of birth. The affected EU countries were unable to stop this “invasion”. If they were to use coercive force like military intervention, the entire world opinion would have turned against them. The refugees could therefore not be stopped via the conventional military means.

They simply entered countries such as Greece, Hungary, Afghanistan and Kosovo from Syria. From these countries they moved to EU countries such as Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, France, etc. This refugee crisis was created by in part by the First World countries of Western Europe. Therefore, it could be said that it is “*pay-back time*” for these predatory countries. The hands of the World Imperialism drip with the blood of the poverty stricken Third World people.

There are many examples. The following are highlighted:

1. The NATO (and Germany proxy) war in Yugoslavia in 1992 which served to split this country into a number of smaller countries. At that point Yugoslavia was the best functioning socialist country in Europe and thus had to be destroyed.
2. The war against Libya and the subsequent murder of its leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.
3. The war against the Palestinian people lasting over fifty years.
4. The wars against Iraq and its murder of its leader, Saddam Hussein.
5. The wars against Afghanistan.
6. The war against Vietnam.

This list of destruction is by no means exhausted. It should be noted that it is this havoc that was caused by Imperialism that precipitated the refugee migration. The crisis is in fact the price that humanity pays for globalization. This implies that Imperialism in its pursuit of increased profits and greed created an untenable situation in the Third World.

**2.4.2 The Response of Western Europe**

The working class in the EU is obviously alarmed at the huge influx of refugees. Most of them still harbor “traditional” racial feelings toward the refugees. They also view refugees with suspicion because the latter could threaten their jobs as a comfortable “lifestyle”. The good lifestyle of the EU countries includes free social services such as public health care and education as well as an extensive well-resourced social welfare system. It should also be borne in mind that the privileged “lifestyle” of the EU working class is subsidised by the super profits extracted by Imperialism in the Third World countries (six times more than the First World). The “bourgeoisified” European working class views the refugees as a threat and does not welcome them.

The governments of the EU countries affected are also opposed to the invasion of refugees, but were unable to halt the process. They proceeded to accommodate the refugees in compounds and camps, separately located from the existing residential middle class areas. The refugees are viewed as a potential form of cheap labour to increase profits. These governments see this as an opportunity to stop their approximately 50-year long crisis characterized by the falling rate of profit - predicted in the Kondratieff curve. They hope that this would present them with the opportunity to turn the world’s slumping economy around.

**2.5 BRICS**

The British economist and former chairperson of Goldman Sachs Asset Management, Jim O’Neill, coined the acronym ‘BRICs’ nations, referring to a group of leading, economically fast-growing countries viz. Brazil, Russia, India and China[[55]](#footnote-55). The addition of South Africa, at the invitation of China, has changed the term to ‘BRICS’ countries. Not everyone agrees that South Africa belongs in the BRICS group. Jim O’Neill himself said, “*I don’t acknowledge the S in BRICS. South Africa is not of the same economic magnitude of the other BRICs. There are lots of other growth economies that have more justification to be added to the BRIC club than South Africa*”[[56]](#footnote-56).

But, more about these BRICS countries. Imperial rule has over the centuries resulted in a number of dependent capitalist centres across the globe where the working class is exploited on behalf of the imperial powers. With time some of the dependent countries became regional powers in their own right, some with regional hegemonic designs. These countries were variously known loosely as the ‘*semi-periphery*’, ‘*secondary imperialist*’ and ‘*middle powers’*[[57]](#footnote-57). The current term used for these countries is ‘*sub-imperialist*’ and, according to Brazilian academic, Mathias Luce[[58]](#footnote-58), they have developed a policy of “*antagonistic cooperation*” with the dominant imperialism.

However, Luce says that it is not possible to characterize China as sub-imperialist but rather as an “*imperialism of a new kind*”, even supplanting the United States and the European Union as the principal market for Latin American exports and as the primary investor in the region. Argentinian academic, Claudio Katz[[59]](#footnote-59), recognises the most important qualitative transformation of the current period to be the conversion of China into a world power. Similarly, according to Luce, Russia, after the fall of the Soviet Union, did not partake in dependent capitalism but was reinstated into the concert of the imperialist powers and can thus not be classified as sub-imperialist.

The debate about the true nature of the BRICS countries is not so much about whether they commit economically exploitative practices, which put them squarely in the capitalist camp, but what their intention was when they formed an economic and trade block. Have they remained true to their *raison d’être* and what is the future trajectory of BRICS?

For some, generally, their economic activities advance the broader agenda of globalised neoliberalism; virtually all the trade-related processes involving BRICS were aimed at strengthening the global corporate agenda; ……the overall roles that sub-imperial regimes play: they lubricate, legitimize and extend neoliberal political economy deeper into their regional hinterlands[[60]](#footnote-60).

According to Sam Moyo and Paris Yeros (2011:19 BRICS)[[61]](#footnote-61) imperialism’s relations with sub-imperial ‘*allies*’ always entailed the super-exploitation of domestic labour. They say that it was therefore natural that, as it grew, sub-imperialism would require external markets for the resolution of its profit realisation crisis. Patrick Bond[[62]](#footnote-62) quotes China as an example where, he says, super-exploitative relations are witnessed in the way that Chinese households are torn from rural land during the ongoing urbanisation process….to live in cities where they are paid much lower wages. He says that such super exploitative relations are then readily transferred to the international scale using the China-Zimbabwe joint projects in the world’s largest diamond fields as example. Another example Bond mentions is the Marikana massacre of August 2012 of striking miners in South Africa showing the length that sub-imperialists would go to, to perform their policing function internally to defend the profitability of multinational extractive corporations. Similarly, surviving soldiers returning from the Central African Republic (during the ousting of authoritarian ruler Francois Bozize by guerillas when more than a dozen South African soldiers were killed) in March 2013 complained that they were “lied” to about going to “serve and protect, to ensure peace” in the CAR whereas they ended up protecting belongings of capitalist firms in Johannesburg (Amabhungane 2013). In 2014 more than 1500 troops were deployed in the Eastern Democratic Rebublic of the Congo. Nearby, President Jacob Zuma’s nephew Khulubuse had suspiciously acquired a US$10 billion oil concession.

The “*Scramble for Africa*” is a well-known and well-described imperialist phenomenon recorded by many economic historians. Baruti Amisi *et al[[63]](#footnote-63)* say this is now being repeated in a predatory attack by BRICS countries. They note that large corporations from all four the BRICS countries are not committed to development for ordinary people but the winners are multinationals or parastatal corporations. According to Amisi, a similar pattern is perceived: accumulation by dispossession is taking place through abuse of local politics, national elites, warlords and war economies. Their activities impoverish the very people they should develop. They further lament the scant attention paid by BRICS countries to the environmental impacts in the areas of operation with little commitment to consultation with and compensation of adversely affected communities.

In South America, according to Omar Bonilla Martinez[[64]](#footnote-64), Ecuadorian historian, Chinese firms have notably contributed to the expansion of the extractive frontier showing little or no interest in the consequences for the well-established peoples and the environment. According to Martinez there is also scarce interest in bettering work conditions and in assuming responsibility for their workers and ex-employees.

In Angola and Mozambique the activities of corporate Brazil is most remarkable in construction and mining but also in sanitation services and garbage collection, agricultural production, diamond mining and supermarket management. In Angola, academics Ana Garcia and Katrina Kato[[65]](#footnote-65) note that there is great inequality, coining the terms “*Oil Luanda*” and “*Angola Luanda*” when referring to the capital. They say that the informal market dominates in the country and that there are poor systems of education, health, transport, safety and infrastructure.

Multiple Indian corporations operate in Africa including in the coal, steel and copper industries as well as in the motor car, agro products, oil and natural gas and pharmaceutical industries among many others. Similarly, research shows Russian firms involved in many African countries in fields such as prospecting, mining, oil, construction of power facilities, nuclear power plants and railway construction, among others.

So, clearly for some, BRICS serves to contribute to global neoliberal regime maintenance.

For others the formation of BRICS is seen as a counter to the hegemony of the imperialist West[[66]](#footnote-66) that can reject the current neo-liberal order. They believe that with sufficient autonomy this group could become actively anti-imperialist. An example of this was the way that some BRICS countries ignored the intellectual rights of Western countries. Goods protected in this way but sorely needed by other countries are imported at highly inflated prices. Such an action, in the case of pharmaceuticals required for the treatment of HIV/AIDS resulted in saving the lives of millions of people. BRICS leaders challenged the United States’ proposed bombing of Syria and they supported Russia in the conflict over Crimea[[67]](#footnote-67).

Also, on the petroleum landscape, in 2014 Russia agreed to supply China with gas using local currencies and not the dollar. China has also noted its intention to request Saudi Arabia that it pays them Chinese yuan for their oil instead of dollars[[68]](#footnote-68). Likewise, Venezuela has started reporting its oil price in yuan[[69]](#footnote-69). When the US Congress refused to allow the BRICS nations a larger vote in the IMF and World Bank, they decided to form their own New Development Bank (NDB) and US$100 billion Contingent Reserve arrangement (CRA)[[70]](#footnote-70). The late President Fidel Castro of Cuba hailed the formation of these organisations and likened it to Cuba’s own resistance to American hegemony.

Whether the BRICS group, as they are constituted now, will ever be anti-imperialist (the *avant-garde* of anti-imperialist struggle, as it is put by author and researcher, Immanuel Wallerstein[[71]](#footnote-71)) or cement their position as another imperialist centre, lies somewhere between the following statements by Niall Reddy[[72]](#footnote-72) and the current Venezuelan Foreign Minister in an interview on the Russia Today television station during his mid-October 2017 visit to London (Going Underground on RT).

Niall Reddy: BRICS claims to talk for the Global South in a historical vision of ‘convergence’ under a ‘new world order’ are thus rather hollow. The logical end point of the current trajectory is that new imperialist powers will stalk the globe and compete for its resources, NOT (our emphasis) an alternative to capitalism’s extremely uneven development.... it is important to affirm that the shift in the economic structure of the world and the distribution of power is real and significant…..There may be something inherently progressive to this……

The Venezuelan Foreign Minister said that it was the 21st century socialist view of their former president, Hugo Chavez, that the world becomes multi-polar, which is what the BRICS is attempting.

Lastly, Patrick Bond[[73]](#footnote-73) believes that, what he calls ‘*co-dependent BRICS from above’*, referring to the official governmental BRICS representatives, would not pose a threat to the capitalist world order and he quotes as proof the confirmation by the Brazil 2014 heads of state and finance ministers meeting that they would avoid challenging the unfair chaotic world financial system. He also notes that the co-opted civil society organisations allowed to make representations to BRICS (calling them co-opted BRICS from the middle) are toothless. He hopes for a ‘BRICS from below’ where there is an intensification of re-energised civil societies with solidarity linked across international borders.

**2.6 More inside China and India**

Income inequality in India is glaring. It stares you in the face, says Indian risk management consultant AV Rajwade[[74]](#footnote-74). Gated communities on the one hand vs slums on the other; designer weddings where guests are taken abroad (*á la* Gupta). The imbalance is the result of ideologies which defend the absolute autonomy of the marketplace and financial speculation, spurred on by the 1991 neoliberal reforms and now under the control of Prime Minister Narenda Modi, a market fundamentalist. India’s Gini coefficient in October 2013 stood at 33,9[[75]](#footnote-75) (this being widely recognized as seriously underestimated due to being based on surveys of consumption expenditure and not income data[[76]](#footnote-76)), despite the fact that over the last decade, India’s economy has recorded higher growth rates and saw rise of several multinationals with global status. The country has created a very large number of new millionaires and has a large middle class yet, 77% of the population remains in poverty and according to the 2016 Global Nutrition report, the largest number of stunted children in the world (40 million) are found in India. The same report states that India ranks 120 out of 130 countries in prevalence of wasting, i.e. low weight for height.

Despite this uneven development, India is one of the largest defence spenders in Asia. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute data show that in 2016, 2.5% of India’s GDP went to military expenditure, becoming Israel’s biggest buyer of arms. There can only be one reason for this large defence spend: India is the bulwark of capitalism in the area; the eyes and ears of the US in the region (to keep an eye on America’s fast-growing opposition, China).

China has not unilaterally attacked anyone in a more than a hundred years and it does not have any overseas military base. It has established military bases in the South China Sea to protect its vital military routes. Yet the United States continues to build and expand its network of military bases encircling China and it makes overtly threatening maneuvers towards China’s neighbour, North Korea. This bellicose behavior of the US poses the most ominous threat to humankind because it has the potential of starting a 3rd world war with the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons. All this to ensure America’s hegemonic position *vis á vis* an ever-growing China which has become a regional power in its own right.

The US remains the world’s largest economy by far and the world’s leading military power with other military powers trailing far behind, but China’s growth has brought about many internal improvements. From employing millions of workers at the world’s lowest salaries, the average wage in China’s manufacturing sector has tripled in this last decade. This is largely attributed to skyrocketing productivity due to steady improvements in worker health, education and technical training further boosted by sustained organised worker pressure and class struggle[[77]](#footnote-77).

China has far outpaced other emerging economies with a strengthened industrial sector which is its motor force driving all economic activity. Dizzying economic growth (per capita GDP has increased 22 times between 1980 and 2011 and purchasing power has grown by 33 times) has seen China convert into a world power, positioning itself as a geopolitical counter to Western hegemony or, at least, as a platform for it.

However, it should not be forgotten that this amazing growth is simply proof of China’s state capitalist nature and privatisation with their inherent contradictions. There has thus been an exponential increase in the number of workers’ strikes. The China Labour Bulletin reported 2774 strikes and labour protests in 2015. Independent trade unions are repressed in favour of the regime controlled All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The struggle in China is now the building of unions that are independent of the regime and the fight for working class independence.

**2.7 Brazil**

The coup d’état against Brazil’s popular front government of Dilma Rousseff and the establishment of the Temer government reflected an advance of the reactionary right-wing forces. The Temer government has announced a number of outright reactionary attacks on the workers and oppressed - including attacks involving austerity measures and against labour rights, education and democratic rights. However, the hard-line conservative fascist forces are not satisfied with these measures and are determined to go further. There have been a number of mass protests against the Temer government. All this gives the government a rather weak and unstable character as it is attacked both from the left as well as from the right. The corruption of the President and his officials, especially around the issue of petroleum rights, is coming to the fore.

 **2.8 The “Arab Spring” and ongoing Tensions in North Africa and the Middle East**

The uprising of the workers and peasants in a number of Middle East countries met a determined campaign of annihilation being waged against them by much stronger enemies. The traditional ruling classes in the region possess an oversized repressive apparatus, trained for decades and supported by the dominant capitalist countries. The uprisings faced the opposition of literally all the dominant imperialist powers. They all supported the reactionary dictatorships like that of General al-Sisi in Egypt and the Gulf monarchies. The Yemeni people continue their just resistance against the massive invasion by foreign forces led by Saudi Arabia, despite cruel massacres by the latter. Given the geostrategic importance of Yemen for world trade – the Yemeni war is beginning to draw in the imperialist powers.

Every effort to join the Arab Spring was crushed, especially in Saudi Arabia. A classic methodology used by imperialism in the region is what is referred to as “standards operating procedure.” When one of its dictators get into trouble, he is supported as long as possible. If it becomes really impossible, say, if the army turns against him, then he is disposed of and appropriate mechanisms are used to restore the old system as much as possible. So, where the masses had gone over to armed revolt, as had happened in Libya, as is now happening in Syria, imperialism deliberately caused a section of the political ruling elite to join up with the masses in revolt, in order to betray it from within. In Libya, imperialism set up the Transitional National Council (TNC) as a counter-revolutionary entity to gain control over the insurgent masses in order to ensure that, in the event that the regime was overthrown, it could be reconstituted, on a capitalist basis, that is, as the same regime but with some new faces. In Syria, as soon as imperialism realised that the masses proved far more resilient than they thought they would be, they started setting up a Syrian Transitional Council, STC, made up of some defectors from the Assad regime and from deliberately placed counter-revolutionaries.

**2.9 Israel and Iran**

The general picture painted by capitalism is that it is far too dangerous for Iran to reach nuclear capability. As such, the USA and its allies want to deny Iran to enrich uranium. In the Middle East, however, Israel is regarded as the most dangerous county in the world, the United States being second. Many countries in the Middle East have the sentiment that the region would be more secure if Iran had nuclear weapons to balance the threat of Israel in that region. The impression is given that the Arabic nations want decisive action against Iran. That might be true of the dictators in the region, but not true for the majority of the people. Unlike Iran, Israel refuses inspections of nuclear facilities, refuses to join the non-proliferation treaty, have hundreds of nuclear weapons with advanced delivery systems. They also have a long record of violence and repression, annexed and conquered several territories illegally and performed many acts aggression. Its lethal armoury is enormous and includes advanced submarines provided by Germany capable of carrying Israel’s nuclear-tipped missiles and these are sure to be used in the Persian Gulf if Israel proceeds with its plan to bomb Iran. It is no secret that Israel has become one of the leading arms manufacturer and supplier in the world. Clearly Israel has an imperialist military stranglehold in the region and this serves its American imperialist master well. For the ANC government to support a pro-Zionist “Two-State Solution” in that conflict is tantamount to recognising independent “homelands” before 1994 in South Africa.

**3 WHAT IS TO BE DONE?**

**3.1 The Context**

The period between our last Conference and now saw major world events unfolding that has resulted in an intensification of the capitalist mode of operation. The global political landscape has changed radically through the deepening crisis in capitalism-imperialism and this has resulted in rising currents to the left and the right of the political spectrum. The international situation is viewed in the context of this ongoing world crisis of the capitalist system. We are of the opinion that the essential character of the crisis - both economic and political - is a despairing restructuring process of and by capitalism-imperialism to remain viable and profitable.

South African society and politics cannot be understood if viewed solely in the national framework. What is happening in South Africa now is conditioned and determined by the world system of which it is a part. Therefore, when changes occur in the world, it directly affects the national situation. Furthermore, South Africa, as an imperialist semi-colony, is wide open to the world system through two-way trade and two-way investment flows. If, then, the New Unity Movement’s resolve is to be guided by our analysis of a programmatic, principled approach to struggle, then events elsewhere in the world continuously need to be identified and analysed in order for us to learn from the successes and failures of struggles in other countries. More importantly, the present-day political world situation needs to guide us in the tasks and challenges that lie ahead of us.

This world system is dominated by a capitalist mode of production and imperialism is the main structure and mechanism within which the driving force of capitalism works. This driving force is the accumulation of wealth for profit. It is an accepted fact that capitalism does not produce for use, but only for profit and this greed for profits has degenerated the world system into a chronic state, manifested by the ecological crisis into which capitalism has placed the world. On a parallel front, capitalism/imperialism has been responsible for an upsurge of socio-economic upheavals producing unprecedented misery to billions of people in the world. Clearly we live in bad times.

Because of the imperialist nature and dynamic of capitalism, a struggle has been created between those who desire equality and the dominant capitalist mode of production. The Unity Movementrecognises that this fundamental social contradiction is the struggle between the oppressed and exploited people of the world (the majority) and capitalism/imperialism as a system of oppression and exploitation. It further recognises that a socialist reconstruction of society represents the only viable progressive alternative to a world reeling under the combined blows of famine, debt, increased poverty, racism, war and a global ecological disaster caused largely by the greed of capitalism which threatens the very existence of humanity. It is in this context that the international situation is viewed since it is a product of the continuous global struggle between imperialism and socialism.

In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917), Lenin defined imperialism as follows:

*“Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.”*

In a modern context, imperialism can be seen as a system where a conglomerate of capitalists, politicians, and security forces assert control over a particular territory and its population to increase its own wealth. In order to establish its authority, it uses ideological means (racism), cultural means (religion), political means (direct or indirect colonialism), economic means (exploitation), and military means (the stationing of its own security forces, the employment of mercenaries, or the creation of dependent local police and military). A further characteristic feature of imperialism is the conglomerate sharing a part of the extracted wealth with the government in its colonized countries to secure that government’s support for the imperialist project. Over recent years, we have witnessed all these tricks of capitalism being used in different parts of the world and with renewed vigour because of the desperate situation in which it finds itself. Socialism on the other hand is a transitionary period during which working-class politics are put in command of production and the state, the contradictions between town and countryside are being resolved, distinction between mental and manual labor are done away with, and society is moving away from commodity production and towards production based first and foremost on satisfying the needs of all of society. Ultimately, the society sought is a classless one. This is the essence, the basis of the Unity Movement’s Ten-Point programme.

**3.2 The New Unity Movement Position**

Needless to say, the Unity Movement methodology and policies is an anti-imperialist, non-collaboration approach - a hard long road with the revolutionary optimism that a world network will develop, linking nodes which are anti-imperialist forts waging holding battles until wider victories become feasible. This method is internationalist in outlook without any short-cuts to the “*socialism in one country*” variety. The key to the present international situation is the world long-wave socio-economic crisis. We need to insert the main international events into the context of that crisis of the capitalist world system and by so doing determine the most important lessons which can be drawn from these events to our own struggle. Our anti-imperialist position is driven by our belief in the equality of nations and the equal distribution of resources, wealth and opportunities among all nations. This, we believe, can only happen by levelling down the imperialist countries and levering up the semi-colonial countries.

We believe that the struggle for the most elementary demands of the majority of South Africans; for the defense of their living standards; for decent schooling, health, far better housing; for the right to work etc. demands a socialist solution. THE ANC-SACP leadership has confirmed its bankruptcy many times over the past period, in fact, ever since 1994 when it took office in South Africa. Yet they have retained their popularity amongst the people of South Africa. The difficult and complex struggle of building an alternative leadership of the working class is the key to the situation. We need to have faith in the working class and its capacity to struggle and transform society. A central task of our organisation is therefore to arm the South African working class with an international understanding of political developments and to expose the South African (right-wing) government for what they are and the deteriorating path that they are leading the oppressed and exploited masses of the country. Our programme and tradition represent the interest of the working class and toiling masses, so for the coming period, political education must be emphasised, especially regarding the workers and youth. They must be drawn into discussion and debate. We, as Unity Movement members, can provide the means to do and assist workers and the youth to be the leaders of the struggle. At all times, we need to respond in a decisive manner with the strictest implementation of the unity of theory and practice in all areas of our work. We need to orchestrate and participate in campaigns that accurately address the demands for a free and equitable society. So when, for example, students’ struggles break out, we must be the first to respond. When a worker’s strike occurs we need to be immediately available to support the workers. There is a wide range of activities that we can be participating in at grassroots level, drawing in workers and the youth particularly.

Many gloat over the “failure of socialism” but the reality is that nobody proposes that capitalism provides a viable alternative. In fact, as indicated throughout this paper, capitalism has resulted in the mess the world is in right now. It is therefore absurd to think that capitalism can solve any of the basic or major problems facing the world and its people. Capitalism is itself the barbarism Trotsky predicted. Socialism has not been given a chance. So far, we’ve only had primitive socialism, because of the power of capital. Socialism, in its true sense cannot be realized until the inequality between rich and poor nations is eliminated. This can only be achieved through prolonged anti-imperialist struggles which constitute the essence of the “*permanent revolution*”. The permanent revolution against imperialism consists of (a) the construction, through non-collaboration struggles, not of a series of “*socialism in one country*” type which cannot be achieved while the imperialist bastions still stand, but of anti-imperialist forts; (b) the undermining and toppling of imperialists countries, partly through class struggle inside them but mainly through revolutions by the oppressed and exploited people of the world in colonized countries, such as our own. The road to socialism is not easy or short. But, there clearly is no other alternative for the world.

The world events and what is happening in South Africa, underline the importance of maintaining the self-reliance of a national liberatory movement. The New Unity Movement has been able to maintain a consistent ideological attack on the betrayal of the negotiated settlement and other deals that followed. Negotiations and “reform” politics are considered to be part of the crisis of the restructuring process of the world capitalist system - here and elsewhere in the world. We are guided by a programme which only reflects the paramountcy of the interest of the working class and rural poor. It is our revolutionary duty to guard this independence.

**3.3 Lessons to be Learnt**

Our struggle needs to remain anti-imperialist and we need to be aware that the capitalists will do everything in their power to maintain the status quo - that is to control the wealth of any region in the world. There are a number of questions associated with the Arab Spring uprisings. Was it spontaneous? Was there a lack of leadership and a programme to drive their struggle forward? Were the demands “*reformed*” versions of their old ruling class thereby keeping these countries remaining servants of the imperialist powers? Were there opposing reactionary organisations, likely supported by the imperialist powers, to curb the true demands of the revolutionary forces? Furthermore, the entire process of the Arab Spring, with all its failures and defeats, cannot be understood other than as a resounding crying out for a liberatory movement completely independent of all ruling classes and imperialist powers. Such a movement can only be forged by means of undertaking a combined struggle which participates both in the ongoing popular rebellions against dictatorships and imperialist aggression, while simultaneously waging political and ideological battles against the various so-called leaderships who are lackeys of imperialism. Under all conditions, liberatory movements should focus on advancing the independent organisations of the working class and oppressed (for example, trade unions, student movements etc.). At all times the Movement needs to stay clear of corrupted leadership.

In the period under review, there has been direct aggression through military invasions, especially in the Middle East; social counter-revolutions creating new puppet quisling-controlled states in strategic areas and “reforms” and negotiated sell-out of the people so starkly manifested in the South African bastion of imperialism. The international events of the past period illustrate once again that history obeys just one law - the law of continuous change. We take the long view of history. In its journey through history, humankind has passed through successively higher stages of development. Primitive communism, tribalism, the Asiatic modes of production, the Greek slave city states and Roman slavery, feudalism, capitalism/imperialism - these are all signposts along the way. Imperialism is a force of reaction unable to develop further in a progressive way. Its continued development threatens humanity with extinction. The only forward line in this development is toward socialism. It is towards this - a higher stage of civilisation - that our anti-imperialist struggle remains directed. This struggle must continue inexorably, while it abolishes racial and national exploitation, discrimination and oppression.

For the Unity Movement there is nothing less than the minimum demands as stated in our Ten-Point programme. We must recognise our local and international enemies and be on guard for various manoeuvres that the capitalists will use to preserve their hegemony. This has already happened during the negotiated settlement in our country and the subservient position of South Africa in capitalism today. We need to be on guard that this never happens again as we continue our fight for true liberation in our country.

As much as socialism in one country cannot succeed, we will continue to have alliances with those countries under harsh attack by imperialism. We stand in solidarity with any nation that opposes capitalism and any State that defends and protects the interests of the workers, peasants, and working intellectuals who have been freed from exploitation and oppression and become masters of the State and society. If we must err, we will err on the side against imperialism and identify ourselves with the oppressed and exploited against their oppressors and exploiters the world round. We therefore strongly oppose the threat of war by the imperialist powers on any nation.

The only honest and realistic solution is a radical economic change of the world economic system. The inequality that is endemic to Imperialism must be totally abolished. The fact is that three-quarters of the world’s GDP is produced in the First World, populated by one-quarter of the world population, while one quarter of the world GDP is produced in the Third World countries populated by three-quarters of the global population. This is a gross indictment against the world economic system.

**THE NATIONAL SITUATION**

**THE RE-AWAKENING OF A PEOPLE**

1. **INTRODUCTION**

IB Tabata’s *“Awakening of a People”* first published in 1950 was intended as clarification of the real issues facing the oppressed as well as a guide to new methods of struggle. Tabata’s seminal work today still provides a key to the political position that is to be taken by the oppressed majority in South Africa. In addition, 2017 marks the centenary commemoration of the Bolshevik Revolution. These two occurrences, seemingly unrelated, cultivate fertile ground for the ***“Re-Awakening of a People”.***

The nature of South African society and the nature of our struggle must of necessity first be understood and clearly defined in policies and a dynamic political programme that is embedded in demands that sets the nation on an unfolding revolutionary road to freedom and socialism. RO Dudley at the 1983 *Preliminary Conference* of the New Unity Movement (NUM) in setting the political landscape for understanding the nature of the South African society and pointing the way in which the trajectory of the struggle should follow, says,

***…… The resources of the country were regarded as raw materials for the factories of Europe and the country a market for the manufacturers of Europe. The terrible land wars, the murder pillage and aggressive crushing of the peoples’ social structure all contributed to the matrix of social conditions that existed at the next phase of development, namely the discovery of gold and diamonds. From that time, we see the growth of a highly commercialised agriculture, secondary industry and the infrastructure of transport, communication and banking together with a savage legal system. The history of a hundred years between 1850 – 1950 is one of the most unbridled pillage of the natural wealth of the country and the plundering of its human resources to enrich that bloc of conquerors and exploiters whom we term capitalists and imperialists.***

The fundamental struggle as conceived by the NUM is against a completely exploitative and oppressive system as outlined in the revised TPP including its preamble, as adopted in December 2012. The following quote from the preamble indicates the extent of our struggle:

***In the era of capitalist parliamentary democracy following the abrogation of apartheid legislation in South Africa, our struggle continues to be both the national and class struggle of a people dominated by imperialism. It is a struggle by the entire working class of this country for nothing less than total emancipation – emancipation from all forms of deprivation and discrimination, from all forms of enslavement and victimisation. It is an anti-capitalist struggle; it is a struggle for the socialist transformation of society. Our struggle is based on a transitional programme, one that raises demands for the immediate transformation of society such that the disabilities of the working class are immediately addressed, as well as one that raises demands that will lead to the democratic transition of society to a post-capitalist order.***

***And because capitalism is globalised, the anti-capitalist struggle must be globalised. Our struggle therefore transcends national boundaries and is part of the worldwide struggle of oppressed and exploited people against the capitalist system.***

1. **Political Economy Post 1994**

The International and local economic crises that faces South Africa, impacts directly on our methods of struggle and the strategies we employ.

The leadership of the post 1994 ANC government was fêted by governments to both the right and left of the political spectrum, by liberals, international bankers, the WB and the IMF.

South Africa had an external debt of $25million in 1994 and an internal debt of R753 billion. The two combined formed the SA national debt. This was debt amassed by the previous regime. This was debt raised despite the political and financial sanctions imposed on SA. Most of this money was used to enhance the military force of the government in the oppression of the people of South Africa in their legitimate demands. **Instead of denouncing this debt, the post-1994 government accepted the apartheid debt and made massive loans from the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to offset these debts!** This debt was at one stage being serviced at R30 billion a year, which was sorely needed to build houses, schools, decaying infrastructure and to ensure that everyone has a home and a decent income.

During this year, the drought and the resultant price increases in basic foodstuffs, transport, fuel and paraffin have impacted negatively on the lives of the poor. With the recent unemployment figures escalating to an unprecedented high of 27.7% (more than one in four), a massive 30.4 million of South Africa’s 55 million people are poverty stricken with more than 12 million citizens living in extreme poverty.

1994 Saw the introduction of the **1**) **Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)** that purported to address the socio-economic consequences of apartheid and encompassing alleviating poverty (note not eradicating).When faced with a number of constraints, the ANC government introduced its macro-economic policy, **2**) Growth**, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)** strategy in 1996 to stimulate faster economic growth to meet social investment needs.

Despite some success with GEAR, during a Global Economic Boom, job creation and growth indicators were unable to contribute to reduction in unemployment and consequently reduction in poverty levels.

GEAR was replaced in 2005 by the **3**) **Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA).** ASGISA envisioned that poverty reduction will be achieved by 2010 and that unemployment would be cut to 14% by 2014. This was meant to be built on the RDP goals of building a non-racial, non-sexist, and democratic society in a “single integrated economy”.

In 2008, the Global Economic Meltdown occurred when Capitalist greed and exploitation resulted in major economic institutions failing spectacularly and ordinary citizens around the world suffering irreversible economic hardship. In South Africa, poverty levels reached alarming levels, squatter camps were increasing daily and unemployment levels were unacceptably high.

With upheavals in the ruling elite and Thabo Mbeki no longer the president, ASGISA died a natural (if not unexpected) death.

In 2010, Zuma announced amongst much fanfare at the state of the nation address that ASGISA would be replaced by the **4**) **New Growth Plan (NGP)** **or New Development Plan (NDP)**. The NDP, seen as the “cornerstone” and the Mangaung “blueprint” for economic and socio-economic development is allegedly was believed to be the answer to assist in overcoming structural challenges and to contributing to higher levels of economic growth, as well as reducing poverty levels and eliminating inequalities by 2030.

In his State of the Nation Address in 2010, President Zuma produced his **5) “9-Point Plan”** for Social Recovery and Economic Revitalisation.

In May 2017 newly appointed Finance Minister **Malusi Gigaba unveiled** his **6)14-point Plan.** Basically this plan was to stave off further ratings downgrades. This is meant to induce higher growth rate in government revenue. It also means that it will counter the trend of rising public debt. Thirdly, the 14-point plan also limits the risks posed by State-Owned Enterprises, like SAA and ESKOM and reliance on bailouts. Finally, the 14-point plan is meant to address low business and consumer confidence.

Therefore, we have seen a succession of “Plans” by the ANC government, none of which has had the ability to concretise economic reform that affects the employment rate or poverty levels significantly! Millions have been spent on Planning Commissions and Consultants, without significant results.

***How successful can recovery plans be?***

Present rising levels of unemployment, poverty and degradation in South Africa’s sprawling townships and squatter camps as well as social infrastructure deficiencies **negates** what is documented and envisioned in the NDP. The recently released auditor-general’s report on poverty levels and inequality is adequate evidence of its imminent failure. Political commentators have characterised the NDP as a “vision” rather than a “plan”.

The ANC had been ensnared into this trap. In their 2003 book, *Unfinished Business: South Africa Apartheid And Truth,* Terry Bell and Buhle Ntswbeza alleges that before Mandela had been elevated to ‘sainthood’ (*á la* Clements Kadalie) by capitalism-imperialism, he had been “softened up”, totally disarmed and after his release in 1990 the course of SA in the clutches of capitalism-imperialism had already been determined. Successive ANC governments have been obsessed with neoliberal dictates that have served to maintain apartheid inspired economic structures. Gigaba is conforming to neoliberal policies despite the utterances emanating from Zuma and some of his henchmen.

**The neo-liberal approach assumes that economic growth is the sole criterion to put the country back on the right track. This obsession with growth means that the focus is on short-term fiscal and monetary issues to gain the confidence of investors in the economy. SAs obsession with growth is unlikely to assist in economic recovery.**

***3. Party Politics and Parliamentary Chaos - dealing with the factionalism and splits in the ruling party, the Tri-partite Alliance, the decline of COSATU, myths of ‘White Monopoly Capital” and “Radical Economic Transformation”, State Capture and the State Owned Enterprises.***

During the apartheid era workers and the trade unions representing them were important participants in the United Democratic Front (UDF). Many unions, student organisations, community organisations and worker organisations formed the UDF. With the support of the unions and community organisations, the UDF had many successful well-supported actions against the Apartheid regime. Worker unity and solidarity was very strong and unified. At the time, the ANC was banned and the trade union movement had very strong leadership.

Since 1994, the ANC/COSATU/SACP has been in an ever-decreasing party political alliance majority. The 1993 Constitution has been euphorically called the best in the World, but its crucially weak link is the **Proportional Representation Electoral System, which** has resulted in a “party political bosses charter with unaccountable politicians and a top-down single-party government” according to RW Johnson.

ANC Splits have spawned Cope and the EFF; COSATU splits have spawned NUMSA and SAFTU. This has resulted in a weakened Labour Movement, not supportive of worker and community interest, but seeking political footholds to gain parliamentary privileges and patronage.

Many ANC Regional Conferences have been held against the bitter background of intimidation and violence, (30 shootings in KZN in the last 5 years). Calls for Electoral reform from within the ANC (Omro Makgoale from the Eastern Cape and a member of the Stalwarts and Veterans) and the formation of groups like the SAVE SA, are indications that there is much dissent and dissatisfaction within the Tri-partite Alliance. Numerous calls for resignation and impeachment of Zuma have been common in the parliamentary space over the last 12 months. The ANC Presidential succession race has also lead to further personality and cult factions all trying to get a head start in the race for power.

The mantra of “White Monopoly Capital” was quickly ditched by the ANC when revelations of the Gupta employed Bell Pottinger PR firm were publicly revealed. They did not mind “Black” or “Brown” fraudulent Capital, but were righteously indignant of any “White” Capital when speaking to their own supporters and the party faithful!

Is the use of the words ***Radical Economic Transformation*** a dramatic shift in policy or mere rhetoric? This is the latest catchphrase used by the ANC clique to hoodwink the oppressed into thinking that what’s in store for them is a *“better life for all”.* Zuma mentioned this in the state of the nation address. A number of ANC bigwigs have since bandied it about.

What is actually meant by *radical economic transformation* is increasing the middle class, the elite in South Africa. Despite two decades of dominance, the ANC believes that Black people have not gained enough access to the economy. These are the people that are keeping them in power.

Radical Economic Transformation has become to mean RACIAL ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION!

The neoliberal imperatives imposed by the WB and the IMF have constrained the ANC. The malfunctioning SOEs which will open patronage for more cadres of the ANC are in such debt that another bailout of massive proportions (R100 billion) is needed.

What is being planned?

Business ventures to open in the townships and the rural areas with BEE groups cashing in on the profits, with franchise owners eventually becoming owners of properties, companies and financial institutions. Whilst this may be a change in emphasis, this is certainly not a change in the fundamentals of economic reality. ”Entrepreneurship” is being touted as the solution to Employment.

Further, the 2017 Mining Charter stipulates that a new mining right must have 30% of its members as shareholders. This 30% to be shared amongst communities, entrepreneurs and employees. (See Addendum)

The patronage lobby will drastically change the fundamentals of the above to suit their own ends and so gain control of every single venture as has already happened in the case of the current BEE mining magnates.

Whilst Radical Economic Transformation may ruffle a few feathers, it isn’t even radical in a market economy. The only thing “radical” about Radical Economic Transformation is thus the word “radical”.

**STATE CAPTURE, CORRUPTION & THE GUPTAS**

State Capture is seen as the systemic political corruption in which private companies/interests influences the decision making of the state to the advantage of the company. In South Africa, this not only pertains to the national government but to all tiers of government.

According to *Africa Check*, it has been stated that South Africa has lost R700 billion in public money to corruption since the ‘advent of democracy’ in 1994.

Two forms of corruption are particularly prevalent in South Africa:

(1) Tenderpreneurism where individuals enrich themselves through corrupting of government tenders based on personal political connections and corrupt relationships and is often accompanied by inferior workmanship and overcharging, and

(2) BEE fronting which is an abuse of the rules governing Black Economic Empowerment. This is where a person is given a seat on the Board of Directors of a company whilst having little or no decision-making power. Related to this there is very often a situation of ANC members being given a foothold in the finances of major companies.

Former Public Protector’s (Madonsela) report which initially exposed corruption by Gupta and Zuma listed a number of cabinet ministers, deputy ministers, chairpersons of Boards, CEOs of State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and other individuals and called for a judicial enquiry into state capture.

The Guptas’ close friend Zuma, as well as two ministers implicated in the report, went to court to stop its release. But it was finally [released](https://qz.com/825813/south-africas-jacob-zuma-is-exposed-by-a-corruption-report-into-the-guptas-influence/) in Nov. 2016 after [protests and a court battle](https://qz.com/825813/south-africas-jacob-zuma-is-exposed-by-a-corruption-report-into-the-guptas-influence/). Zuma and his allies are conceived as a criminal network that has captured the state.

No action was initially taken on Vytjie Mentor’s (a sitting member of parliament), allegations that she was offered a Cabinet post by the Guptas, which could be a violation of the Constitution. However, Pravin Gordhan and Mcebisi Jonas were fired as Finance and Deputy Minister as they allegedly posed a stumbling block to the looting of the public purse.

According to reports from the previous Public Protector, Ministers, Deputy Ministers were hired and fired in the Guptas Saxonworld home. International companies, Bell Pottinger, Mckenzie and KPMG (Auditing firm - SA) have fallen in the wake of the GUPTA/Zuma scandal.

Business Leadership South Africa (BLSA) has suspended the membership of Eskom and Transnet. This follows allegations that at best have been described as corrupt behaviour in awarding of tenders. Bonang Mohale CEO of BLSA in a statement said that, until and unless an experienced and permanent Chairman and Board are appointed – who in turn appoints an experienced and honest executive team – Eskom will loom large over the economy as a threat to stability and economic growth. At the same time, the rich coffers of the PIC will continue to tantalise the greedy appetites of the likes of Malusi Gigaba and a pack of other scoundrels who want to complete the process of looting the state. As if unprepared to be outdone by the others in the stakes of villainy, Fikile Mbalula, the current police minister has been exposed as a typical fat cat, who was bankrolled by sports company Sedgars on a family Christmas trip to Dubai. Evidently, the Democratic Alliance would like Mbalula to be the late police minister for his holidaying crimes. Truly, the jostling for self-enrichment among the crowd of ANC glitterati will make Jacob Zuma proud.

1. ***The Rise of Nationalism - dealing with the effect and aftermath of the “Fees Must Fall” movement and an examination of the trends towards Nationalism from organisations like BLF, transformation and de-colonisation movements. Service delivery Protests, Racism, Xenophobia and First Nations People movements.***

**Dealing with the effect and aftermath of the ‘Fees Must Fall’ movement**

South African University Students continue to push for Quality Fee Free Higher Education – something that may only be fully realizable in a re-organized economy. So Socialism in terms of Education and Society were put firmly on the Agenda from 2015 onwards – despite there being a ‘Strategic Retreat’ in 2018 (Meth & Seabe).

The Fallist Movement of 2015-16 exposed serious fault lines in terms of ‘Race’ and Class in SA. WEB du Bois famously noted that ‘The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour-line’. We could add even for the 21st Century. As WEB du Bois portends, our Colonial, Segregationist and Apartheid legacies continued to haunt us in the 21st Century as there was no TRC in Higher Education (or Sport for that matter) with a seamless pre and post-Apartheid transition in the Academy – Business As Usual!

It took a new generation of ‘woke’ students to comprehensively challenge the status quo and for university Management and Senior Academics to reflect on how much they had been co-opted 23 years into the ‘new South Africa’. While much soul searching is taking place, the difficulty of ‘The master’s tools will not dismantle the master’s house’ (Audrey Lorde) prevails. What is needed when working with ‘untransformed’ academics to deliver a decolonized curriculum? This as students demand, *“Free Quality Decolonised Education NOW!”* Sometimes ‘African-centred’ is added to the depiction of the envisaged curriculum. The redistribution of Ben Kies’ seminal ‘The Contribution of the Non-European Peoples to World Civilization’ may be opportune.

The Unity Movement and especially the TLSA and CATA had been working tirelessly for true decolonisation of education since the mid-20th Century.

We should embrace the momentum this new #FMF movement presents.

However, the degeneration into naked Black Nationalism (not even the nuanced ‘Black Consciousness’ of Biko) by some of the Fallists requires an appropriate theoretical response. We often spoke in the past about ‘taking a nation to school’ (in the broadest sense). That time is once again upon us. We are required to stand up and speak boldly about the intersection of ‘Race’, Class, Gender and Sexual Orientation in our struggle. We need to assist in educating new cadres about the primacy of class in terms of contradictions in society.

Otherwise, the ‘politics of the skin’ will prevail as non-racialism is being stripped of any radical legacy and is conflated with “rainbowism”, colour-blindness and worse.

**First Nations People movements**

The failure of the ‘new democratic’ state to solve the ‘National Question’ *(The Unresolved National Question: Left Thought Under Apartheid: Ed Webster & K. Pampallis)* has had many perverse consequences. The most dangerous is the prospect of ‘ethnic cleaning’ á la Uganda under Idi Amin or the more recent Rwanda genocide *(‘Afrophobia and the racial habitus in the new SA’;* Neville Alexander 2013).

Alienated communities have retreated into the narrowest definition of culture – with a burgeoning industry spawning a myriad ‘identities’ that require not only acknowledgment but lauding.

In this milieu, we find some genuine peoples movements (modelled on First Nations Peoples in Canada; USA; Australia – Aborigines; New Zealand – Maori etc.) that seek to counter and re-write centuries of colonial onslaught. Social Linguist, Bradley van Sitters, provides a ‘counter narrative’ at the Colonial Castle in CT. He notes that ‘Growing up on the Cape Flats of SA, I was, misguidedly, stereotyped a ‘amalawu’ – a term depicting people with no culture and no language of their own … ([www.khoekhoegowab.wordpress.com](http://www.khoekhoegowab.wordpress.com))

However, we need to problematise this rise in ethnic, ‘race’ and culture thinking in the present period. There are clearly elements wishing to be appointed Royalty as Chiefs, Princes and Princess to garner remuneration (in keeping with the CONTRALESA system).

Some opportunistic First Nations tribal elements are also imagining that since their forefather KHOISAN ‘were here first’ their descendants are the rightful owners of land (‘The Promise of Land: Undoing a Century of Dispossession in SA by Hendricks, Ntsebeza & Helliker).

There seems to be a meeting of minds with “Brown” and “Black” tribalists wishing to control resources (land etc.) and maintain authority including archaic patriarchal gender relations that fly in the face of an avowed national democratic state. This situation has been bolstered, as the ANC needs to rely on the ‘rural vote’ to retain power.

Essential reading is Rudolph Rocker’s ‘Nationalism and Culture’ (1937) written in the aftermath of the Nazi Party rise to power in Germany.

Interestingly the **Liberal Institute of Race Relations** in their ‘What the rise of racial nationalism means for SA’ notes:

*“Our conclusion was that the rise of rampant racial nationalism would lead SA into a scenario where, ‘in what would have seemed almost unthinkable a decade previously, SA became a façade democracy with an authoritarian ruling party presiding over a mismanaged and crashing economy. Worse still, citizens had only limited means of resistance as the media were cowed, civil society had no resources, the independence of the judiciary had been undermined, and the private sector bent to the will of the state”.* (Frans Cronje May 2015)

**An examination of the trends towards nationalism from organisations like BLF, transformation and decolonisation movements**

Does the divergent nature of the society that constitutes South Africa allow any one movement to claim to be striving for true nationalism? The Black First Land First (BLF) movement of Andile Mngxitama is an offspring of an offspring of the ANC, a movement purportedly striving towards nationalism, but which had, distracted by the lure of capitalism, veered off that course. Furthermore, tribalism and a fallback to apartheid style racialism/racism have lately become the hallmark of ANC policy, which are also generally reflected in the kind of utterances the BLF are making themselves guilty of. The term “African Black”, has currently replaced “Black”, the umbrella term for the oppressed masses prior to 1994 to distinguish from the “less oppressed” groups. There is therefore and increasing trend by the ruling party and, by extension broader society, to highlight and acknowledge the racial tags with which the apartheid regime saddled this country. The fight for the share of the economy, that little which is left that is not under imperialist control, is furthermore bedevilled by a Black economic policy which generally favours only the few Black elites and politicians. The latest attempts by sections within the ruling party distinguish between “African Blacks and ‘Coloureds’, ‘Indians’ and Chinese” in formulae to calculate BEEEE points during the tendering process are further indications that we are edging towards an apartheid-style classification of races in this country.

Before one can therefore claim that there is a trend towards nationalism from groups like BLF and indeed the ruling party, one must first look at the definitions of nationalism in the modern society. Although there seem to be different, interpretations of nationalism, depending on the perspective of the viewer, the central theme that runs through the various perspectives include:

* The concept of one nation
* Self-governance and full sovereignty
* A single ethnic group
* Ethnic symbolism
* Self-sustainable industrial economy
* Nationalism as a natural phenomenon

The opening remark and question can therefore, based on the above, not be answered in the affirmative, since at least of the key requirements for nationalism to be successful, are absent from the societal structure of this country. A primitive, and at times, warped form of nationalism, however, has been prevalent within the South African society for the past century at least. It can be generally accepted that [citizenship](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citizenship) under the previous regime could not be limited to one [ethnic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_group), cultural, religious, or identity group, and therefore a system of “multi-racialism”, wrongly identified as “multi-nationalism” by the regime, was propagated. It sought to justify that “multi-nationalism” in a single state should necessarily comprise the right to express and exercise national identity, particularly by minorities. The development of a “national identity” in terms of historical development has commonly been the result of a response by influential groups, unsatisfied with traditional values due to inconsistency between their defined social order and the experience of that social order by other groups, resulting in a situation of [anomie](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anomie), a breakdown of cohesive social structure. The 19th century trek to the north and the establishment of the Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State was the culmination of a desire by the European settlers of nationhood separate from the British colonists and the indigenous peoples of the Cape. One can therefore conclude that it was a narrow form of nationalism based on culture and race, and it was to be forerunner to a similar kind of Afrikaner nationalism ruthlessly practised by the apartheid regime. It was a kind of ethnic nationalism, propped up by racist system of oppression that flourished amongst the 20% minority of Whites at the exclusion of the vast majority of oppressed Black people.

The genuine attempt to foster true nationalism was a faction of the ANC thwarted the establishment of a non-racial All African Convention in the mid-1930s when it split from the AAC in 1936 to collaborate with the Hertzogh government. This placed the ANC on a path of African tribal nationalism still prevalent within the ruling party today. The question whether the ANC can engender a culture of nationalism, given its Freedom Charter propagating the notion of tribalism is a moot point. If one considers the emphasis lately being placed on highlighting ethnic differences (when in fact there are none) then the notion of a movement towards nationalism in a diverse society as ours is bound not to be successful. From a different perspective, however, [Marx](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Marx) and [Engels](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Engels) declared that nationalism as a '[false consciousness](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/False_consciousness)', which prevented the working class from rising up and ending their oppression by the [capitalist class](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalist_class).

The legacy of colonisation, currently the target of movements like BLF and student movements at universities is entrenched within our society and the removal of offensive symbols is merely scratching the surface of an underlying stumbling block to the creation of a unitary non-racist society which we should be striving for. The parliamentary system, crafted at CODESA by the apartheid regime and assisted by the current one, is based on the remnants of a Westminster system introduced by erstwhile colonial masters. Not only is it a system of winner-takes-all, it also is not representative of the people, who, despite through their votes directly and indirectly elected members of parliament, cannot demand accountability from parliamentary “representatives”.

The transformation is intrinsically linked to the decolonisation of society, systems of governance, education, economy, sports and culture. Our history needs to re-written in order for us to understand why we need to transform, what needs to be transformed and what kind of transformed society we would like to be. Transformation in its current form and application is but a façade, a futile and unsuccessful attempt to plaster over the real inequalities so prevalent 22 years after so-called liberation. It is a fallacy to claim that transformation can successfully implemented from top down, since it will only advantage those who have access to the benefits it offers, widen the gap between rich and poor and exacerbate the plight of those worst affected by apartheid regime and the corruption and ineptitude of the current regime. The transformation façade is urban society with its professional Blacks in “mixed” middle-class residential areas, the creation job and business opportunities assisted by BEEEE policies, access to educational institutions by those who can afford it and taking over from Whites as the big spender in the retail industry. The “real” face of society, however, is on the outskirts of urban areas, in apartheid-created townships from where transport to the workplace and back requires a sizeable portion of income, where currently some communities have no access to water-borne sewer reticulation, and where service delivery is virtually non-existent. Astonishingly, urban planning by the current regime allows for the development of residential areas for so-called RDP housing even further from the central business districts, escalating the burgeoning cost in transport of those who can least afford it. The “real” face of society is life in an informal settlement where it has become the norm not to have running water, ablution facilities, recreational facilities and where daily lives of women and children are constantly under the threat of rape and violent crime. The “real” face of society is makeshift homes catching fire, where grannies and children die and it is treated as just another fire.

 The “real” face of society is in the forgotten outposts in the rural areas of our country, where the word “transformation” takes on an entirely different meaning for our forgotten fellow citizens. Electricity, a commodity we all take for granted, is slowly making its way into rural villages, vast areas, though have no access to electricity and gathering wood by women and children is the only source of energy at their disposal. The “real” face of society is to see elderly women stoking fires and cooking meals outside their dwellings, come rain or sunshine.

“Transformation” in the rural areas is when government proclaims progress to be the replacement of a dilapidated pit latrine with a “modern, ventilated” pit latrine, but still a pit latrine, some twenty to thirty metres away from dwellings, even though schoolchildren are still exposed to unsafe and unhygienic pit latrine systems. Progress is proclaimed, accompanied by accolades and fanfare, when potable water finally reaches communities, even if communal taps are still the norm and some families need to draw water from taps up to 200m from their dwellings, all under the guise of transformation.

The emphasis on and the efforts to transform sport has largely played itself out in the public domain, hence the big debate about so-called quotas and the composition (racial breakdown) of national and provincial sports teams. The transformation of society, though has received scant attention, and was seldom the topic of discussion on public platforms and social media. As a result that the festering sore of racism, seemingly dormant immediately post-1994, is now increasingly rearing its ugly head.

Genuine transformation and decolonisation of the social order in our country under the current regime seem distinctly remote, nationalism even more so.

**Xenophobia**

In May 2008, 62 people were killed in a wave of xenophobic attacks across townships in Gauteng. Foreign nationals, mostly migrants from Somalia and Ethiopia, were dragged through the streets of Alexandra, and even a “necklacing” incident was recorded. This generally was the start of a wave of xenophobic attacks that spread throughout the country, the focus mainly on shop owners of foreign descent that also included Pakistani and Bangladeshi foreign nationals. South Africans were perceived by other countries, particularly in rest of Africa, as ungrateful in view of the roles certain African countries played during the struggle for liberation. However, is this really a phenomenon limited to South Africa?

It’s not all that different to what was happening in other countries in Europe where those in power have been creating an understanding of who the nation is. People who migrate from elsewhere, even from countries whose economies have been destroyed by their imperialist policies, are outsiders who come to steal, including apparently their democracies. It is within that context that we have to understand this rise of xenophobic violence and attitudes more generally. The violence couldn’t take place if the attitudes were not there, and we have to insist on  the fact that xenophobia is not a problem of the poor, even the rich are threatened by having to get with less should foreigners start sharing in the economy.

It is quite clear, surveys through the years show, that in fact xenophobia is widespread throughout all racial and ethnic groups, all gender groups, all political parties throughout the country. In other words, xenophobic attitudes are prevalent irrespective of who you are talking to. The difference is that those faced with the perceived threat to their livelihood by foreigners are more likely to act in the manner in which these violent acts are played out currently. And there is racism and differences in culture to consider. When various individual politicians or those in authority speak, they do not simply address the issue in manner to resolve matter, they use inflammatory language, like King Goodwill Zweletini, sparking the type of violence we experienced in KwaZulu-Natal recently.

The media, of course play a major role in the systematic targeting of immigrants, generally those from western Africa, and particularly Nigeria, as criminals and drug dealers. This culture was created in the mid-1990s, shortly after free access to this country by fellow Africans was made possible, and may have been the birth of the xenophobic culture we are currently experiencing. Xenophobia in South Africa, therefore, is not new, and according to Michael Neocosmos, Director of Global Movements Research at the University of South Africa (UNISA), anti-migrant sentiment emerged in the early 1990s, when the new government was in the midst of planning new economic policies and politicians of all stripes began drumming up anti-immigrant sentiment. He said:

**“It is important to recognise that xenophobia can exist without violence. And it’s not sufficient to simply recognise it when people start killing each other,”**

Contrary to popular belief, xenophobia in South Africa is not just a problem of the poor. A national survey of the attitudes of the South African population towards foreign nationals in the country by the South African Migration Project in 2006, found xenophobia to be widespread: 59% of South Africans do not want it to be easier for foreign nationals to trade informally with South Africa, while 61% are opposed to them starting small businesses in South Africa, Staggeringly a further 68% of South African are against foreigners obtaining South African citizenship.

Despite the violence meted out to foreign nationals, as many as 60 000 to 80 000 per year continue to seek asylum in SA. According to the United Nations Refugee Centre, UNHCR, there were almost 310 000 refugees and asylum seekers in the country as of July 2014. This number is now well over 400 000

The South African government, for its part, refused to label the violence as ‘xenophobic’. President Thabo Mbeki, at the very end of his second term in office in typical denialist fashion, said those who wanted to use the term were “trying to explain naked criminality by cloaking it in the garb of xenophobia”. The government furthermore attempted to reduce the perception of the terror meted out on foreign nationals as benign, unexceptional acts of criminality. If they were orchestrated attacks, they said, ‘a third force’ was behind the violence.

Xeno or the tendency to fear the stranger is inherent in human nature. It becomes a problem, however, when there is something that perpetuates that fear, the feeling that this person is bad. And that is where the social construction comes in. And from that perspective in South Africa, we see the legacy of the past, for instance where the movement of people was perceived as a threat to residents and their livelihoods. Therefore, in South Africa, the main explanations are the legacy of apartheid; this legacy has not been addressed. And even the current leadership keeps using that kind of rhetoric: by calling immigrants or outsiders, particularly Black Africans, criminals, bringing diseases, and blaming them for all sorts of socio-economic ills we face. It is a perception that was created in the mid-1990s that today, twenty years later, has been reinforced within the South African society and used as an excuse by the current regime for its ineptitude to provide for the basic needs of its citizens.

Xenophobia is closely linked to racism, and although it is a global phenomenon not only peculiar to South Africa, the racial construct of our society is indeed fertile grounds for this scourge to grow, with the distinct potential of polarising a society that can barely come to grips with its recent racist past.

**Racism**

Racism can only exist where the notion of different races is accepted. Scientifically, however, the existence of any other race but the human race, has never been proved, and therefore the concept of different races is a manufactured one by those who wanted themselves to be seen as different from others, solely based on physical appearances, to put it more bluntly, White versus Black. One can assume that an element of superiority was key to the formulation of that superior notion and highlighting the perceived differences there may have been justification for that. There are scant records, if any, of Black on White racism and one must therefore assume that racism is mainly perpetrated by Whites with Black people being the victims. An attitude of inherent superiority naturally flows from this notion. This is a global phenomenon that paved the way for imperialism and colonisation by Europe of rest of the world, and in particular, Africa. Southern Africa therefore had always been subjected to some form of institutionalised racism, more harshly so the last 40 years under the apartheid regime.

The new Constitution, accepted by parliament in 1995, sought to eliminate racism from the statute books and, whether we agree with its entire contents or not, it generally succeeded in doing so. Twenty-two years after the adoption of a non-racist constitution, we are still a society inherently plagued by racial classification and association in the social sphere, sports, entertainment and the workplace. The ANC government with its obsession with tribalism and “Africanism” even went so far as to adopt the crass racial categories invented by its former oppressor in order to monitor their distribution in the workplace and sports fields. Attitudes of racism and superiority, although frowned upon in certain quarters gradually increased after a relative period immediately after 1994 during the presidency of Nelson Mandela. The less than slap-on-the-wrist punishment meted out by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for those accused of committing atrocities on behalf of the apartheid regime emboldened racists and removed any fear they may have had of being prosecuted, resulting in an increase of acts of racism and the expression of racist diatribe.

The Zuma presidency triggered a wave of public criticism of the ANC in general, and himself in particular and rightly so. However, it also allowed the racists to jump on that bandwagon to increasingly air their narrow vitriol, even to the point where they demand their rights as a White minority to be restored. The ANC offered them that platform.

We seem to be a more integrated society, as reflected by schools, (in some cases) the workplace and the sports fields, but are we really, or is it just another façade? The latest incidents at KFC and the recent “coffin case” seem to confirm the latter. The TRC as a platform for those who voluntarily wanted to confess and seek atonement for their misdeeds clearly did not have the desired effect. In certain quarters, it is now whispered that Nuremberg-type trial would have been more effective.

1. ***Poverty and Unemployment – Analysis of empirical data on levels of Poverty and Unemployment, Capitalist strangle-hold on Economic Development, Land Misuse and Natural Resources exploitation. The effects of Corruption, the skewed economy, resource wastage and State inefficiency on the Health, Education and Living conditions of the poor and Working Class.***

Poverty and unemployment is the natural consequence of the capitalist system, a system that has no intention to eradicate unemployment as it acts as a form of threat to workers. With the endemic rate of unemployment in South Africa, unemployment is one of the bases of poverty. 55,5% of SA’s population live below the poverty line in 2017 (in 2011 it was 53%) which is 34 million people.

The poverty line varies between the food poverty line (R531), the lower-bound poverty line (R758) and the upper-bound poverty line (R1138)].

In SA 25% of the population survives on less than R531 a month and cannot afford to buy enough food to keep healthy. This proportion has risen from 20% in 2011. With this increasing poverty, there has been a rise in the Gini Coefficient from 0,6 to 0,7 (even though some observers feel that the rise has been much greater). One of the features of the SA economy has been the growing inequality among Africans, with the Black elite becoming increasingly rich while the great majority of people, especially in the former homelands, continue to live in poverty. The increase in poverty points to the fact that in terms of income, wealth, housing, education, resources, health and wellbeing, there is a trend towards increasing inequality and even more entrenched poverty. If one looks at the decline in living standards – people are begging more, substance abuse in increasing, violent crime is reaching unimagined heights, education, health and other services are either not being delivered or have deteriorated.

The question must be posed:Why? Why do we have this escalation in hardship and vulnerability in a land that can spend millions on rugby world cup bids and other sporting codes? How is it possible that SA can spend billions on rescuing the SAA but cannot afford to provide jobs for its own people?

Do we have a mismanaged system in an unfriendly Global Economic Climate, or do we have a system that would deliver more to the poor in a friendly Global Economic Climate? The government spin-doctors have been telling us that the latter has been the case since the Global Economic downturn of 2008**!** We have heard lately of more spin-doctoring about “White Monopoly Capital“ and ‘Radical Economic Transformation” as reasons for and solutions to our economic demise , yet the revelations of State mal-administration and in-efficiency continue to be revealed daily (See Gupta leaks, Public Protector’s reports, SAICE Reports, numerous Auditor-General reports, Scopa reports etc.).

This “Global Economic Downturn” has been the background against which all other developing countries have been forced to operate, so we are not unique; but we have failed dismally in creating a solution that benefits working class people across the country. The Governments acceptance of economic “norms” and its inability to initiate basic economic reforms and employment opportunities has resulted in us being victims of Capitalist Investment dictates rather the creators of our own economic destinies.

Too many times, Big Business (Mining, Fishing, Agriculture etc.) has been allowed to determine and cherry-pick its operating fundamentals by merely complying with BEE laws and minimum wage agreements.

Let us look at some of the prime economic cable-ties that have hobbled and restricted the Government’s ability and performance:

The answer must be found in the negotiated settlement of 1994, where horse-trading between the corporate world, mainly the **Minerals-Energy Complex (MEC)**, and the new Black elite ensured that post-1994 economic structures would remain the same as pre-1994 economic structures. The new Black elite promised the MEC that private property would be protected and that no nationalisation would occur. In turn, the MEC would pay reparations to a select few via Black Economic Empowerment. During the CODESA II negotiations (the secret horse-trading), the primary objective of leaders of the MEC was to ensure the preservation of the MEC. The quid pro quo for representatives of the Black upper middle class, the ANC politicians, who agreed to the preservation of the MEC, was the creation of BEE. The second aim of the economic leaders was to persuade the emerging Black political elite to agree to the use of globalisation to maintain the system of cheap labour required by the MEC. (In this CODESA II, labour and manufacturing were excluded due to reasons explained below).

There are many ways to keeping down the costs of labour – brute force as in the past, recruiting unskilled labour form the SADC countries, but these options were no longer possible due to trade unionism and independence. The new way of keeping labour cheap was to import wage goods from cheaper producers in the global economy, especially China. By importing cheaper products, the cost of the products that the working class consumes is kept down and wages are therefore kept low. Using globalisation to provide cheap consumer goods for the working class not only kept wages low but also resulted in the destruction of the non-MEC manufacturing sector.

**The clothing, textile and footwear industry** has been almost totally obliterated by these cheap imports. This is why capitalists in the manufacturing sector and organised labour were excluded from the CODESA II deliberations. The destruction of the manufacturing sector is at the root of the growing impoverishment of South Africans, leading to increasing structural unemployment. The MEC is immune to global competition as it sells minerals and metals that are largely unique to SA. Manufacturing industries do not have such natural protection and after 1994, employment in SA's private sector declined steadily, fuelling the growing impoverishment of many South Africans. At the same time, the top 10-20 per cent of the population become even richer, benefitting from BEE wealth redistribution programmes and, in the early 2000s, also from steeply increasing commodity prices.

At the same time that BEE was being introduced and the commodities boom peaked in the late 1990s, the ANC government started to increase public spending on welfare. The increase in social grants from 2,5 million people in 1999 to 12 million people in 2012 and to 17 million in 2017 is an indication of the dire need of the poorest of the poor and the high levels of unemployed people in the country. This large -scale social welfare expenditure is due to income derived from the rich natural resources of SA. This largesse of course is to buy the vote of the poor and to placate the poor so that they do not rebel. At face value, the social wage paid to 17 million impoverished, unemployed South Africans is commendable. This social wage was initially a short-term measure to address poverty, but has increasingly become a source of livelihood in SA and has played an important role in reducing poverty levels. However, without mineral wealth to redistribute, the government would have to work harder about finding solutions to unemployment and poverty. Resource wealth makes it possible for the government not to have to put in an effort into redeveloping the economy for more jobs. [[78]](#footnote-78)

Our over reliance on our mineral wealth has led to skewed economy with an emphasis on primary products. Due to climate change and fluctuating prices, agricultural exports and mineral exports have respectively varied in value and therefore our national income has fluctuated almost annually. Furthermore, very few minerals are beneficiated but are exported in its raw unprocessed state. Unbelievably, labour costs in China are so low that it is not economically efficient to manufacture and produce some finished products locally! Mineral resources are finite, i.e. they are exhaustible. What happens when they become depleted or when the ability to pay for this welfare system is severely strained as it today due to a sluggish economy, high government debt and new demands for bailouts from state-owned enterprises and universities? Social protection (social grants, free primary health care, no-fee paying schools, RDP housing) is projected to increase to R209,1 billion by 2019/ 2020. Social protection is already the third fastest growing spending category after post-school education and health. How long will our economy be able to carry this burden, in other words, how long is this system of BEE and social protection sustainable?

What is clear is that the present government appear to have run out of ideas on how to implement changes in the economy that will benefit the population. The latest StatsSA "Poverty Trends in South Africa" report shows that poverty levels rose in 2015. Nowhere has there been any meaningful response from the government and ruling party to this report; instead, party politics and fighting for positions has been the response by the ANC to this report. What BEE and social welfare programmes have done is entrench the inequalities inherited from the past and exacerbate new inequalities among the Black population. Instead of assisting and developing the country's core manufacturing sector, the government replaced the manufacturing sector with cheap imports, literally destroying this sector as well as job opportunities, further impoverishing the greater part of the population.

**Land redistribution** on socialist principles is fundamental to the liberation of the people of South Africa. At present, the ANC government has focussed on what they term the “Land Reform Process” which is concentrated on three aspects; **Restitution**, where the state grants monetary compensation to affected parties, Land **Tenure Reform,** which is a system of recognising people’s right to own land and **Land Redistribution.** The emphasis thus shifts to Land Redistribution.

Despite all these various plans, implementation of any one of them is doomed to failure. South Africa remains an unequal society with the oppressed communities still dispossessed, with the majority still homeless. The ANC model based on the Market-led Agrarian Reform approach will not improve matters for the landless and impoverished.

At present land reform procedures, which includes expropriation eventually allows the courts to set the price of the land. However, this process will mainly rely on the Valuer-General; a recently created government office will set the price of land earmarked for reform.

The ANC Government has commendably allocated large portions of the Fiscus to ***Social Services*** since 1994. The largest portion of our Annual Budget (60%) is dedicated to Health, Education, Housing and Social Security and Welfare, yet we still see major deficiencies and very few success stories in these crucial areas of service delivery. Earlier we have dealt with the burgeoning impact of Social Grants on the economic system.

**Health**

Key indicators like Infant Mortality rates, Life Expectancy, Doctor/Patient Ratios, have not improved over this prolonged period. Spending has continued to rise with the same pace as corruption and inefficiency. Claims against the State are at an all-time high, forcing government now to try to change legislation in order to “pay-off” patients or claimants in the distant future! Primary Health Care is in no better a state than it was 20 years ago.

**Education**

Education is in a similar mess, but billions have been spent of the South African Taxpayers money. Literacy and Numeracy Rates are WORSE now than 20 years ago! Government has continually focused on the Matric Pass Rate, which only measures roughly 50% of learner intake .School Infrastructure is a breeding ground for corruption, with numerous Education Department officials found guilty of theft, fraud and corruption. Promises of FREE EDUCATION are mere political slogans with no comprehensive economic plans in place to deal with the consequences thereof!

**Housing**

Housing or “Human Settlements” has suffered a similar fate with a merry-go-round of Ministers and Policies that has seen the housing delivery DROP over the last ten years. Amidst a vague and unclear statistical record in this crucially responsible portfolio of government which should have been a golden opportunity to grow employment and community involvement , there has been a litany of broken promises, corruption scandals, “ghost” schemes , housing-list manipulation and outright thievery !

Therefore, it can be seen that the State has failed the poor and working class miserably when it comes to actually **delivering** as opposed to **allocating.**

The ANC has successfully changed a Racially Exploitative System into an Economically Exploitive one with the Middle Class skimming off all the benefits of State expenditure.

***6. Wither the Left and the Labour Movement? – we look at the state and relationships between Labour and the Left; the NUMSA Moment, the rise of SAFTU, Five Years After Marikana, methods and strategies of Unity, Organisational Imperatives, Motivational Tools for Political Inspiration and Action. The role of a Constituent Assembly, alternatives to proportional representation. A call for the “Re-Awakening of the People”***

In South Africa, the assignation “Labour” has been understood in recent history to refer to organise unionism. Since the most organised group of unions were those that belonged to COSATU, COSATU came to be understood as the short hand for labour. That was before the expulsion of Vavi from the position of General Secretary in COSATU. From the 30th April 2016, however Vavi altered the complexion of labour. On that date, he was responsible for bringing together 52 independent unions existing outside of COSATU. These unions were brought together into the South African Federation of Trade Unions (SAFTU). On that date, they met together with 22 civil society organisations in a national summit that pronounced the formation of the new federation. In this sense, the idea of labour in South Africa today includes a categorisation of all the labour unions (both COSATU and SAFTU) together with the civil society organisations, which have a left orientation. It is difficult to verify the strength of the new federation based on shop floor or factory internal organisation. The reality of the new federation is bureaucratised side by side with and in the same manner as COSATU. The old bureaucracy in COSATU has undergone a split from top to bottom on a basis averred by union avowals. It seems to be nothing more than an internal split in COSATU that is being inferred by the old labour bureaucrats on to two different federation structures. One is named COSATU and is led by Sidumo Dlamini. The other is named SAFTU and is led by Zwelinzima Vavi. Politically SAFTU has borrowed the established language of the existing union federations - independent; not appropriated by any political organisation; democratic; with socialist aspirations etc. etc. In the coming period it will still be possible that the separation of the labour bureaucracy into two different federations will ultimately verify itself on the shop floor.

What complicates political analysis here is what has happened to NUMSA and the much-acclaimed NUMSA moment. The leadership of NUMSA had distinguished itself by the bold move of splitting itself from COSATU. Since COSATU unions had operated as gatekeepers into the general Congress Alliance, no labour organisation had dared to pretend an existence outside of COSATU. However when the NUMSA leaders dared to make the break in 2013 they appeared to carry with them a political radicalism that would substantiate in terms of working class numbers. In particular, two principal resolutions of the Special NUMSA Conference of December 17-20 2013 stand out. These were the resolutions for building a United Front in the country and the resolution for constructing a movement for socialism. The portended turn to the left would shift South African politics on an organic basis in order to construct linkages with left politics in general. This would be salutary to the whole question of working class numbers on the left. Different factions on the left glided onto the fold of NUMSA each attempting to find expression within a genuine working class organisation. Apart from old left formations such as those in the Unity Movement, others with a background in Pan-Africanism and Black Consciousness also moved in in order to take advantage of the promise heralded by the NUMSA moment. However, it soon became clear that the NUMSA moment was a mirage. NUMSA failed to uphold a general working class standard defining a new working class politics. A chimeric moment in South African politics had happened with NUMSA representing a revolutionary morrow that would never arrive. What is especially troubling about the confusing NUMSA situation was that it could not have happened at a more difficult time for the working class. In 2012, workers had been butchered on a notable occasion on the Wonderkop koppie near Marikana. In the evening of 16th August 2012, 34 workers corpses lay strewn all over that fateful koppie - causalities to volleys of police bullets. It should not be forgotten that behind the police stood the avaricious officials of a Company known as Lonmin against whom the butchered workers had gone on a wildcat strike. At that moment, union organisation stood at a premium. It was imperative that all the union federations should stand together like one man and organise a worker fight back of historic proportions. This was not to be. Neither COSATU nor NUMSA were equal to the task. It was left to a brand new union federation known as AMCU (the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union) to pick up the pieces and begin its own painful march into history. In the aftermath of the Marikana massacre Lonmin had made an appreciable number of promises, whose aim was both a rehabilitation of social life in the mining community and the payment of compensation to the families of the butchered miners. Today, five years after Marikana, it can be recorded that all the promises made by Lonmin have strictly been kept in breach than in fulfilment. The families of the miners are still fighting for the application of the very first promise, namely the building of a housing project - the very beginning in the construction of a genuine mining town. Clearly many battles will still have to be fought in order for the blood of the miners of Marikana start to see a payback. Another national imperative that has been handed to us by the blood of the workers at Marikana is the building of a genuine national unity of the liberatory forces in this country during the current phase of the conflict.

**The march forward**

What are the watchwords of our political movement during this period? For a clear answer to this question, we shall have to derive the motivating energy from the opening words of the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte - a historical essay written by Karl Marx.

“Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add; the first time as tragedy, the second as farce. Caussidi’ere for Danton, Louis Blanc for Robespierre, the *Montagne* of 1848 to 1851 for the *Montagne* of 1793 to 1795, the Nephew for the Uncle. And the same caricature occurs in the circumstances attending the second edition of the eighteenth Brumaire. Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionising themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language”.

The fundamental achievement of the French Revolution was the creation of economic and political conditions in France and elsewhere that made it impossible for the *ancien regime* to re-generate. To be sure, it made certain that the prospects of the *new life* would grow apace all the time on an all-round basis. In practice, it created fertile circumstances for the class of moneyed people to multiply in the cities together with the early foundries of the stock market. In the countryside, it put an end to the manorial system. Socially it established a liberation of human ideas opening up the possibilities of experimentation leading to the growth of modern towns, cities, universities and modern schooling systems. It ruthlessly removed the Bible as the fountain of knowledge, putting to the sword the notion of “the fear of God”, and especially the dictum;” the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom”. A new society was in the making throughout France all the way to the Alps in the south, to the Elbe River in the east and to the southern border of Holland in the north. To the west, the English Channel segregated France from England. This was not all. A series of Bonapartist Republics were set up in the south, in the north and in the east that performed two functions. They acted as a political buffer between France and the reactionary regimes all around. They served to introduce the new ideas to the surrounding world of reaction. In England Cromwell had anticipated the French Revolution. The agency of the Ecclesiastes had ended. The sun had risen, bright and crystal on a new day that ushered in the agency of the bourgeoisie. History itself was now throwing its ultimate challenge to the toiling masses of the world and to the men and women of science and universal knowledge: *Hic Rhodus, hic Salta! (Here is the rose! Here the moment to dance).* In other words - show us the marvels of the new world! Demonstrate to us the particulars of your superiority. Such was the open challenge put before the new ideas of revolution by the very conditions themselves clothed in the robes of the ancient world. This particularly poignant assignment is presented to the idea of the revolution. Why? The dominant features of the surrounding world of reaction reveal themselves day in and day out and especially in the present day as the credo of barbarism. Allow us to select three typical calls to the past in contemporary society.

**Socialism or barbarism**

Thanks to a decision taken by Qendani Mahlangu, a number of psychiatric patients have recently been transferred from Life Esidimeni Hospital to facilities owned by unlicensed and ill-equipped NGOs. This process has had the effect of finding out how the “civilised society” of today is treating its most vulnerable members who are wholly dependent on the virtues of civilisation. In the arbitration hearings conducted by retired Justice Dikgang Moseneke, the following incredible facts were revealed.

In Gauteng Professor Malegapuru Makgoba has explained how 143 psychiatric patients have recently died both during transfer to and after they had been transferred to a number of NGOs in Gauteng who were required to take over these patients from the public system. Note that the transfer had to be effected for *saving money* (around R320 per patient in the public system to R112 per patient in the hands of the NGOs). The method of effecting the transfer was itself so brutal that 10 patients died in transit. In the hands of the NGOs the conditions of sustenance, particularly food and other forms of upkeep were so poor that they put paid to the lives of 131 patients. What kind of society is so incapable of taking care of the ill among its weakest members? Has modern society inaugurated conditions of primitive cruelty, not to animals (as the SPCA would have come up in defence) but rather to fellow humans themselves? The modern system of scientific care to the sick has placed all the current resources of money, knowledge and love into a system of universal medicine that should easily take care of all the aliments of the sick together with their comforts. Gone is the day when man is no more than a wolf to fellow human. And how much more the situation of those who have been placed squarely and solely in the universal system of human caring? Moreover, it is astounding to recall that when the Democratic Party, more out of shame than out of honour, made a motion in their parliament that all the members should stand up and observe a minute of respect to the dead, the motion was ruthlessly rejected and vetoed by the African National Congress majority. Truly, the ANC majority has neither shame nor honour.

The second case is what has been happening in Vanderbyjlpark. Here it has been revealed that a group of Nigerian drug dealers, as part of a malady that has infected the whole community there, have actually made themselves guilty of going out to attack the police. Of course, this is in defence of their precious loot. The first salvos in the attack opened up against a unit of six police officers. When these police officers showed some resistance and every intention of wanting to impound the drugs in the hands of these desperadoes, the drug dealers opened up a broader assault. The current problem has tendered to be that of police brutality. If anything this was typified by what the police did to workers on a now notorious *copy* in Marikana in 2012. The situation is indeed brand new that the roles became reversed and the police came under a pre-emptive attack. The employment of unbridled violence in these kinds of situations is itself barbaric. But how much more is this the case when the violence is pre-emptively meted out by criminals against the justice system? And from the police, who will be the next target of the criminals- the magistracy, or the judges or both? Truly, the barbarism of this development is taking things many notches lower in the scale of the uncivilised.

The third situation truly makes the mind boggle. At the A.B Xuma School in Soweto, human experience has been transferred to unimaginable depths. A 56-year-old security guard whose job it was to protect the young wards under his care apparently understood his function from the predatory point of view of a jackal. When this sad and distasteful turn of things began has not been revealed. However, it is now known that the teachers at the school have been aware since February 2017 that this security guard has been carrying out a systematic sexual pillaging of the young children in the school. The victims range from grade R to grade 7, that is to say from ages 5 - 13. The average age of these victims would therefore be about 9 years. The man has actually established a bedstead in his guardroom from which he has been carrying out his primitive sexual assaults on the children. What kind of human type at the age of 56 would derive pleasure in the one-sided sexual encounters with a body of virtual babies with his victims now grown into a total of 87? We cannot help ringing out repeatedly the refrain: What dastardly behaviour! What primitive conduct! What barbarism! What barbarism! What barbarism!!! What the school authorities will do to the teachers will be a matter of record. What the justice system will do to the character who was only arrested on October 11 will again be a matter for the law courts. How society will treat these children and ensure that they have received appropriate medical and psychological care will again depend on the level of civilisation now extant in our society.

These things we are uncertain of at this time. However, the three cases we have cited above concerning 1. the psychiatric patients, 2. the drug dealers in Soweto and 3. the very young children at AB Xuma School - are all indicative, not just of the frightening level of barbarism in our society, they are in fact indicative of a far more troubling challenge before us all today. At the beginning of the 20th century, Leon Trotsky already observing the alarming degree to which society in Russia and in Europe had degenerated at that time was convinced that the challenge before humanity is stark: either socialism or barbarism! With the international socialist revolution now delayed by another century since that time, how far worse is the crisis of human civilisation? The general sociological review covered in this paper is indicative of all agonies from which our society suffers. What we have done with the three examples we have finally cited in our concluding remarks is to put into clear relief all the problems whose subject matter is the broader review in this paper. We wish to conclude these observations by putting up the bold poser - *Kangakanani?* How much more shall the poor have to suffer and grovel all for the pleasure of the human ravens who are ruling our society?

And why do we fall back on socialism as the final answer to current human decadence? We are comforted by the superior social values contained in the socialist system. Here the antitheses to the vulgarities and decay of old social systems have given way to a world in which science, knowledge and kindness take precedents in all the affairs of human kind. It is in the essence of our civilisation, for that matter in the very economic system where socialist principles show the dominant arch type ruled by “the milk of human kindness” as opposed to the demands of necessity. Need is driven not by want and hunger but by plenty and human satisfaction.

More on the driving forces towards socialism. We would like to review these drivers of social development by casting a glance at the monumental contribution made by IB Tabata. In his “*Awakening of a people”* he reviews the history of the struggle for liberation in South Africa throughout the first half of the twentieth century, that is to say from 1909 - 1950. He is convinced that this history is divided into two parts. The first part is dominated by the politics of Cape liberalism; early trade unionism (the ICU) and African nationalism. The second part consists of the history of a principled political development where the social struggle is maturing towards a revolutionary cataclysm. This refers to the situation after 1943. Now the conditions for the making of a successful revolution are building up towards their fulfilment. Throughout this period, IB Tabata is clear that the principal drivers of social change are the landless peasantry and the urban working class. It is the specific task of the intelligentsia to understand these social struggles and derive a theory for them. He calls his work “*The Awakening of a People”.* It is that theory which was elucidated by both IB Tabata and BM Kies in the insightful addresses to the Non-European Unity Movement which these writers elucidated in *“The Basis and Building of Unity”* in 1945. It is not lost to that theory and strategy that in the hands of liberalism and African nationalism the South African revolution is bound to be aborted and will not flower into revolution. Indeed that expectation was fulfilled in 1994 when the betrayal of the liberals and African nationalist resulted in a restatement of bourgeois revolution in *partibus,* so to say in the hands of imperialism. These are the conditions that cry aloud for the conversion of 1994 into a socialist revolution *and since the attainment of any revolution is dependent on the intellectual and political energy of the toiling masses, these new tasks of revolution will demand the re-awakening* of the people of this land. What are the intellectual and political tasks of the socialist revolution, which must now be borne by the toiling masses? And what class forces need to stand in the forefront of the revolutionary movement?

In 1953, BM Kies published his scholarly work, *the contribution of the Non-European Peoples to world civilisation.* This work covers the civilising effort of human kind in the valley of the Nile, especially the Egyptian sector. It goes on to look at the civilising mission *of Homo sapiens* in Mesopotamia in the Near East, proceeding to the valley of the Indus on the Indian sub-continent. Going on to China, it comes back to Africa examining early civilisations on the Sudan, Mwana-Mutapa in the South, Dahomey and some other parts of west Africa onto the Magriep; crossing the Mediterranean onto the Iberian peninsula covering Arabic and Moorish centres of learning in Spain and Portugal. It entered Europe through the Alps proceeding down the valley of the Po into Italy covering the old Greek cities of Genoa, Venus and Florence. Access into the rest of Europe was made via the great movements’ struggles against Catholicism of the Renaissance and the reformation. Gunpowder was an essential ingredient in the distraction of the feudal system and the erection of the modern cities, centres of commerce and citadels of learning. The cyclical movement that griped continental Europe where a cultural movement whose power and tempo would not be spent until the great revolutions of the 19th and early 20th centuries. By now, it was no longer possible to arrest and segregate from the Caribbean and the New World the forces of modern civilisation. In America, these storms linked up with the foundries of the specific culture of the Red Indian scholars among the Aztecs and Incas. This worldwide review of human civilisation principally in the hands of the non- Europeans was specifically geared to dethrone the false notion of a western civilisation and the superior “western mind” that dwarfs all else. It was principally designed to show that civilisation is a common pool of experiences, knowledge and ideas from which all of humanity has derived an immeasurable degree of value in equal measure irrespective of whether the human types were white in colour or black. This was a stupendous task.

The collective intellectual contribution of human thought is contained in the scholarship of all the pupils of the political South. To this is added the mental energy of the pupils in the political North even though they are controlled by imperialism. The critical factor is that the modern working class is the decisive force in the advance of history. The combined power of all these efforts moves ineluctably into a socialist resolution of the affairs of humanity. If the Russian revolutionaries of the early 20th century were convinced that such a resolution could only be *socialism* or *barbarism,* the Cuban revolutionaries in the middle of the 20th century however had no doubt that the energy of the toiling classes would end in no less a social conclusion than *socialism or Death!* And for thiswe shall need nothing less than the re-awakening of all the people of the world.

WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL LANDS, UNITE!!

**Eastern Cape branches**

**New Unity Movement**

**23 October 2017**

**Addendum:**

**4.1 PRESCRIPTS OF THE MINING CHARTER**

 **OWNERSHIP**

1. **Minimum 30% BEE for all mining rights**
	1. **8% employees**
	2. **8% mine communities**
	3. **14% Black entrepreneurs**
2. **Right-holders already at 30% not required to apportion**
3. **Minimum 50% plus 1 Black Person shareholding for all new prospecting rights; must include voting rights**
4. **Right-holder to pay 1% of annual turnover to the 30% BEE prior to any distributions to its shareholders. (Provisions of Companies Act 71, 2008 will apply)**
5. **A holder who claims a Historical BEE Transaction (transaction that achieved 26% prior to 2017 Charter) must top up to 30% within 12 months. Applies even where the Black person shareholding is no longer 26% due to either a BEE partner exiting or the contract with the BEE partner lapsing or the transfer of shares by the BEE partner to non-BEE persons.**
6. **A holder who has maintained 26% Black person shareholding is required to top up its Black person shareholding to 30% within 12 months of the 2017 Charter coming into effect.**

**Employment Equity**

1. **Board level: 50% Black; 25% to be women**
2. **Executive/Top Management: 50% Black; 25% to be women**
3. **Senior Management: 60% Black; 30% to be women**
4. **Middle Management: 75% Black; 38% to be women**
5. **Junior Management: 88% Black; 44% to be women**

**Procurement**

1. **70% of all mining goods to be from BEE entities**
2. **80% of all services to be from BEE entities**
3. **100% of mineral samples to be analysed by SA-based firms**
4. **Foreign suppliers to pay 1% of their annual turnover to the Mining Transformation and Development Agency.**

**Beneficiation**

1. **A maximum offsetting of 11% against BEE shareholding; must meet the following criteria:**
	1. **Invested in beneficiation since 2004;**
	2. **the beneficiation must be in line with the definition of**

 **Beneficiation contained in the MPRDA;**

* 1. **the Department of Mineral Resources must approve such**

 **beneficiation;**

* 1. **11% offsetting will not apply to beneficiation that \**

**started after 2004 but has since ceased or that has been**

**terminated; and**

* 1. **11% offsetting can only be claimed if the beneficiation is**

 **still ongoing.**

 **Housing and Living Conditions**

1. **Principles, as set out in the Housing and Living Conditions Standards for the Mining and Minerals Industry, developed in terms of section 100(1)(a) of the MPRDA which includes:**
	1. **decent standards of housing;**
	2. **centrality of homeownership;**
	3. **provision for social, physical and economic integrated human settlements;**
	4. **involvement of employees in the housing administrative system;**
	5. **affordable, equitable and sustainable health system; and**
	6. **proper nutrition requirements and standards.**

**Human Resource Development**

1. **5% investment of the Leviable Amount on skills development, apportioned as follows:**
	1. **2% on essential skills development activities such as artisanal training, bursaries, literacy and numeracy skills for employees and non-employees (community members);**
	2. **1% towards South African Historically Black Academic Institutions; and**

**2% towards the Mining Transformation and Development Age.**

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