



The Spark

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CONTENTS

1. On the military coup in Zimbabwe
2. The Vlakfontein massacre
3. The massacres in Myanmar/Burma- imperialism is responsible
4. Are Security companies abusing CPUT?
5. We reject the water levy
6. We expose the Farlam Commission on the Marikana massacre



NUMSA WORKERS LEFT ANC OVER MARIKANA

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On the military coup in Zimbabwe

On Wed 15th Nov 2017 the Zimbabwe military launched a coup against the leadership of Mugabe. This takes place against a background of an attempt by imperialism to use greater force, fascistic methods and militarism on a global scale, to maintain its control over the masses. The traditional leaders have lost their hold over the masses.

In Zimbabwe, the ruling party had split and faced with the prospect of the masses and the soldiers rising against the Mugabe regime, imperialism decided to assist the military to take over. They hoped and still hope that the military will remain in control and prevent the masses from taking power into their own hands. The aim of imperialism is to maintain the regime while changing leadership. With the powerstructure intact, imperialism hopes to keep the masses in total starvation, as they have done, for years up to now.

There are some parallels with the coup in Egypt when General Sisi deposed elected leader, Morsi. The Generals played on the inability of the democratic regime to meet the needs of the masses. They posed as the friends of the masses. Gradually they cemented their control, declared a state of emergency and brutally suppressed the masses, thousands were imprisoned and many killed. Once they had consolidated their grip they lifted the charges against the deposed dictator, Mubarak and rolled back many of the gains of the Tahrir square uprising.

These same generals who claim they are standing for the people, are under the same leadership, such as Mnangagwa, who brutally suppressed the Ndebele masses when they demanded land in 1982-3. Tens of thousands were killed. Mnangagwa and Mugabe were partners in defending the bourgeois terms of the Lancaster House agreement, which kept imperialism in control. Mugabe only gave token land redistribution to war veterans and rich peasantry associated with them while leaving the commanding heights, the mines, prime land and banks in the hands of imperialism.

On Saturday 18th Nov 2017, the military is keeping the masses away from marching on State House. They are protecting the organs that have been used to control the masses

No to the military coup; we call for rank and file soldiers to set up their own committees and to break with the generals; support the masses.

No political support for Mugabe

We call for the establishment of workers and soldiers committees; for rural workers committees; for separate committees of the poor peasants;

Nationalise the land

Expropriate all the assets of imperialism, without compensation, place these under workers' control

For the immediate disbanding of the parliament and in its place the setting up of a revolutionary Constituent Assembly, with one delegate per 10 000 of the masses, subject to instant recall and that no delegate gets more than the average wage of a skilled worker.

Prepare for a general strike against the coup and for working class power

Away with the entire capitalist regime

For the setting up of new revolutionary working class parties throughout Africa.

We salute the bold stance by Numsa in support of the Zimbabwe masses. We call for the mobilisation for a general strike in SA and the rest of Southern Africa, against the coup and in support of workers' power in Zimbabwe. let us break the isolation of the Zimbabwe masses

Forward to a Federation of Socialist workers' states of Southern Africa. All military bases of imperialism, out of Botswana and the rest of Africa.

For solidarity protests by the masses in the imperialist centres, in support of workers' power in Zimbabwe and against the coup.

18.11.2017 **Workers International Vanguard League**



Vlakfontein massacre 22 Sept 2017

The Workers International Vanguard League/Party condemns the state for massacring 9 people in Vlakfontein on Friday 22nd Sept 2017. If the state had provided adequate housing for all there would have been no need to occupy land. This land has been lying vacant for many years. The capitalist state has failed to provide the basic democratic demand for adequate housing for all. The little housing that has been built, has been in the apartheid group areas, that still exist today. The state used fascist band Wozani Security to massacre and clear the land.

Internationally, there is a stagnation of the economy. The only way that profits of monopoly capital is maintained is through scams and artificial means. One such scam is the deliberate scarcity of housing, maintaining the desperation of mass homelessness so that the banks can charge a premium for land and housing. That the government has no intention of building housing for all is reflected in the change of name from Ministry of Housing, to Human settlement. Year after year, billions of the housing allocation are left unspent by government. The banks are allowed to charge speculative prices for land and housing, completely artificial. If everyone had houses then the banks would never be able to charge such ridiculous prices for housing.

To maintain the scarcity of land the state, across all municipalities have established 'anti land invasion' units. These are nothing but armed fascist bands that use violence to keep the masses off vacant land. Without the support of the state and the banks, there would be no groups such as Wozani Security, which specializes in violent evictions. Just as was the case at the Marikana massacre, the murderers, were an alliance of right wing Afrikaner and African nationalism. [Right wing farmers Johan Bosch, Dennis Klassen combine with Fuzile Balintulo and Buti Lesiela in control of Wozani Security]

There are 2,2 million households in informal settlements (about 7,3 million people). The government claims that 2/3 of these have toilets in their yards. This is misleading as often the same toilet is shared by 5 or more families. If we add the 7,9 million brick shacks (brick or block structures without flush toilets connected to the sewage), we have a total of 10,1 million households who live without the basic housing necessities, this is about 33,3 million people. [see <http://www.workersinternational.org.za/index.php/sa-main-menu/polit-parties/why-we-do-not-support-the-anc> , under the section on housing]

For the banks to maintain their profits, there has to be permanent mass homelessness. This is the role of the state, NOT to provide housing. If capitalism cannot provide our basic human needs, then let it perish. Forward to Socialism!

Workers and communities unite to form joint action committees

For self defence committees as part of the action committees

Mashaba must fall

EFF, break your alliance with the capitalist DA

Wozani Security and all anti-land invasion units must fall

Nationalise the land; no more profiteering from land and housing.

Expropriate the major construction companies and the banks, without compensation, and place these under workers control.

Adequate, free housing for all

Cosatu should break its alliance with the ANC and SACP

We need a new, revolutionary working class party.

Then we will really get Radical Economic Transformation. Now is the time.

23.9.2017 **Workers International Vanguard League/Party**



On the massacres in Myanmar- imperialism is responsible

The massacres in Myanmar/Burma are echoes of the years of slaughter in the DRC. There are haunting parallels too. More than 6 million people died in the DRC, over a number of years since 1996. In the end, hundreds of thousands of poor peasants were cleared off the land and in their place imperialist controlled mines appeared. There were dozens of different militia groups clashing with one another, supposedly in inter-ethnic fighting. Each group sustained themselves by selling minerals, gathered through primitive accumulation (child labour scooping the minerals from the soil), and selling these into the world capitalist market, to imperialist companies. Most of the world's cassiterite comes from the DRC and thus through open plunder. The working class is precarious and minimal. There is no development; just asset-stripping from the earth. The world's cellphones, laptops, playstations are all based on the cassiterite stolen from the DRC, over the dead bodies of millions. This is the barbarism of modern capitalism. Jonathan Oppenheimer is director of Umicore, that is listed by the UN as a smuggler of cassiterite. Yet the company acts with impunity. Anglo American openly lists Umicore as one of their supplier companies. This barbarism and impunity has to stop. It requires the working class of the world to organise and defeat imperialism-capitalism. Turning now to the current crisis in Myanmar.

It should be emphasized that, just as Isis does not represents Muslims, the fascist group of monks in Myanmar, do not represent Buddhism.

British imperialism always had a divide- and -rule policy. From the start of the independence of Burma there were a number of ethnic groups that were not recognised by the state, including the Rohingya. The right to citizenship and other rights such as the right to education was always denied to several ethnic groups. This was perpetuated by the 'post-colonial' regime in Burma. The country was always treated by imperialism as a source of hardwood, palm oil and minerals. The state forests have been stripped and depleted. What remains are the nature reserves and the tropical forests where the impoverished rural communities live. The draining of resources and the crisis of stagnation of the world capitalist economy has placed a strain on the Maoist regime. The state-capitalist measures and nominal protection of the poor peasant is being shattered. The 1963 law protecting the right of the peasant was overturned in 2012.

The imperialist World Bank drafted a new law for Myanmar on the land. It dictated that land be open for foreign, capitalist control and that there should be no environmental safeguards as pre-requisite to foreign control. If the government passed any measure to limit the profit of any foreign company then the company could have recourse to the international court of arbitration.

In 2011 an openly capitalist leader was elected to lead government, President Thein Sein. He implemented the World Bank plan. In 2012 new laws were passed to give foreign companies 100% control of any land they purchased, giving them 70 year leases, with the option to have these extended.

The imperialists wanted the land. The problem was that, across Myanmar, the masses were living there. In 2012 the regime used the rape of a woman in Arakan state to begin rousing ultra nationalist Buddhist fascist forces to drive the masses off the land. Thus in the north of the country, hundreds of thousands of Rohingya were driven off the land. But in the north and south poor peasants, mostly Buddhist, were also driven off the land, by the military and sometimes by regional armed opposition groups. From 2012 to date, the vast majority of masses driven off the land are Buddhist. In the 1990's there were no major killings of the Rohingya and other impoverished masses. The killings accelerated from 2012 when the World Bank grab for land was being implemented.



The main forces driving the masses off the land are the regime and the regional armed groups, some of which are nominal opposition to the regime. Be they government or anti-government forces, their aim is to get a state concession for 'developing' land. The hardwood, from the cutting down of the forests is called 'conversion timber'. At the start of 2012 only 7000 hectares of forest were lost due to 'rural development'. Since then about 1 million acres per year has been cut down. The supposed cover is 'rural development' but development is minimal. For example, a local company gets a contract for a road in a forest. As part of this they are allowed to cut down the forest at the side of the road. A nominal road is built but the forest is cut down. There are cases of concessions for 200 000 acres being awarded for 'development' but only 20 000 is developed while the 200 000 acres have all the trees cut down and not replaced. Myanmar has already lost $\frac{1}{3}$ of its forests through this blatant plunder.

The terrorising of the rural masses by the regime and regional armed groups aims at expelling them and then burning their homes so that they cannot return. In its place, concessions are given to local companies. However these companies are fronting for imperialist corporates as the main destination of the hardwood, the minerals and palm oil raw material is either the EU or the USA.

Chinese companies also operate in the north of Myanmar and form joint partnerships with local armed groups. They also extract timber and minerals that have their destination in the EU and the USA. The operation of the Chinese companies is subsidised by the Chinese state through its 'opium substitution programme' [a state subsidy to supposedly curb the production of opium through funding other agricultural activities]. Some of the goods plundered from northern Myanmar goes into the Chinese market. Ironically some drug production in the north of Myanmar also finds its way into China.

The recent attacks by the so-called Rohingya armed groups on police stations and on some Buddhist temples plays into the hands of imperialism. The state and regional armed groups are presented with a cover to act in the north, committing atrocities in order to clear the land.

Those forces who portray the fight as one being between the Rohingya and the Buddhist are mistaken. Their position creates and reinforces the artificial divide long ago imposed by imperialism. The de facto Prime Minister, Aung Suu Kyi, pretends as if no massacres are taking place and in so doing aids imperialism capitalism in the brutal subjugation of the masses.

Imperialist agents such as Erdogan, and the UN, claim that the fight is between the Muslim Rohingya and the Buddhist. In this way they perpetuate a permanent divide among the masses. They actually strengthen the military regime in Myanmar as nationalist or religious fervour is swept up. Meanwhile both Muslim and Buddhist are being chased off the land.

It is noteworthy that imperialism placed sanctions on Myanmar until they passed the World Bank law. Since the accelerated killings of 2012 to date, imperialism has few sanctions against the regime. This shows that the role of sanctions was to ensure direct imperialist control and blatant plunder. Since 2012, for example, timber exports from Burma/Myanmar have increased to Germany, USA, France, China and Turkey, among others. Ironically, Turkey has increased timber imports while sending aid to refugees displaced by the Myanmar regime. This is subsidizing the expulsion plans of imperialism.

The Chinese regime support the New Democracy army and the Kachin Independent Organization. These armed groups are clearing the masses off the land. The Myanmar army is also clearing the masses off the land. The activities of the Rohingya armed group, by attacking police stations and Buddhist temples are playing into the hands of the regime and imperialism.



For joint committees of Muslim- Buddhist and other groups, having self defence units as part of the committees;

No to forced removal from the land

Nationalise the land, under the control of agricultural workers and committees of poor peasants

Expropriate all the foreign and local corporations, without compensation, and placed under workers' control

Full and equal rights to all minorities

For the right of return of all refugees irrespective of religious belief

For an unfettered Constituent Assembly, with 1 delegate per 10 000 people, constituency representation, delegates subject to instant recall and not earning more than the wage of an average skilled worker.

Away with the Myanmar regime.

Forward to a government of workers and poor peasants.

For workers' blockade of all goods from Myanmar and blocking of arms to the regime.

Stop the killing of the masses

Stop the destruction of the forests

For mass pickets at all the embassies of the US, UK, France, Germany, the UN, against their complicity in the massacres

Solidarity with the refugees

7 September 2017 amended 12 September 2017 Workers International Vanguard Party/League



Joint march of Saftu and Water Crisis Coalition against new labour laws and high water tariffs



Are security companies using CPUT as their playground, for contracts?

On the 13th September 2017, it was reported that 28 of the private security brought onto campus by CPUT management, were arrested for having fraudulent paperwork. They had been brought onto campus by Pro Events security, who could not keep up with the demand requested by CPUT. The direct beneficiary of the arrests was Vetus Schola, who could supply extra staff. Psira, the regulatory body for the security industry, takes months before they even look into a complaint and they normally require a case number. How is it that within days they acted, together with the police? The only ones who gained from the arrests was Vetus Schola.

For 'work' done in 2016 Vetus Schola sent a bill to CPUT of R35 million, for less than a month's activity. Clearly Vetus Schola has a lot to gain from having its contract extended. It is not known if the bill was paid.

A few days ago, just before the contract of Vetus Schola was about to expire, there was a fire at Bellville campus Finance office. The contract of Vetus Schola was then extended.

At the Monday meeting (25 Sept 2017) of students with the CPUT Convocation, students shared video evidence of Vetus Schola attacking a female student on campus. No action has yet been taken against the company.

On Wed 27th Sept 2017, there was a mass meeting of workers and students on Cape Town campus of CPUT. They received a report of the University Convocation intervening to help resolve the crisis. At about 3pm the workers and students unanimously resolved that the workers would return to work the next day (28th Sept 2017) to give mediation from CCMA, the Convocation and Access to Justice, a chance to help resolve the crisis at the University. They immediately informed CPUT management of their decision. At about 4pm the workers and students dispersed. At about 5pm the historic St Mark's church was set alight.

Within hours it was reported that a CPUT student had been arrested for possession of a petrol bomb and he was being linked to the arson. There started circulating on social media photos of the student, his student card as well as images of the burnt parts of the church. Vetus schola has taken over control of the video room. So the pics could only have been circulated by them. None of the photos actually show any petrol bomb nor of the student actually burning the church. The student's photo and student card are shown together with the images of the burnt spaces. The obvious association is that the student was the one to set fire to the church. This is violation of the student's rights. This is trial by WhatsApp. There is no evidence that the student is guilty of anything. The net effect of the fire and images is that the contract of Vetus Schola is once again extended at massive cost to the university.

Vetus Schola has been linked with farm worker deaths in the strikes of 2012-2013. They has also been linked with massive violence against students at UCT.

A look at the website of Vetus Schola (meaning old school- which in the SA context means, apartheid methods of suppression), shows their violent approach of contesting an enemy that needs to be subdued and defeated. The Farlam Commission report, limited as it was, pointed out to this approach as being one of the central factors that led to the Marikana massacre. Farlam called for a re-training of the police to be able to use minimum force and to have training in negotiations to de-escalate conflict.



There is a world-wide trend to use mercenary forces to maintain control in the hands of imperialism capitalism. This is because the masses have lost faith in the traditional parties. These parties have lost support as they have carried out heavy attacks on the masses, all in the interest of saving the profits of big capital. There is evidence that the rise of increased militarization has sparked increased resistance from the masses.

Vetus Schola, police and private security off our campuses
Expropriate the mines and banks, without compensation, place them under workers' control
Forward to free-quality education for all
Lift the suspension on the 4 students
End casualization on campus; equal pay for equal work
For a mediated solution to the current crisis at CPUT.

WIVL 28.9.2017



We reject the proposed water levy; we need a rational use of available water

We agree with the Outa (Organization Undoing Tax Abuse) position rejecting the proposed water levy. However the critique does not go far enough. At the heart of the water crisis in Cape Town is a drive by the various levels of government to create business opportunities for big capital. The amounts at stake will make the billions pilfered by the Guptas look like a garden picnic. Under the guise of water conferences the division of the spoils is being hammered out between the representatives of the big capitalists. Privatization is being



promoted by Water Institutes that have been set up overnight. Yet there is enough water and the drought conditions are being used to bulldoze 'get rich quick' schemes for the elite.

No to water wastage

Nationally, the bulk of water, some 60%, is used for irrigation. Yet the efforts of the City and Western Cape government have steered away from measures to encourage water saving in the agricultural sector. There are still huge inefficiencies in how water is used in agribusiness. Each year 30% of food produced has to be thrown away. This is a loss of over R60 bn per year. Big business rather creates a scarcity of food, so they can charge high prices. No matter that millions go to bed hungry. Thus almost 20% of all water used in the country is wasted through food hoarding by big capital. This has to end.

No to water bottling and privatization

There is so much water that water bottlers are mushrooming like daisies in Spring. There are even businesses opening using the waste water from the bottler operations. They are offering to sell loads of 16 000 litres at a time. The website www.waterfootprint.org estimates that 5.3 litres of water is used to make the container of a 500 ml bottle of water. They estimate that it takes 72 litres of water to produce a litre of Coke. So, supposedly, in the drought of the century, under the guise of saving water, more water is wasted to produce bottled water. The large retailers are overflowing with bottled water, yet for every 1 million litres of bottled water sold, at least 5 million litres of water is wasted. This is obscene. According to the SANBWA (SA National Bottled Water Association), the water that the retailers produce is tap water. This too is an outrage. The rational thing to do is to halt all water bottling operations so that all this spring and other appropriate water sources are diverted into the municipal system. This is especially important as there is no coherent plan for the recycling of the plastic water bottles. In the USA, only about 20% of water bottles is recycled. It is likely to be much lower here. There is also a wealth of literature on the harmful effects of the plastic leaching into the water, making it a health risk (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/m/pubmed/21050888/?i=5&from=/23561160/related>). The health risks are greater with carbonated/sparkling water as the leaching process is faster. The 2007 regulation on water bottling is deficient as there is no compulsion to report on concentrations of pesticide, mercury, lead, formaldehyde, Antimony, and other harmful substances.

Water from wine

Even further, it is estimated that it takes **872 litres of water to produce 1 litre of wine** and **296 litres of water to produce 1 litre of beer**. Put this in context of SA producing 1123 million litres of wine in 2015, this is more than 900 billion litres of water. Considering that about 30% of all food produced is wasted, the wine and beer industry could easily reduce production by 10%. This would immediately make available at least 90 bn litres of water, the equivalent of over 22 weeks of water for the City of Cape Town. Clearly, the reduction in wine and beer production could even be increased to 30% if need be. Less alcohol would mean fewer road deaths too.

The Reclaim Camissa project

There is also the heroic work of the **Reclaim Camissa** project. They have tried for many years to persuade the City and the Province to have the water from 36 springs and 4 rivers around Table Mountain to be rehabilitated and made available for common use. According to them, there are many millions of litres of water that is flowing into the sea every day. The government has delayed to make use of this water. Recently, only the Oranjezicht spring waters is being used for potable municipal water. The vast majority of the water from the Camissa springs still flows wasted into the sea. It appears that water scarcity is being exacerbated. Only the big capitalists who are lining up for business ventures, will benefit. If, as a minimum estimate, 20 million litres are wasted from the Camissa springs every day, this would amount to over 7 billion litres for the year, or at least 3 weeks supply to the City of Cape Town. If the spring waters at Franschoek, Cederberg and other



mountain ranges are included, the available water could be even more substantial. Ironically the SA Breweries uses millions of litres of Table Mountain water, which they get for free, to make beer, while the masses have to line up, under restrictions, like cattle, to get a few drops of spring water. Profit of the monopolies trump the needs of the masses. The City is on record in actively discouraging the masses from using spring water, yet the corporates and commercial farms have free use.

Fix the leaks; No to water restrictors

The City has identified over 50 000 high water users. Only at the end of winter did they take any measures to reduce this usage of over 20 000 litres per month for these households. The question is: How many of these are poor households that cannot afford to fix leaks? Surely a sizeable number of them. Only belatedly has the City indicated that 'indigent' households can apply for free plumbing services to fix leaks. This has not been widely publicized and most likely it is being implemented with a pre-condition of a water-restrictor device being installed. This is inhumane. Water is life. The City is using the crisis to install water-restrictors so that water can be privatised, facing huge hikes in tariffs just as in the case of electricity. The City has even purchased 200 000 water restrictors without a public consultation process. Assuming a cost of R2000 per device, this means that the City already spent R400 million. This money could have been used for water purification and fixing the numerous leaks in the system as well as various social water upgrading projects.

Clear the canals that feed the dams

All levels of government must also take responsibility for allowing the canals feeding the Voelvlei dam to be blocked. Just in last year, the loss was over 7.5 billion litres of water, or at least 3 weeks of water for the City of Cape Town. The City cannot plead poverty as they have thousands of workers employed in the EPWP activities. Freeing up some of them would easily have cleared the canals. Are all the canals that feed all the dams open? Has this been independently audited?

Move away from flushing with potable water

Lastly, it is irrational that 10-20% of domestic potable water usage goes for flushing the toilet. There is technology available that recycles sewage back into the flush toilet system. (see eg www.gustoholdings.co.za). These can immediately be rolled out in all informal settlements as part of a plan to move these towards formal housing; they could also be made compulsory on new housing development and the mass of high rise flats that are springing up all over Cape Town. At the same time, all new development should include a component for rainwater harvesting. A subsidy system should be put in place to enable a faster move towards rainwater harvesting. The extraction of water from air, through graphene technology could also be rolled out at all schools and clinics. Once again, these ideas have been long ago punted with the City of Cape Town, only to be ignored.

Concluding remarks

Access to sufficient water for all is a basic human right. It should not be a business opportunity for big capital. There is no basis for a new water levy. Further funds can be raised through reducing the councillors' salaries to the minimum wage and through taxing the large companies and the large commercial farms that have been extracting spring water for private profit.. Let us form water committees in all areas to drive water saving and resistance to the privatization of the means of life. No to water restrictors. Reverse the privatization of water (the 2007 regulation) so that water is decommodified. We need a new workers' party to end all exploitation.

Further references:



<https://vimeo.com/39885478?ref=fb-share> Reclaim Camissa on 50-50 in 2010. There is enough water

<https://www.banthebottle.net/bottled-water-facts/>

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Saftu and communities surround the City representatives on the historic march 25th April 2018



On the Farlam Commission report and the Marikana massacre

The leadership of the SACP, NUM, Cosatu and the ANC would have us believe that the striking mineworkers at Marikana were 'violent', that they were thugs. The Farlam Commission report, limited as it is, shows the contrary.

Despite the political manipulation of the conclusions of the Farlam Commission by imperialism and the ruling party, **the evidence is very clear that the ANC leaders, the NUM leaders and the Lonmin bosses worked together to massacre the striking mineworkers' leaders.**

A central point made by the Commission was:

'It is clear from the evidence that either none, or very few, of the strikers who were killed had been shooting at the police.' [page 375, paragraph 1083 of the Farlam final, published report]

If you consider that none of the police suffered a single gunshot wound, nor even a scratch and that not a single bullet was found from the supposed shots fired by workers, **we can only conclude that not a single worker, who was killed by the police, had shot at the police.**

This exposes the lie of the police that the workers had 'planned to attack and kill police' on the 16th Aug 2012. This shows that the strikers were unarmed. The Farlam report rather loosely used the term 'armed' to mean: carrying sticks, kieries, pangas or spears. This was a deliberate exaggeration by the police to cover up their planned massacre, which the Farlam Commission did not expose strongly enough.

The SACP has long argued that the first step towards Socialism is for a 'national democratic revolution', namely that in order to achieve the democratic programme, it was necessary to hold back the working class from taking power on its own and that a multiclass alliance, of the working class and the indigenous, oppressed middle class and capitalist class, had to assume the reins of power.

The Marikana massacre shows that not only is the alliance unable to achieve even the most basic democratic demand around housing and the dismantling of the migrant labour system, but on all major questions, the indigenous, formerly oppressed, middle class has sided with big capital against the interests of the working class. The big monopolies are more entrenched than ever.

The mineworkers showed the way by establishing independent committees that were based on delegates from the employed workers and the unemployed from the surrounding communities. This political break from the ANC and SACP started with the mineworkers and extended to the break of the Numsa workers from these parties. The #feesmustfall student-worker movement owed its successes in that it broke decisively from the domination of the ANC-SACP as well as the parliamentary parties.

The central point here is that the path to achieving even the most basic democratic demands, can only be achieved by the working class taking political power on its own. The bourgeois apparatus proved itself unable to even have a full investigation into the massacre and failed to come up with fundamental recommendations to undercut the violence that is the centre of the exploitation on the mines. The only path to the decisive expropriation of the commanding heights lies in the hands of the working class taking political power. No other class has the interest to carry out this step. Even the partial and vague demands of the Freedom Charter are incapable of being realized through an ANC govt nor any govt that leaves the current repressive apparatus intact.

In short, if the mineworkers want justice, they need to organise the entire working class independently and against the capitalist state.



The state had planned to massacre the leaders of the strike

The report goes on to say:

'The obvious question, then, is why they were shot. The explanation is that this was a paramilitary operation, with the aim of annihilating those who were perceived as the enemy.' [page 375-6; paragraph 1083]

There we have it, the state planned and carried out a paramilitary operation to annihilate the leaders of the strikers, knowing full well that they were unarmed. Thus it is no accident that many of the police had their R5 rifles on machine-gun mode on the 16th Aug 2012.

The point is, ***why did imperialism and the state consider a massacre necessary.*** We turn to the reasons below.

Anglo American was the driving force behind the massacre

Cyril Ramaphosa reported that industry was pressurising him to end the strike. There are 3 main players in the Platinum sector: Amplats (Anglo American, by far the biggest), Lonmin and Implats.

In January 2012 there was a strike at Implats where the bosses were forced to increase the wages of the RDO's (Rock Drill Operators). The bosses were scared that if the workers' won their demands at Lonmin then Amplats would be next. This was to be avoided at all costs. Thus Amplats brought pressure on the Lonmin bosses to end the strike as soon as possible. In fact NUM leaders confirmed (p489) that Anglo Platinum had raised concerns over the demands of the RDO's with them. This is further evidence of the complicity of Anglo American in the massacre.

At stake was not just a matter of a single wage negotiations but the entire basis of cheap labour, the very foundation of capitalism was being threatened by the workers' committees. More on this later.

In 1973 the copper mines in Chile were expropriated by the Allende government. Chase Manhattan bank (main shareholder of Anglo American), Pepsi and Anaconda copper (main shareholder, the Rockefellers), held a meeting where they decided that the government should be overthrown. The CIA supported a military coup in September 1973 on behalf of these capitalists. There is a long history of violence by Anglo American and others, across Africa, across South America, in Asia, against the working class and broader masses. Millions have died at their hands. This is further political evidence that indeed Anglo American was the main driving force behind the Marikana massacre. In this case, more precisely, US and British imperialism were behind the Marikana massacre. The mining revolt had to be put out at all costs.

There was also the factor that the strikes at Implats and Lonmin had set up **independent committees**, which united workers irrespective of union affiliation. This posed a serious threat to imperialism in SA and indeed across the region. This is because the union structures are used by imperialism as a means to hold wages and conditions down. In particular in SA, the Cosatu union leaders play a major role in maintaining low wages.

NUM has a bargaining process where workers have general meetings to draft demands but before demands are submitted to the bosses, it first goes to a forum where the demands are checked and adjusted downwards so that they meet the industry 'norms'. Then the demands are passed on to the bosses. The rise of independent committees would mean the breaking of the iron grip of the union bureaucracy that is a central component of maintaining the current cheap labour system on the mines and in the broader economy. The independent committees would have provided a fundamental challenge to the cheap labour system that capitalism thrives on in SA and in much of the neo-colonial world.



Considering that in 2012 NUM was the main union in the mining sector and that Anglo American is the main boss therein, there was (and still is) a cosy relation between these 2 to maintain the system of cheap labour. Further, considering that various ANC leaders are on the boards of the mines, the essence of the Cosatu-ANC-SACP alliance is a partnership with Anglo American (who controls the bulk of the the economy in SA and the region) in maintaining capitalist relations here. The rise of worker revolt against capitalist regimes around the globe since 2011 was also reflected in the mineworkers' revolt, in SA, of 2012 onwards and in the workers' revolts in Numsa, the farm workers' struggles and in the #feesmustfall worker-student movement.

Thus imperialism had a broader objective of smothering a workers' revolt here as part of their efforts to put out the flames of revolution around the world. In Egypt when the masses toppled the hated Mubarak regime, imperialism installed a military regime in its place. In Syria, imperialism united all their reactionary forces in the world against the heroic masses. In SA, imperialism launched the Marikana massacre to protect the cheap labour system that capitalism depends on.

The Tahrir Square revolt inspired the working class and broader masses around the world; it sparked the Occupy Wall Street movement in the USA, the occupation of public squares in Greece and Spain and many other countries. A successful workers' uprising in South Africa could have inspired the masses even more. This is why imperialism had to crush the strike and the independent committees, even if it meant a massacre. This is the bloody history of how imperialism gains and sustains its control of the masses.

The structure of the mining industry

The Journal of Southern African Studies (Ashman, Newman, Fine) reports that theft by mining companies over many decades, before 1994 and since 1994 has been quite massive. All the mines and banks in South Africa are controlled by imperialism, even the Reserve Bank is controlled by JP Morgan Chase. Besides the huge profits, the mining companies/imperialism have been taking out, through illegal means, about R200bn per annum. The rate of theft increased since 1994 and reached its peak in 2007 when over R600bn was illegally taken out by Anglo American and others. These funds could have wiped out unemployment and homelessness overnight; they could also have provided free, quality education and health care for all, not only for SA but the whole Southern African region.

The entire structure of the SA economy is based on the extraction of raw minerals and primary agricultural goods by imperialism, for export. In other words, the economy is being limited deliberately, in the main, to the production of raw materials and thus is still primarily based on cheap labour. The 18 years since 1994 up to the Marikana massacre, had not transformed the cheap labour basis of the economy. If anything, the cheap labour economy has been entrenched.

The government and Cosatu and NUM leaders are all aware of this and are complicit in maintaining these slave relations. The previous Reserve Bank governor, Tito Mboweni, who was supposed to challenge this theft, turned a blind eye, taking up Chairmanship of Anglo Gold, after retiring; an ex Director General of the Dept Minerals and Energy, took up a CEO post at Bokoni Platinum, a joint venture with Anglo American; the SACP investment company has shares in Kamenji Platinum mine. The Cosatu investment company has stakes in mining as well. The Zuma and Gupta families run labour brokers on the mines; Ramaphosa and Sexwale have a stake in security firms on the mines. Lonmin loaned Ramaphosa the funds to buy shares in Lonmin itself.

Thus we can now see that the ANC has replaced the old NP as chief of security for the mining monopolies, and is just as willing, for a few pennies, to commit massacres for them.

So confident were the Lonmin bosses of the support of the ANC that they only built 3 of the 5500 houses they had promised in their 'Social Labour Plan' that was one of their conditions for receiving a mining licence. Thus the Lonmin bosses were maintaining the migrant labour system on their mines but were confident that with an ANC leader on their board, they would not be challenged on this at all.



By contrast, the mineworkers had broken from the alliance with the ANC and SACP, and were spearheading the taking back of a tiny amount of the trillions that Anglo American and others were taking out of the country.



Further evidence that a massacre was planned

On the 14th Aug 2012 the Lonmin bosses met the police and agreed with a plan to massacre the workers; the provincial commissioner of police met with the National Management Forum (NMF) on the evening of the 15th Aug 2012 where the plan was finalised. The recording of this NMF meeting was lost- the police did not put the recording into its safe as per procedure but handed it to a police officer, who 'lost' it.

Commissioner Mbombo was recorded in the meeting of 14th Aug 2012 to remark that she also liked the plan to have snipers. This was conveniently left out of the Farlam Commission report but was captured in the Mail & Guardian. This links up with the shooting of one of the strikers who was shot in the back from 200m by the police.

The police ordered, in advance, 4000 extra R5 bullets and 4 extra mortuary vehicles (which could take 16 bodies).

The earlier records of the Lonmin security meetings where the NUM officials were present, which identified leaders of the strikers, were mysteriously lost. In its place the Lonmin bosses claimed that the strikers were a 'faceless' group. This is despite having wide camera footage of the entire strike. The claimed to know that the 'militant group' was about 300 strikers, yet mysteriously did not know any of their names- they were faceless, the company kept on repeating.



The police had a 10 day conference (27 Aug to 8 Sept 2012) after the massacre to prepare their statements. (This was the so-called Roots conference). They had another parallel set of meetings at the same time, from the 27th Aug to 20 Sept 2012, which was not to draw the lessons but to try and correct the story which was emerging from the initial meeting. The minutes of these parallel meetings have also disappeared. This is the conclusion of the conservative SA Human Rights Commission:

'They submit that the SAPS did in fact use Roots as an opportunity to collude in that various aspects of the case of the South African Police Services are materially false and that the South African Police Services failed to comply fully with its discovery obligation to discover vital documents relevant to the process.' page 403 of the Farlam report.

Mr X who was brought in by the police to strengthen their case of 'striker violence', was so totally discredited that all his 'evidence' was rejected, except that on the so called use of muti. We say that his evidence should be rejected in toto as he could have been lying on aspects of the muti as well. He mentioned nothing about strikers wanting to attack police in his initial statement, but 2 years after the massacre, after he had rejoined NUM, he suddenly remembered that strikers planned to attack the police.

Mr X and other witnesses confirmed that strikers had no intention of attacking the settlements. Why would the strikers attack the very places where they stayed? This exposed the lie of the police who claimed they put the barbed wire in position to protect the residential area. So why was the barbed wire placed in these positions?

The police claim that the original plan was to roll out the barb wire all at once, early in the morning and then surround and disperse the few strikers who had come to the koppie.

The police claimed the one set of barbed wire was to protect the residential area. We know now this was not true. It seems that the real aim of rolling out the barbed wire in 2 directions was to create a channel to direct the strikers to the police with R5 rifles, where they were to be machine-gunned down. The barbed wire was rolled out bit by bit so that the rank and file striker were allowed out. The police knew the leaders would remain behind until the mass of strikers had dispersed safely. The police knew that if they rolled it all out at the same time, there would be a mass of strikers and the leaders would be mixed with the rank and file and there would be no chance to execute them.

After Mthunjwa spoke the miners on the 16th Aug 2012 they were already dispersing. Yet, the police still carried out their attack. Teargas was shot into the leadership group, splitting it, driving the front group with Mambush towards the TRT(Tactical Response Team) team who cut them down in a fusillade (firing squad).

The very police group, with General Naidoo, that was supposed to be bringing the medics to the dying and wounded at scene 1, left and went hunting strikers at koppie 3 for more than 1 hour. The Commission concluded that if the medics had come straight away, more lives could have been saved. The group of police with General Naidoo, which was to take care of the medics, was found to be the unit that killed the most strikers at koppie 3. At koppie 3, five different police units converged on the remaining strikers- thus their plan was to split the militant group, drive the one part to the firing squad, the other into the field, where they would be surrounded and shot. That was the real plan.

The Commission speculates that the strikers could have been attacking police because they had lost 2 of their comrades on the 13th Aug clash with the police. On the 13th Aug, the police, including General Mbembe, went to confront the 'militant group' that was marching back to the koppie. The police fired on the strikers and in the ensuing attack on the strikers, 2 workers were murdered by the police and 2 police were killed. Yet the Commission said the strikers would have motive for revenge and does not draw the same conclusion about the police. These same TRT members attacked General Mbembe and wanted to kill him on the 13th Aug because they felt his reckless actions had caused the loss of lives of 2 of their members. These same TRT were there



at the massacre on the 16th Aug and they were leading members of the fusillade that gunned down Mambush and his comrades. Revenge was clearly on their mind. The Commission did not even mention this.

In fact, none of the police who pulled the trigger, except for some of their leaders, were even called to testify. Thus their written statements were checked by lawyers beforehand and cannot be taken seriously. In fact, except for the deaths of 2 strikers, the police did not and could not explain the deaths of the others at and around koppie 3. Even in the case of the 2 strikers where an explanation was given, it was consistent with strikers running away and not of attacking police.

The role of the Cabinet in the massacre

On the morning of the 17th Aug 2012, the then Minister of police, Nathi Mthetwa, had a joint parade with the National Commissioner of Police, of the police teams who had carried out the massacre.

Riah Phiyega said that the massacre was *'the best of responsible policing'* [p 388]. In other words, shooting down unarmed protestors with machine guns, is what police should do, if the profits of big capital are being challenged..

In supporting the National Commissioner, the Minister of Police had the following to say:

'You must know that as your Minister and on behalf of the Government, the Executive as a whole, on behalf of the President of the Republic, Commander in Chief of all the armed forces in this country, we are all behind you. We know what we have gone through this period, this week and we would want you to continue ensuring that lives are saved, property is protected against anybody who would want to do bad things in this country.... There will be criticism [inaudible – of lives?] lost but here as your leadership we are confident that what you have done you did it in trying to ensure that the rule of law reigns in South Africa. We are not going to allow anybody to run amok in the country, to want to turn South Africa into a banana republic. It would be painful and it is painful that in the process life is lost but we are a professional force and we must keep to that. We must ensure that at all times we do everything in our power so that anarchists do not think that SA is their stage. From the bottom of my heart as your Minister, I want to thank you on behalf of our government. I want to thank you and commend what you are doing. Continue to protect your country. Continue to protect the citizens of South Africa. It is your duty. It is your constitutional obligation. And I thank you.' [pages 389-390]

The statements by the 'democratic' government, was worse than the apartheid government after the Sharpsville massacre in 1960. The apartheid government made no pretence that it represented the people but the ANC government does.

There is debate around details if the Cabinet met before the 16th Aug to order the massacre. The state denies this. But Mthetwa's statement meant that the Cabinet did endorse the massacre and must have discussed it even if they were not all in the same room at the time. In addition, the government has never rebutted or challenged Mthetwa's statement.

Even the expert of the police argued that it was impossible, in a democracy, for such armed forces to be gathered without the direction of the Executive. We agree with him. Mthetwa refused to answer any questions about the role of the executive prior to 17th Aug 2012, showing that he was deliberately hiding its role. ex-Cosatu leader, then MInister of Minerals, Susan Shabangu, had also indicated to Ramaphosa that she was on her way to a Cabinet meeting to get their intervention because the matter had allegedly gone beyond a labour dispute.



Even the Farlam Commission points to then Police Minister, Mthethwa's involvement. When discussing one of the possible reasons for the decision of the NMF (National Management Forum of the police) on the 15th Aug 2012, to carry out the massacre, was due to support from the executive.

'If guidance of the executive played a role, then it is probable that such guidance was conveyed to the NMF by Minister Mthethwa. The Commission wishes to emphasise that it is not finding that such „guidance“ was given. It is, however, unable in the light of what has been said above to find positively in Minister Mthethwa's favour on the point.' [p452-453]

In other words, it is highly likely that Mthethwa conveyed the blessing of Cabinet for the massacre to go ahead. The only thing which prevents a clear finding is that the state had destroyed evidence of the Executive's involvement.

The statement by Mthethwa on the 17th Aug 2012, however, shows that the ANC government knew that a massacre was planned and was a willing tool of imperialism to crush a workers' revolt.

Thus our conclusion is that the ANC government planned and carried out the Marikana massacre. Zuma and Blade knew about it, they all knew about it. Zuma must have given the order for the massacre.

The sudden trip out of the country by Zuma just before the 16th Aug 2012 was to disguise his leading role in the massacre

The role of Ramaphosa in the massacre

Ramaphosa did not have funds to buy shares in Lonmin. In fact Lonmin loaned his company, Shanduka, the funds to buy shares. Thus the Lonmin capitalists own Ramaphosa as indeed big capital/imperialism owns all the BEE capitalists.

During the 2012 strike the Lonmin bosses instructed Ramaphosa to use his political connections with the ANC government to get the armed forces in to crush it.

The Farlam Commission acknowledges that the events leading up the massacre started with Ramaphosa calling, meeting and emailing his political connections in the police and in Cabinet.

This is how the Farlam Commission summed up the relationship:

'The interests of Lonmin, the African National Congress, and the interests of those with whom he had personal relationships, were not incompatible' [page 434 para 980]

Thus we can see the true meaning of BEE- big capital uses a black face to carry out violence against the masses. BEE is an instrument of control by the capitalist in a situation where a white face was used in the past but is now unable to achieve the same result, namely the maintenance of super-exploitation.

So confident was Ramaphosa that the strike would be smashed on 16th Aug, that he scheduled a meeting with then NUM President Zokwana and NUM Secretary Baleni on the 17th Aug, to discuss rebuilding NUM at Lonmin.



One of the helicopters that was used in the massacre by the police was owned by Protea coin, a company that Ramaphosa was linked with. (in 2006 Ramaphosa had been a director of Rebserve, the owner of Protea security company).

Thus Ramaphosa was not only involved in providing security to the Lonmin mine through his security firm but also through political connections with the state and its armed forces.

The Farlam Commission had no problem with the Lonmin company stealing hundreds of millions from the workers and the country- that was apparently beyond the scope of the Commission. At the same time the Farlam Commission had no problem with Ramaphosa, the other Lonmin bosses and the state working together to perpetuate such theft by the capitalists. This shows the capitalist basis of the Commission. Exploitation is fine, according to Farlam, just use pistols and not automatic machine guns to shoot the workers. Here was an ex mineworkers leader, Ramaphosa, who even the Farlam Commission found, was insufficiently paying attention to the underlying labour dispute (p 430-431). Yet he is sent around the world by the ANC govt to 'mediate' in disputes; he was even placed in charge of overseeing the Eskom crisis. His leading role in getting the state to set up a firing squad (a 'fusillade', in the words of the Commission) to execute mineworkers, whose conditions he knew deeply, **shows that the upper middle class, whether black or white, in times of crisis, will always side with big capital.** The unanimous endorsement of the massacre by the Cabinet is also political proof of this.

The SACP has long based its 2-stage theory of SA, that first, the ANC (the black middle class) must be placed in power and then, at some indefinite stage in the future, Socialism would magically appear. The SACP and Cosatu leaders have long placed unity with this black middle class, in the form of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, above the need for working class unity, with the white worker and with other workers who are not ANC supporters.

The Marikana massacre is the logical consequence of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, of the SACP's 2-stage revolution. Instead of placing workers' interest into government, it ties workers' interest to big capital. It did not matter that the Lonmin bosses had been stealing on a massive scale and the workers were rightfully rising against this. The positions of privilege of the ANC-SACP and Cosatu leaders were coming under threat. The ANC, SACP and Cosatu leaders united with the Lonmin bosses, against the workers. The NUM workers have changed their leaders but are still politically tied to the ANC, ie tied to suppress workers' interest in favour of the black middle class.

Operation Fiela, which is a militarised crackdown on the masses, under the guise of an anti-crime operation, is proof that more massacres will happen. The real criminals, the big bosses, who steal hundreds of billions every year, are left untouched but some of the petty crooks are targeted for a short time, in a publicity stunt. This is a desperate attempt to rebuild the crooked image of the police, as is the capitalist media campaign which tries to portray the fake image of police being under attack. Yet many more people are still being killed by the police than the few deaths that are happening to them.

The above begins to sketch why all working class formations should break with the ANC.

The role of NUM as strike breakers

The role of a union is supposed to be to defend and advance the basic interests of their members. In the current stage of capitalist decline, we often find that the union leadership can become a major stumbling block in the path of the fight for workers' demands. Instead of leading workers' struggles, often the union leaders hold back the struggles of workers; the union leaders often openly side with the bosses.



In South Africa, since 1994, big capital/imperialism is ruling through the alliance of government with a major part of the trade unions, namely Cosatu, with the SACP as its theoretical head. It can be appropriately called an alliance for low wages, high profits and high unemployment.

Cosatu leaders and the SACP played a major role in watering down the demands of the masses before 1994- this process culminated in the RDP programme, a limited set of mild demands which curbed the demands of the masses for the expropriation of the commanding heights. Even this limited programme was not achieved and was watered down further into the Gear programme. Every mass action and general strike since 1994 was turned into a purely economic exercise which protected the rule of big capital. There have been many moments of resistance by the working class since 1990, where the masses began to break with the SACP and ANC, such as the occupation of the Mercedes Benz factory (1990) and the occupation of the VWSA factory (2000), the march of the soldiers to the Union buildings in 2009, etc. Each time the state in alliance with the SACP and Cosatu leaders has cracked down heavily on the working class.

The rise of the Social movements since 2000 was also a sign of the maturing of the masses and the breaking of constitutional illusions. The strike that started on the 10th Aug 2012 marked a qualitative break with the alliance, that unleashed not only the longest mineworkers strikes in the history of SA but led to the break of Numsa from the alliance. Independent workers committees were set up.

Not only did the NUM leaders sit with the police and Lonmin management to identify strike leaders, they actively encouraged workers to break the strike and drove around in transport, provided by the mine, to help encourage workers to go back to work. On the 11th Aug 2012, when workers were marching to the stadium, Num officials emerged from their office, guns in hand and shot at the unarmed strikers, 1 was killed and another seriously injured. What is strange is that there was a heavy police presence on the mine on the 10th Aug 2012. The next day, the 11th Aug, there was no significant presence of police when the NUM officials fired on the strikers.

The NUM officials were well aware the RDO's at Lonmin were underpaid but signed a two year agreement with Lonmin, where they were the sole bargaining union, which excluded addressing the wage demands of the RDO's. This agreement was due to last until late in 2013. The NUM leaders were thus an instrument of the bosses, holding back the wage demands of the workers.

The Farlam report debates whether NUM could have prevented the strike. The NUM leaders admit they could have raised the demands of the demands of the Rock drillers with the management. They refused to do so. Right up to a few minutes before the massacre took place the Lonmin bosses refused to come to the Koppie to meet with the workers. At stake was not just a meeting of a group of workers, but the entire labour relations system which is based on cheap labour and has the unions in a subjugated role of being the policemen within the workers' movement to hold back workers demands. If management agreed to negotiate with the workers directly, the next day at Amplats and every other mine and every other workplace, the workers would brush their unions aside and negotiate directly with the bosses using mass action methods. This is further evidence that Anglo American was indeed behind the massacre as they had the most to lose (Anglo controls the SA economy).

In Jan Theron's book, *Solidarity Road*, he points out the origin of NUM. Ramaphosa was given access to the mines by the bosses to set up NUM when it did not have members. The capitalist class was scared of a radical union arising on the mines so they helped build up NUM as a means of controlling the mineworkers and ensuring that the cheap labour system of the SA economy is maintained. The class role that NUM has always played, leads directly to them siding with the bosses against any spontaneous uprising of the working class on the mines.



The events that led to the Marikana massacre showed the true class role of the Cosatu leaders in times of revolution.

The ANC partnership with the apartheid police

The operational control on the ground on the 16th Aug 2012 was placed in the hands of Brig Calitz and Gen Vermeulen, both apartheid policemen. Overall command was Gen Mpembe who controlled the massacre from an office at Lonmin, except for a few minutes in a helicopter, when the massacre started.

A video of Calitz congratulating the police who had carried out the massacre, was not initially submitted to the Commission. The Commission concluded that it had been deliberately concealed.

'Although the briefing was recorded by the SAPS on videotape, the videotape was initially not disclosed by the SAPS. It was not on the SAPS external hard drive which was provided to the Commission, despite the fact that videos in the same sequence before and after it were on the hard drive. The indications are that it was deliberately concealed.' [p398]

In this video Calitz indicated that he had been to meet President Zuma on the previous day (which was the 17th Aug 2012). Zuma had announced the formation of the Commission of Enquiry. Calitz went on to congratulate the police saying:

'From the planning to the execution was 110%. Exactly how we plan it and it is not often that this happens in this large group. I have to congratulate you. Exactly how we planned it and we briefed the commanders, exactly we executed in that line.' [p399]

In other words Calitz admits that the plan was to massacre and that it was carried out 100%.

At the 13th Aug 2012 attack by police on the strikers, Gen Mpembe was there. The police fired first on a group of strikers led by Mambush; 2 strikers were killed but also 2 of the TRT police. They were so infuriated by Mpembe- wanting to kill him- it implies that he was the one who gave the order to shoot. From this the police realized that the ANC appointee, Gen Mpembe, was too inexperienced to carry out the massacre. This was the background to Calitz and Vermeulen, apartheid police, leading the massacre on the ground, while Mpembe, nominally in charge of the operation, was based at the Lonmin offices. The ANC relied on the experience of the apartheid police still in the ranks of the state, to carry out the massacre of the leaders of the strike. The very ones who were raised to hate black people in general, were used by the black political elite against the black working class. The class interest of the apartheid elite and the black elite coincided; they united against the working class.

This is the reason why imperialism had insisted on the so-called sunset clauses before 1994 and which Joe Slovo infamously promoted. Imperialism needed trained killers, who had blood on their hands, to carry out attacks on the masses in the case of any threat of revolution.

The ANC is now a party of massacres. What difference is there now between it and the DA? This is another reason for the working class to break from any alliance with the ANC, and indeed from the SACP.

The role of AMCU

In July 2012, the bosses of Lonmin already informed Amcu of workers placing demands on them. Amcu demanded a place at the negotiating table.

On the first day of the strike, on the 10th Aug 2012 Mr Mokwena of Lonmin called Mthunjwa of Amcu to tell him of rumours of a strike. On that very same day Mthunjwa wrote a letter to Lonmin.



'The management should not take extreme measures in addressing the predicament of the employees by giving undue recognition to „these sinister forces“, which he claimed were behind the situation.' Farlam report page 495.

Further, both NUM and AMCU confirmed (p485) that they were not involved in the formulating of the demands of R12 500 for the RDO's (Rock Drill Operators).

Thus from the beginning Amcu showed that they were against the independently organised workers' committees. They wanted the Lonmin bosses to meet them not the workers' committees.

Again on the 13th Aug 2012, Jomo Kwadi of Lonmin called Amcu to ask them to intervene.

Imperialism and the Lonmin bosses realised that NUM leaders were incapable of controlling the workers; thus they called in Amcu to help get workers under control, ie to re-establish the cheap labour system at the mine. They needed Amcu to prevent a political explosion against the regime.

In the industry-wide mining revolt that followed the Marikana massacre, the AMCU leaders refused to expose the full scale of the robbery by the mining bosses, even though they were in possession of such information. In the Farlam Commission, the research presented by Amcu was only an exposure of some of the theft by the Lonmin bosses, not of Anglo American, the main player in mining in SA and the rest of Africa.

The mining bosses used Amcu as a means to control the mineworkers revolt after the Marikana massacre. The independent mineworkers committees were suppressed by Amcu. Thus the revolt was turned onto a purely economic basis, a trade union level, and away from a challenge to the capitalist system and its state.

Many workers returned to the NUM 'prison' after the strike despite their intense hatred for the leaders. It was this hatred that drove a total change in leadership in NUM at its recent Congress.

Our position is proved correct in that we argued at the time that workers should not leave NUM but take it over. Imagine if both NUM and Numsa decided to break the alliance with the ANC and SACP. They would have spearheaded the Socialist revolution in SA. As it is, many on the left argued that workers should join Amcu, thereby aiding the turning of a political revolt into a harmless trade union struggle within the framework of capitalism.

Imperialism backs many horses; when one is discredited they will use others to control the masses. At the time of the massacre the NUM President was on the payroll of Anglo Gold Ashanti, while the Presidents of UASA, AMCU and Solidarity were on the payroll of BHP Billiton.

It was against this collusive links between unions and the bosses that the workers' revolt happened and independent mineworkers committees were set up.

It was after Mthunjwa pleaded with workers on the 16th Aug 2012, that they started to disperse from the koppie. Unfortunately the departure of most of the workers left the 'militant group' of strikers leaders exposed to the planned police attack. Imperialism used the Amcu leaders without them fully realizing that imperialism planned to smash the strike leadership. The police knew that once workers started dispersing, the leadership would remain behind until the workers had safely left the area. This was the whole idea behind the consecutive rollout of barbed wire, which would allow the rank and file striker out but was deliberately set to surround the leaders, laying the basis for their execution by firing squad (The Farlam Commission used the word 'fusillade' , which is really the same thing).



The role of the capitalist media

The SAPS PR Mashego and SAPS media officers issued 2 materially different statements on the 17th Aug 2012. The report to Zuma indicated clearly that there were 2 incidents, the initial massacre then a follow up massacre a few minutes later when workers were hunted down and executed in cold blood. The second statement referred only to one incident, as if the only thing that happened was a clash of strikers with police which resulted in some strikers being killed.

The mass media, who all were present at the scene of the massacre all reported as if there was only one incident. They deliberately covered up on the hunt and execution that occurred later. Much of the mass media are controlled by Anglo American and other big capitalists. The strikers were demonised and the truth covered up. This was media manipulation to deliberately isolate the strikers and prevent a broader response than in the mining sector. The capitalist media also played its role in the control of the masses.

The SACP and Cosatu leaders also played a major role in demonising and isolating the strikers. This played a key role in isolating the strikers from the rest of the organised working class. Cosatu should have spearheaded the calling of a general strike in support of the mineworkers but instead the Cosatu leaders painted the strikers as thugs and criminals in order to cover up the fact that their alliance partner massacred workers on behalf of Anglo American and the rest of big capital.

The ANC is committed to carrying out more massacres and just as strongly, the Cosatu and SACP leaders are committed to its alliance with them.

Flaws in the terms of reference- covering up the role of the ANC government in the massacre

In 2013, when the state realised that mineworkers would not be happy with the outcome of the Commission, it was moved out of Rustenburg, to Pretoria.

Proclamation 30 of 2014 limited the scope of the Commission to remove any finding against any government ministry. Thus the main role of the state as the executioner of the 34 mineworkers at Marikana, was removed from the scope of the Commission. This was most likely on the instruction of imperialism, to blur the role of the state as the instrument of violence of big capital.

The following paragraph was removed from the terms of reference:

'1.5 The role played by the Department of Mineral Resources or any other government department or agency in relation to the incidents and whether this was appropriate in the circumstances, and consistent with their duties and obligations according to law.'

Even the police experts reported that there was no way that all the TRT units from around the country could gather at Marikana, without the instruction of the President. The Commission could not pronounce on it as this mandate was now removed from its scope (page 6 of the Report).

Farlam cleared the ANC government of its role in the massacre despite noting that the then Minister Shabangu had stated on the 15th Aug 2012, that the events had escalated into a security or policing matter. Shabangu had indicated she was on her way to a Cabinet meeting although evidence of this meeting has disappeared. Farlam did not see any need to refer Shabangu or Zuma to the ethics commission. Apparently planning and executing a massacre for big capital is within the scope of government ethics!



The role of Commissions of Inquiry under capitalism is to protect the system and to establish individual scapegoats at best, while covering up the truth in plain sight. They are an instrument control over the masses, defusing and postponing conflict until the anger of the masses have been pacified or neutralised.

Outsourcing paramilitary security at Lonmin

Lonmin gave evidence as if they moved away from paramilitary security in 2011. This was to hide their role in perpetrating the massacre. In reality what happened was the Lonmin paramilitary Nyalas were sold to Protea coin security, who was the outsourced company that now assisted with security. Protea coin company is linked to Cyril Ramaphosa.

On the role of Lonmin in the massacre

Besides the direct role of Lonmin Director, Ramaphosa in the massacre, there is a wealth of evidence which shows that the Lonmin bosses were a major part of it:

1. There was no separate security structure of Lonmin and the police during strike.
2. The Lonmin security heads were part of the Police joint Ops structure on a 24 hour basis;
3. A Lonmin helicopter was used in the massacre and the hunting down of strikers
4. Lonmin shared all their video and surveillance material with the police
5. Lonmin bosses and security were part of the radio communication of the police, including on the day of the massacre.
6. The Lonmin security were part of the planning of the police for the massacre
7. The Lonmin security deployed with the police on the 13th Aug to hunt and shoot a group of peacefully marching workers returning to the koppie.

Despite this, the Farlam Commission says this was part of normal practice when dealing with strikes and is allowed by law.

This shows that the state is the armed wing of the capitalist class. Farlam confirms it.

The Farlam Commission is part of the capitalist instruments of violence against the masses

The Farlam Commission lists as a central theme:

'The Commission is of the view that the first „game changer“ was another decision by the strikers, to enforce the unprotected strike by violence and Intimidation.’ (p512).

In other words, they argue that the strikers were violent and thus the heavy militarisation of the police was justified. If the strikers were really intent on killing then there would have been many deaths. The vast majority of the 44 deaths were strikers, killed by the state. 34 workers were gunned down on by the state on the 16th Aug; 2 workers were gunned down by NUM officials on the 11th Aug and a further 2 workers were gunned down by the police on the 13th August.

Despite the claims that strikers were heavily armed on the 16th Aug, not a single police suffered even a scratch. No bullet from any weapon of the strikers was found. The workers were unarmed.

The Commission also blames the workers for refusing to disarm. But the workers had no guns. The only ones who had guns were the police. The workers had sticks and spears. The police could easily have allowed the strikers to leave but their insistence on them putting down the only defensive weapons they had was a pretext for the state to carry out its plan of massacre.



The Commission justified the massacre:

***'It was their determination to hold on to their weapons and to continue congregating on the koppie which set in motion the series of events which culminated in the tragedy of 16 August.'* (p513)**

Not a single word about the structural violence of the massive theft by the mines that has caused the death of many hundreds of thousands, if not millions in Southern Africa through starvation and preventable diseases; not a word of the over million of silicosis victims that the mines still refuse to pay compensation for; not a word of the million workers who had become permanently disabled on the mines and the thousands who have died underground. The commission does not see the desperation of the mineworkers revolting against the system of cheap labour. The Commission is itself an instrument of maintaining the system of cheap labour.

The Commission exposes that initially there was one plan revealed by the police but as the evidence unfolded it became clear that the police lied about the plan. There was another plan, namely to push for a massacre. This was done through a plan to insist on 'disarming' when the police knew that the strikers would not do so. This would create a pretext for the massacre. Farlam puts the implementation of the so-called second plan down to 'inexperience' as the experienced POP (riot police) were supposedly not part of the planning. This covers up that the massacre could not have taken place without the guidance and leadership of the experienced apartheid police in the ranks of the state. This is due to botched operation on the 13th Aug, where the ANC leaders bungled the attack on the strikers, resulting in 2 TRT members being killed when strikers resisted the attack. The ANC leaders proved too inexperienced and leadership of the massacre was handed over to apartheid operatives. The Farlam Commission fails to question why there was one plan presented and later it became clear there were 2 plans and in fact the real plan was to massacre the strikers to protect the cheap labour system that the mines and the economy was based on. Why the police lied is not questioned by Farlam. It is just seen as incompetence. Farlam did not question the absence of hard copies of the final plan. This absence of hard copies was deliberate, to cover the tracks of the perpetrators of the massacre.

Farlam does not question why the police lied and the political heads of the police and government gave the instruction for a cover up. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that the massacre was planned and approved by the ANC govt. Farlam makes a scapegoat of the National Police Commissioner and the regional head:

'The leadership of the police, on the highest level, appears to have taken the decision not to give the true version of how it came about that the „tactical option“ was implemented on the afternoon of 16 August and to conceal the fact that the plan to be implemented was hastily put together without POP inputs or evaluation. In order to give effect to this, the decision at the NMF was not disclosed to the Commission. An inaccurate set of minutes for the 06h30 meeting was prepared and a number of SAPS witnesses testified before the Commission in support of the incorrect version. There is at least a prima facie case that the National Commissioner and the Provincial Commissioner for the North West Province, who knew the true facts'

Farlam merely recommends action for misconduct and not looking at the reasons for the misconduct. Farlam protects the state and those who gave the orders for the massacre.

Farlam ends his report with a quote from the very police who committed the massacre, namely that those who committed illegal acts from 9-16th Aug 2012 must be prosecuted. He means the workers must be dealt with while the police must merely be investigated.



Farlam even goes as far as to say that the police who massacred Mambush and others at scene 1 cannot be charged with murder, only attempted murder.

Farlam condemns the strikers '*in the strongest possible terms*' for their actions, for being 'armed', for 'premeditated attacks on the 12th and 14th Aug but makes no such call against the police. The TRT lost 2 members on the 13th Aug. Farlam acknowledged that all the bullets shot at scene 1 was from the TRT and one member of the POP. Yet he ignores the obvious conclusion that the TRT carried out a revenge attack on the workers.

Farlam admits that the company's failure to address low wages and their only building 3 out of 5500 house as per the agreed Social Plan that went along with their mineral rights, were contributing factors to the anger of workers. Yet he does not make any recommendation against the company. He does not even order the withdrawal of their mineral rights. In other words, the migrant labour system is being entrenched by Farlam.

At scene 2, it was a clear case of murder by the police units, the POP, K9, TRT and NIU, yet this was only recommended for investigation. All the police involved in the massacre are still active members in the armed forces. The only people facing charges are still the 270 survivors of the massacre, who are rather bizarrely facing charges of violence!

Farlam recommends that the Executive should have no operational decision making powers in suppressing workers. This is an admission that the ANC govt gave the order for the massacre. Farlam says that in future the police will decide when to kill and how many. This hands over control of future massacres more directly to police commanders who regularly have joint exercises with the CIA and FBI. Imperialism will have a greater hand in future massacres.

Farlam recommends that the police learn from so-called best international practice in revising their training to handle large groups of angry crowds. Did he mean looking at Syria, Yemen, Israel, Afghanistan?

Farlam admits that the entire operation on the 16th Aug 2012 was illegal but left it open to broad and vague investigation. This is despite the police having failed to justify why they fired even a single shot.

Farlam does not even make any finding against the complicity of the state and Lonmin and Anglo American in the massacre, despite the clear evidence presented. To Farlam, the workers were violent and the state and capital were justified in killing the strikers. The major difference is that, according to Farlam, the police should have used pistols and not machine guns to shoot them down. The absence of the use of minimum force shows that the plan of the ANC govt, in conjunction with the monopoly capitalists was to massacre the strikers.

Conclusion:

The ANC government is incapable of meeting the most basic democratic demands of the masses; they help maintain the migrant labour system and the cheap labour exploitation that capitalism has been based on for the past 150 years.

The imperialists rule SA through the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

There is no possibility of Socialism in one country. The struggle against big capital implies that the working class in SA has to link up with the working class in the imperialist centres as well as the other regions being plundered by imperialism around the globe.



It is time for the Cosatu workers to dump the alliance with the ANC and SACP. It is time for a new workers' party. A revolutionary, internationalist party is needed to fight to end the cheap labour system that stretches across Africa.

October 2015 to 12.8.2017 and amended 15.8.2017 **Workers International Vanguard League/Party**
workersinternational@gmail.com

Internationale

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

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

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

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





The Spark

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