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BHEKI MKHIZE POLITICAL SCHOOL BULLETIN

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STRENGTHEN WORKPLACE ORGANIZATION TO DEFEND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, DEEPEN CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND ADVANCE INTERNATIONALISM





MARXIST POLITICAL ECONOMY – THE LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE, THE THEORY OF CRISIS AND THE CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY – DR. RASIGAN MAHARAJ



Theory of Value

Adam Smith (use value and the exchange value)

David Ricardo (a good's value is determined by the labour hours invested in its production)

"Marx's value form, ..., is not a still and stable fulcrum in capital's churning world but a constantly changing and unstable metric being pushed hither and thither by the anarchy of market exchange, by revolutionary transformations in technologies and organizational forms, by unfolding practices of social reproduction, and massive transformations in the wants, needs and desires of whole populations expressed through the cultures of everyday life. This is far beyond what Ricardo had in mind and equally far away from that conception of value usually attributed to Marx (Harvey, 2018)

Production and Reproduction Contradictions and Crises



Nexus of Risks & Crises

Type of risk	Number of "systems of origin"	Scale of outcomes	Magnitude and reversibility of outcomes
Systemic risk	One	Possibly regional, continental, or global	Typically sub-catastrophic, probably reversible
Global catastrophic risk	One	Global	Irreversible and catastrophic degradation of humanity's prospects
Polycrisis	Three or more	Possibly regional, continental, or global	Sub-catastrophic, possibly reversible
Global polycrisis	Three or more	Global	Irreversible and catastrophic degradation of humanity's prospects

Polycrises

We are "... at a loss to single out a number one problem to which all others would be subordinated. There is no 'single vital problem,' but many vital problems, and it is this complex inter-solidarity of problems, 'antagonisms', crises, uncontrolled processes, and the general crisis of the planet that constitutes the number one vital problem" (Morin & Kern, 1999: 73-74)

A polycrisis could be described as "a nested set of globally interactive socio-economic, ecological and cultural-institutional crises that defy reduction to a single cause" (2013: 98)

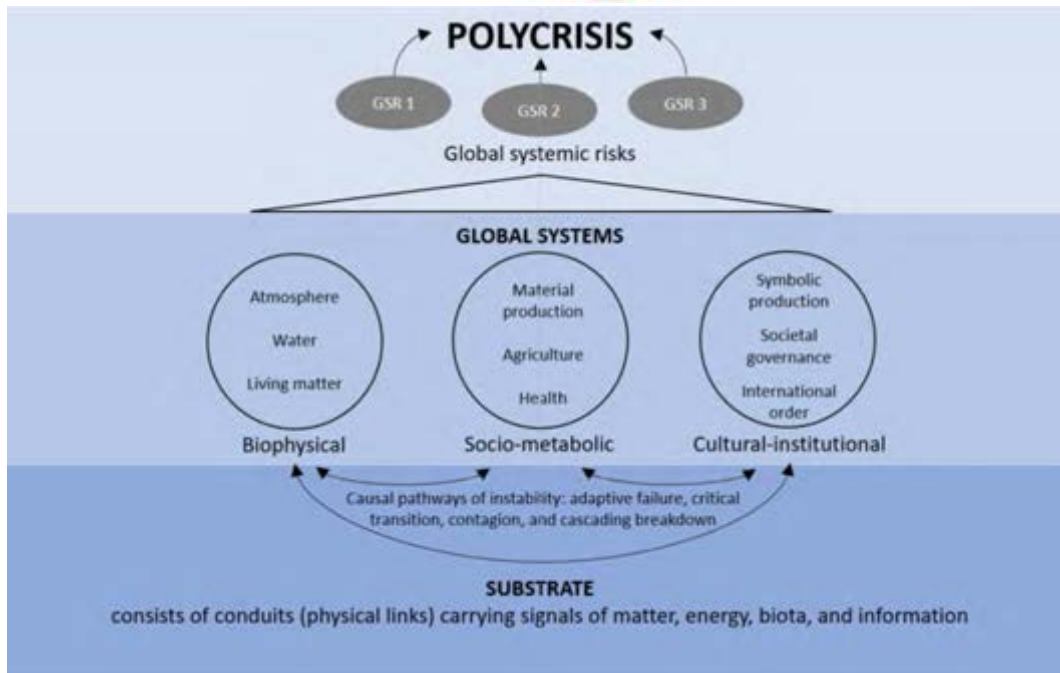
polycrisis serves as a comprehensive label for the multiple interconnected crises facing the global political economy, including climate change, rising inequality, and the threat of financial crises (Swilling, 2019).

"In the polycrises, the shocks are disparate, but they interact so that the whole is even more overwhelming than the sum of the parts" (Tooze, 2022).

"A global polycrisis arises when one or more fast-moving trigger events combines with slow-moving stresses to push a global system out of its established equilibrium and into a volatile and harmful state of disequilibrium. We then identify three causal pathways - common stresses, domino effects, and inter-systemic feedback - that can connect multiple global systems to produce synchronized crises" (Lawrence et al, 2023).

"(u)nless the Polycrisis, seriously questions the drivers of power and finds ways of challenging them, it risks becoming yet another neoliberal policy buzzword" (Sial, 2023).

Cascade Analytical Framework



Polycrises Critique and challenges ...

"This top-down technocratic approach to managing complex systemic challenges, however, places a lot of trust in governments and large businesses – the very institutions that many believe have been instrumental driving the globalization and increased consumption that have driven the proliferation of crises. Is it realistic to expect that these institutions can 'fix' these crises?"

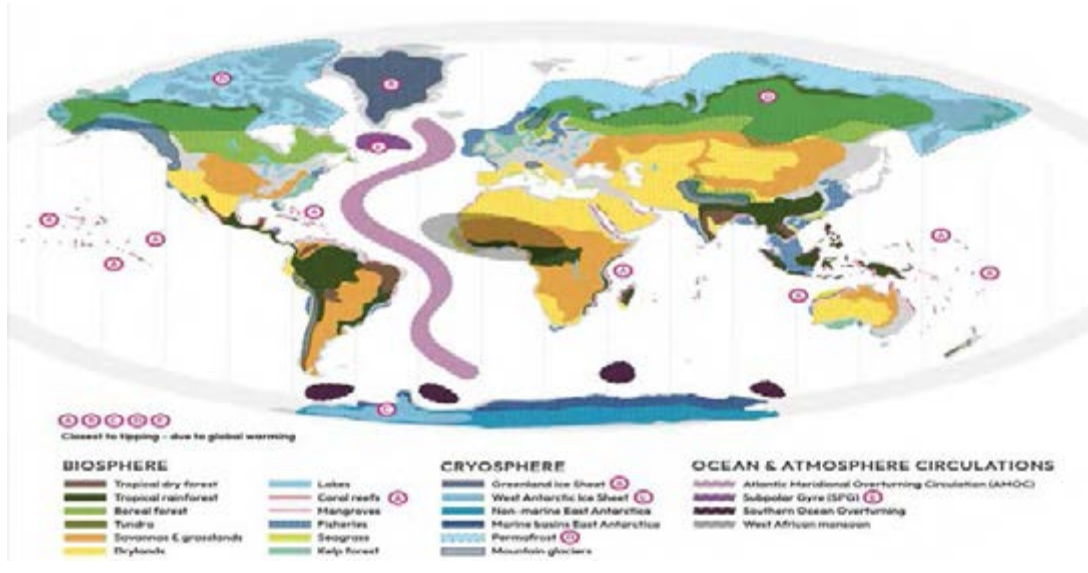
"For the majority around the world, though, dealing with insurmountable challenges has been part of daily life for centuries"

"This centrifugal analysis of events predicated on the decline of the uni-polar world order, as well as acknowledging the emergent structural weaknesses in the traditional western powers; all of which can be loosely interpreted as occurring in a period during which power is dispersing and perhaps as a consequence of this dispersion, the current drivers of crisis have multiplied, leading to a multitude of crises, in contrast to preceding historical instances"

"...the current crisis is caused by the transformational role of financial and digital capitalism and the imminence of climate-change led human extinction. However, these are not anomalies to capitalism but part of its design, of which the consequences and spill-overs are unevenly distributed across the World"



Global Ecological Tipping Points (2024)



Ecology and Environment (9 Planetary Boundaries)

- **Climate Change:** Refers to the changes in global climate patterns due to human activities, primarily the emission of greenhouse gases.
- **Biosphere Integrity:** Concerns the loss of biodiversity and ecosystems, impacting Earth's resilience and ability to support human life.
- **Land-System Change:** Involves the alteration of terrestrial ecosystems through deforestation, urbanization, and agriculture, affecting biodiversity and climate regulation.
- **Biogeochemical Flows:** Refers to the disruption of nitrogen and phosphorus cycles due to fertilizers, impacting water quality and ecosystem health.
- **Freshwater Use:** Concerns the overuse and mismanagement of freshwater resources, leading to scarcity and affecting ecosystems and human societies.
- **Ocean Acidification:** The increase in ocean acidity due to CO₂ absorption, harming marine life and ecosystems.
- **Atmospheric Aerosol Loading:** Involves the presence of microscopic particles in the atmosphere from pollution, affecting climate and human health.
- **Stratospheric Ozone Depletion:** Refers to the thinning of the ozone layer caused by chemicals like CFCs, increasing harmful UV radiation on Earth.
- **Novel Entities:** Encompasses the introduction of new substances like plastics, chemicals, and radioactive materials into the environment, with unknown long-term effects.

Accelerating Ecological Precarity

As we cross planetary boundaries, the risk for triggering feedback loops, or "tipping points," on any one of these systems is high. This may set off a



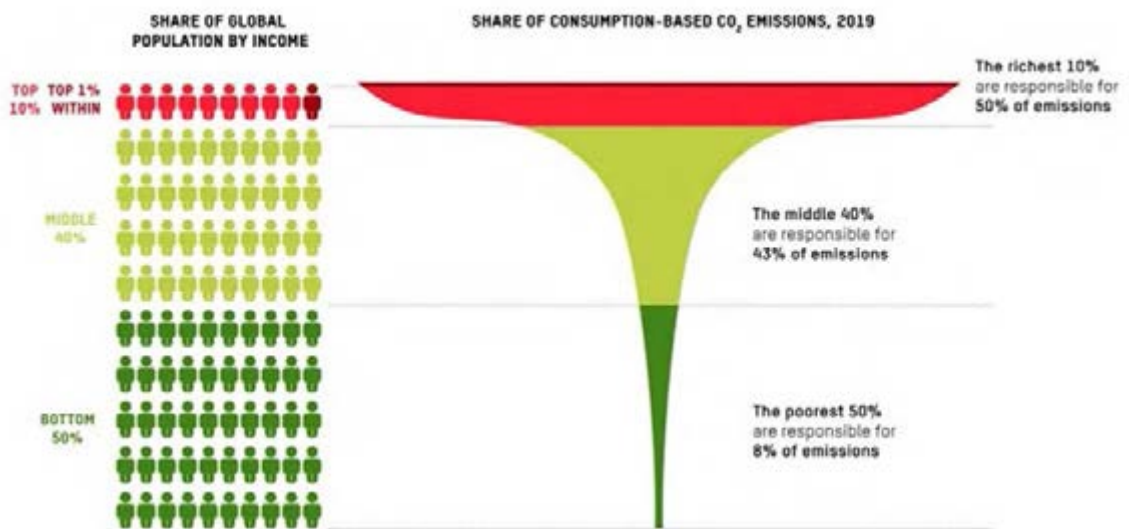
catastrophic, very rapid shift into a new stable state on a planetary scale. The loss of polar ice is one such positive feedback loop, whereby ice-free seas absorb more solar radiation, in turn making them even warmer still. Methane that has remained trapped in the frozen tundra is then released as it thaws, creating even greater warming, in a self-reinforcing cycle. What this new state could look like is difficult to predict, but it would almost certainly not support our current agricultural systems. This would likely be a one-way street, meaning there's no going back to the Holocene conditions (Stockholm Resilience Centre)

Country Overshoot Days (2024)



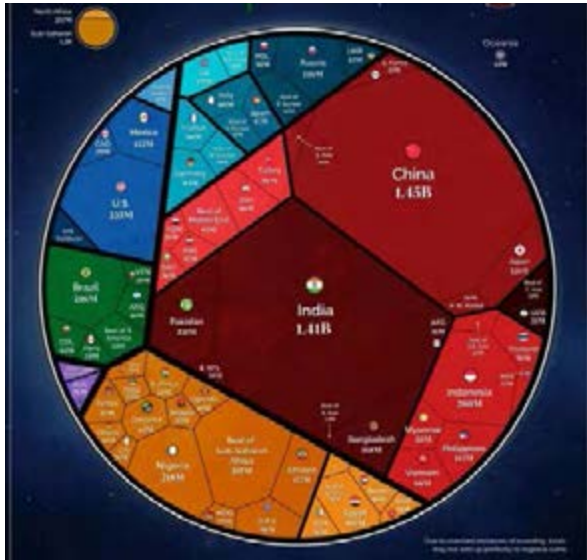
For a full list of countries, visit overshootday.org/country-overshoot-days.
 Source: National Footprint and Biocapacity Accounts, 2023 Edition data.footprintnetwork.org
 Global Footprint Network: Advancing the Science of Sustainability

Combined, Unequal, yet Common ...

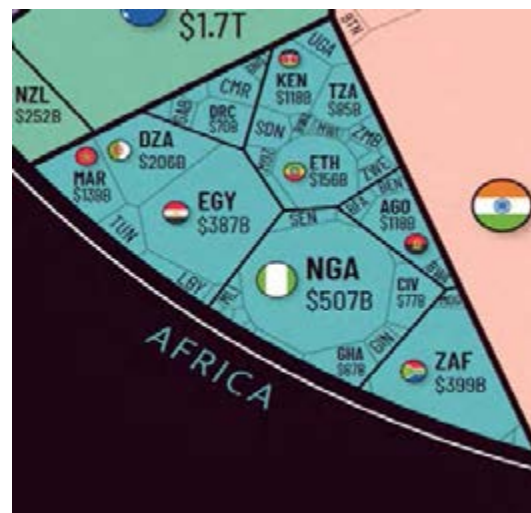
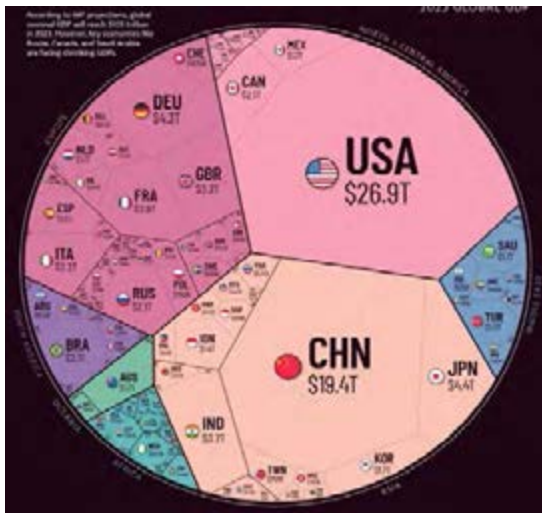




World & African Population (2023)

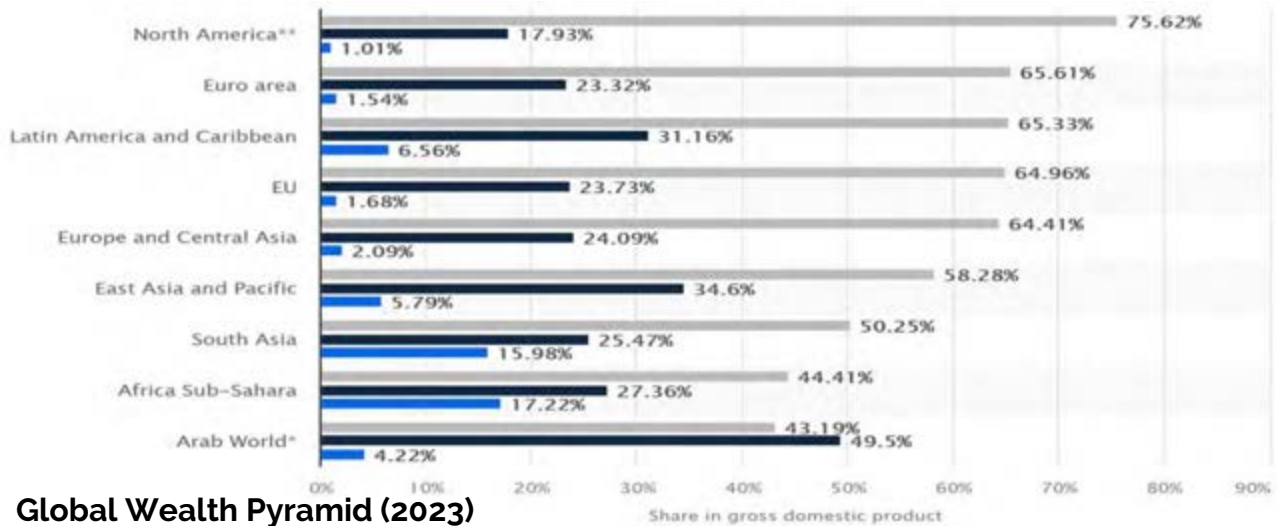


Combined, yet Uneven World Systems (US\$105 Trillion in 2023)

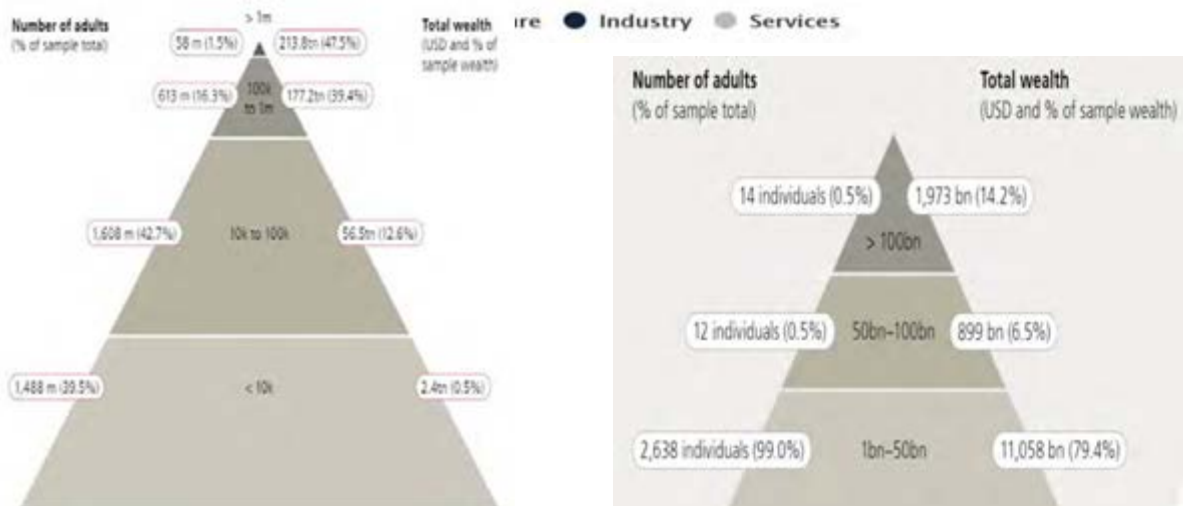




Economic Sector Shares in GDP (2023)

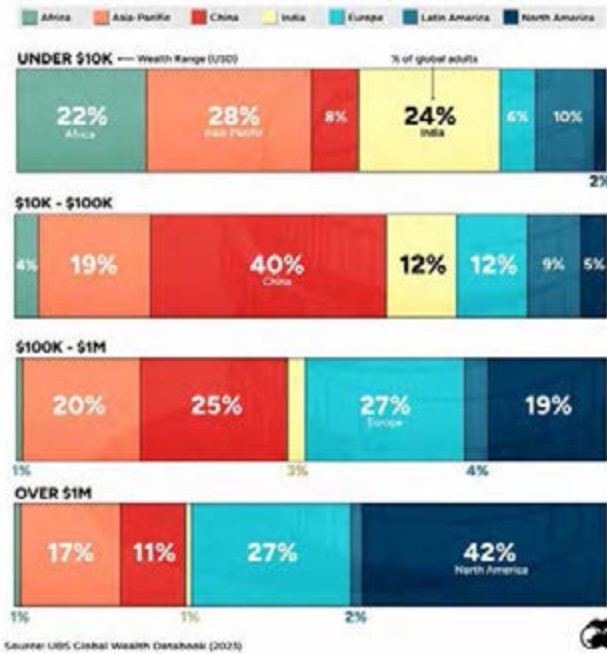


Global Wealth Pyramid (2023)

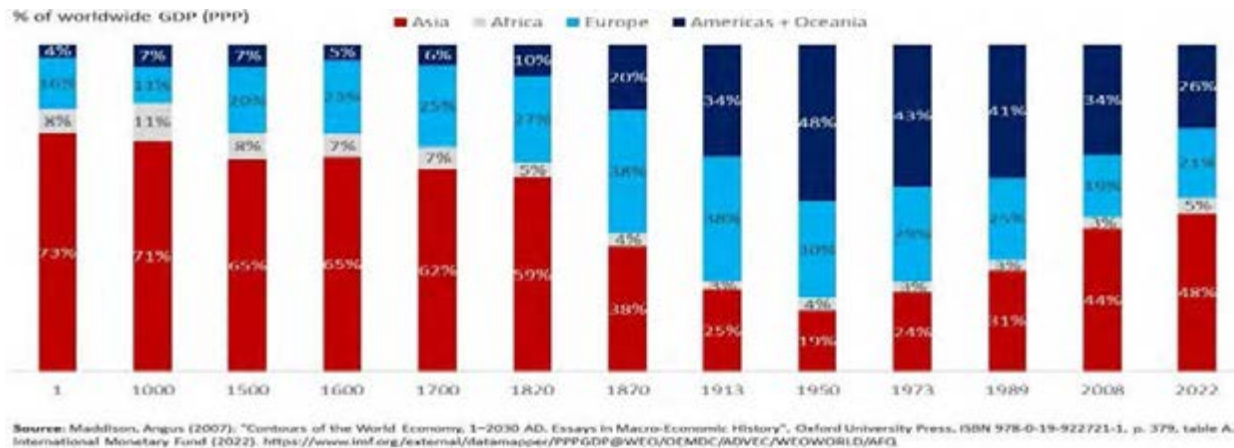




Global Uneven Distribution of Wealth



Share of Global GDP across the Common Era





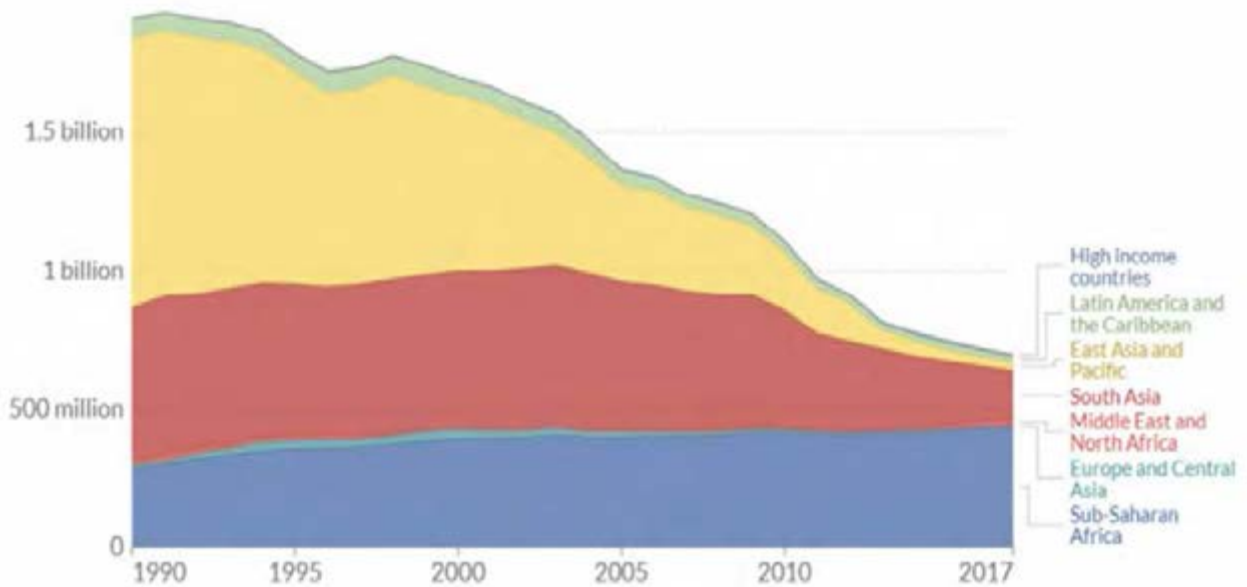
Extreme Poverty by Territory

Total population living in extreme poverty by world region

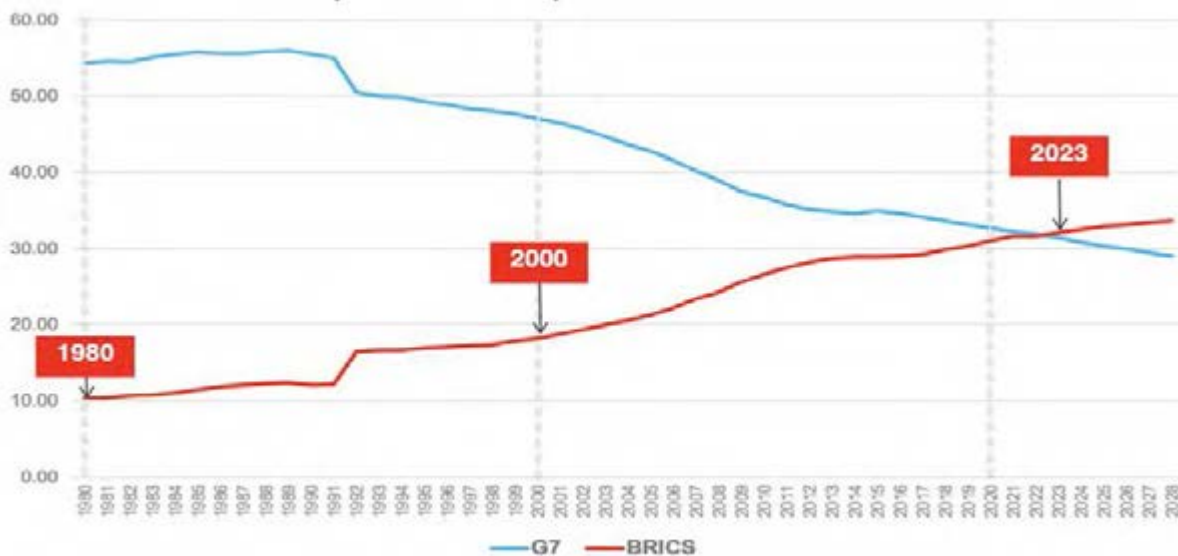
Extreme poverty is defined as living with per capita household consumption below 1.90 international dollars per day (in 2011 PPP prices). International dollars are adjusted for inflation and for price differences across countries.

Our World in Data

Relative



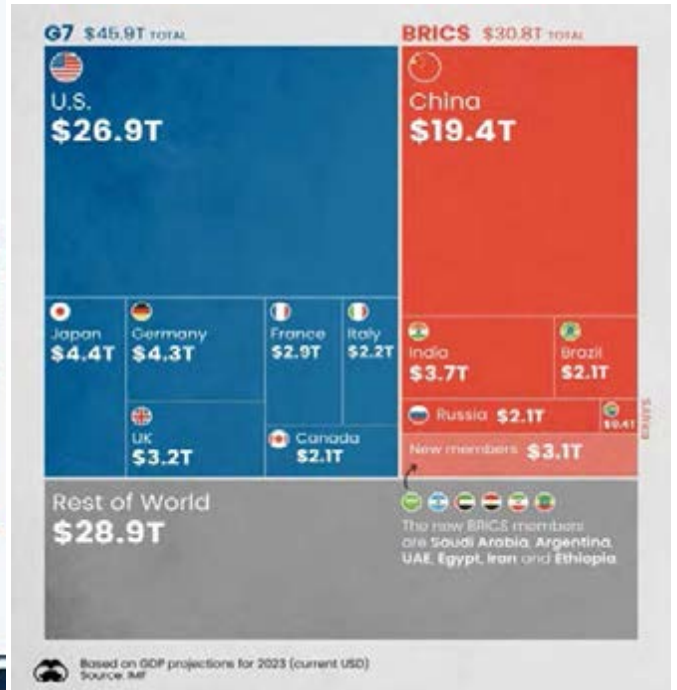
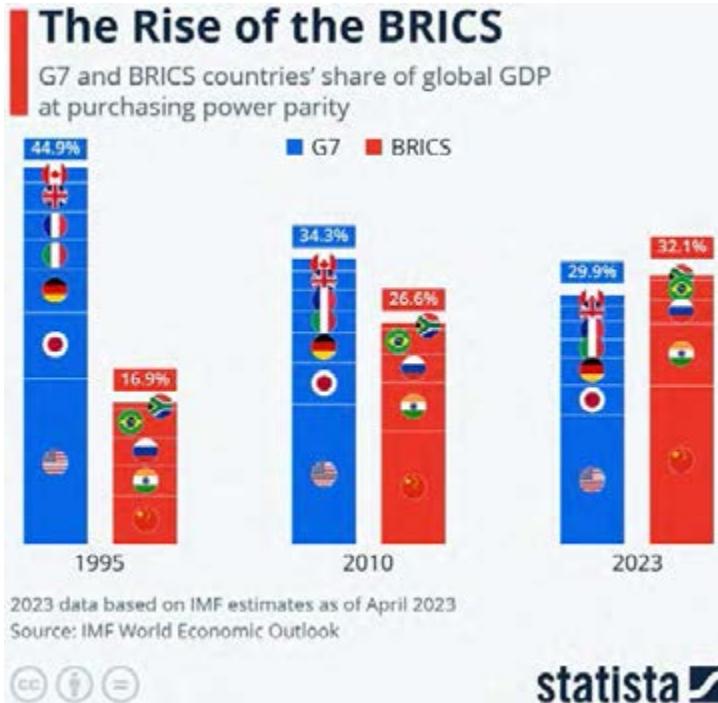
G7 & BRICS GDP (PPP) World Shares (%)



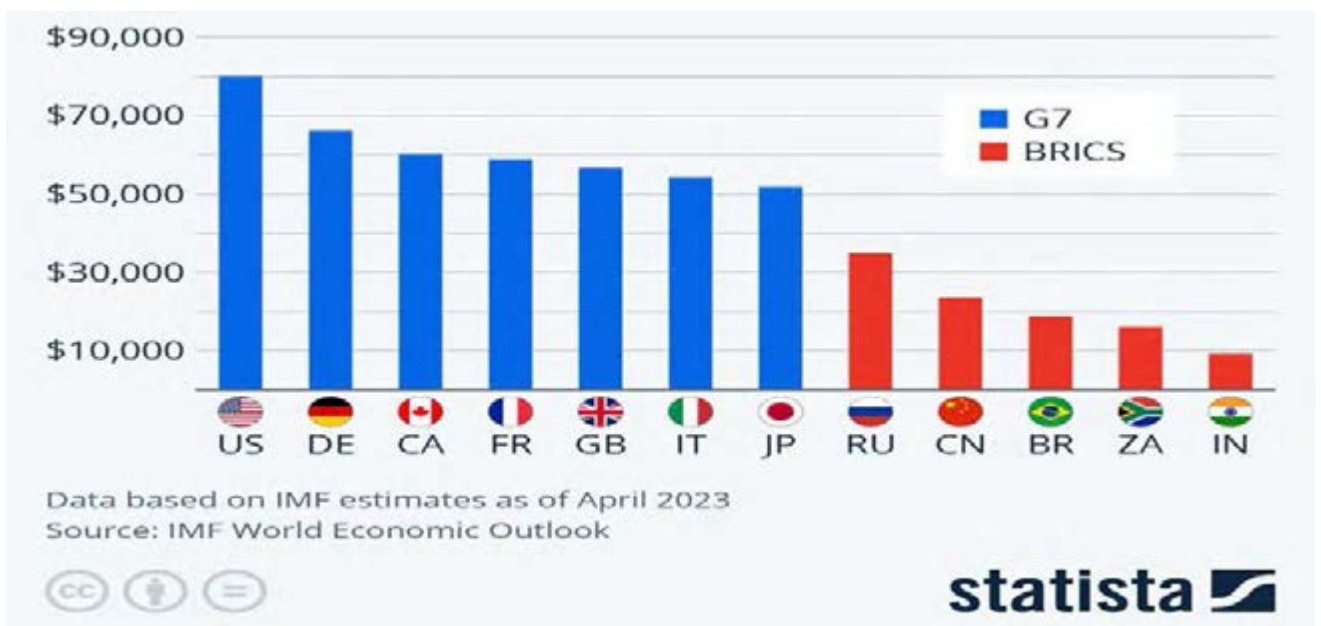
Source: Raw Data from IMF - illustration & observations by Christian Takushi MA UZH 2023



G7 and BRICS+



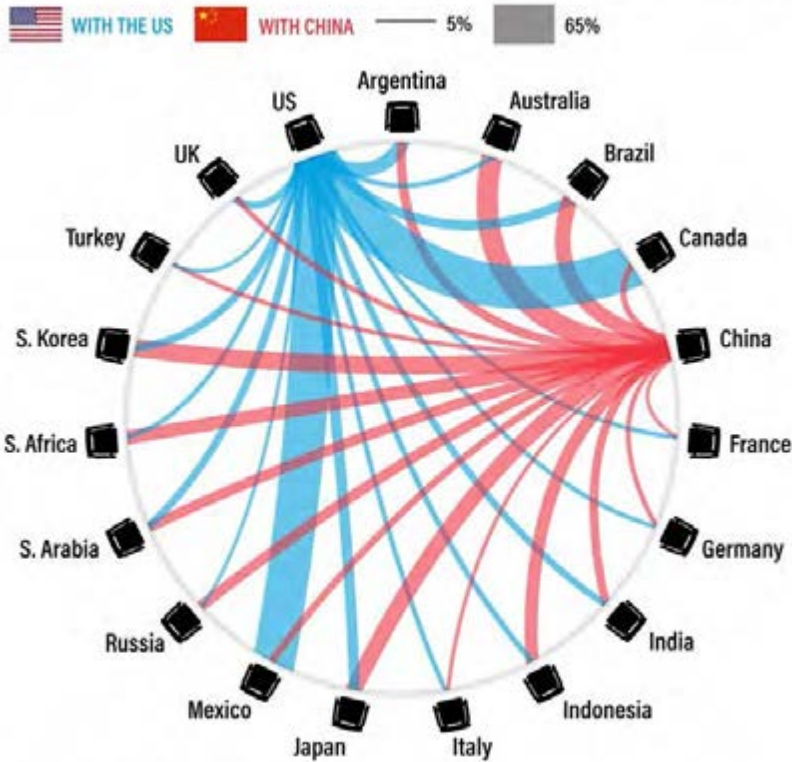
G7 & BRICS GDP per Capita (PPP)





Governance & Politics

G20 members' trade with the US and China (as % of their total trade)



- Multipolarities
- United Nations
- Bretton Woods Institutions
- G7 & NATO
- World Economic Forum
- G20
- BRICS+
- Belt & Road
- Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
- African Union
- Southern Africa
- South Africa
- *Imperialism and Neo-colonialism*

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Note: Trade measured in value, data based on 2017 trade levels
Source: Bloomberg

SIGNAL

	Mar-24	Apr-24	May-24	Mar-24	Apr-24	May-24	3-month
Buildings completed (value)	-14,7	-34,6	-6,3	-9,7	1,6	22,4	-18,4
Wholesale trade sales	-2,3	-12,7	1,2	2,3	-5,2	6,9	0,4
Retail trade sales	-0,7	2,3	0,6	0,9	1,3	0,5	0,1
Motor trade sales	1,3	-10,2	3,9	-0,6	-7,2	7,2	-2,2
Income from tourist accommodation	10,5	9,6	7,0	-0,2	-0,8	1,7	1,7
Restaurants, catering & fast-food income	5,2	3,3	-4,6	6,8	-2,0	-4,0	2,3
Rail transport: Freight payload	6,9	11,1	1,5	2,2	2,2	-3,7	1,0
Road transport: Freight payload	-1,5	-6,6	-8,0	-0,9	-1,1	-3,6	-3,2
Rail transport: Passenger journeys	73,0	42,9	96,1	5,5	-1,6	2,7	8,5
Road transport: Passenger journeys	8,8	-1,5	29,5	-3,0	-1,3	14,9	0,5
Consumer Price Index (CPI)	5,3	5,2	5,2	0,8	0,3	0,2	
Producer Price Index (PPI)	4,6	5,1	4,6	1,1	0,5	0,1	

m/m = month-on-month y/y = year-on-year 3-month = percentage change between the previous 3 months (November-January) and the latest 3 months (February-April)





Current Industrial Performance

Figure 1: Six industries recorded a decline in production in Q1: 2024

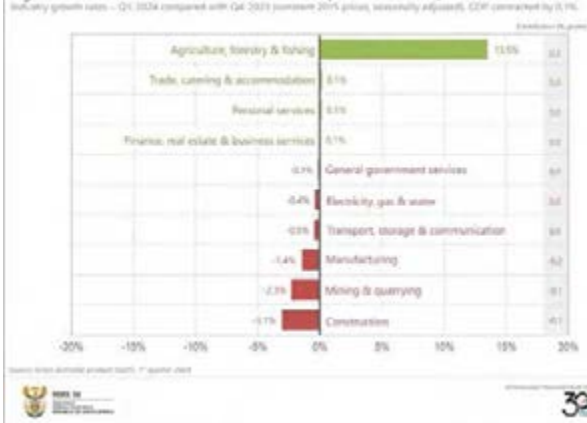
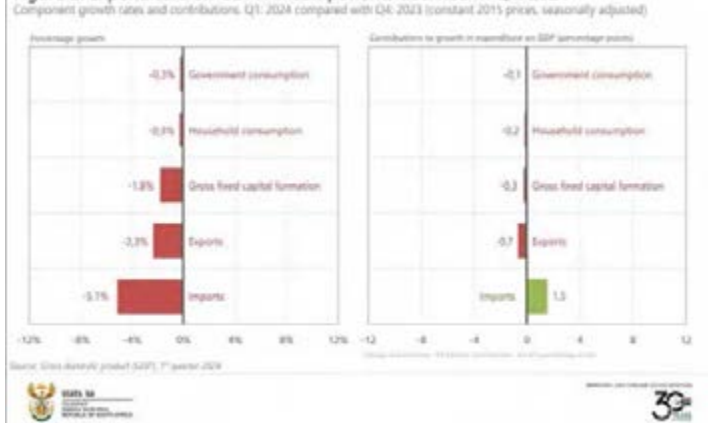


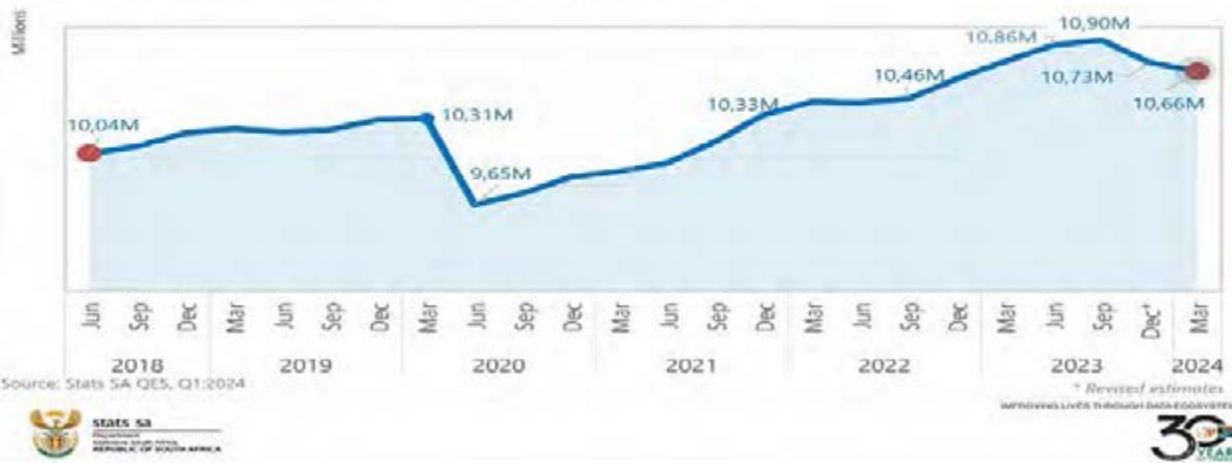
Figure 2: Expenditure on GDP: All components declined in Q1: 2024



Current Employment

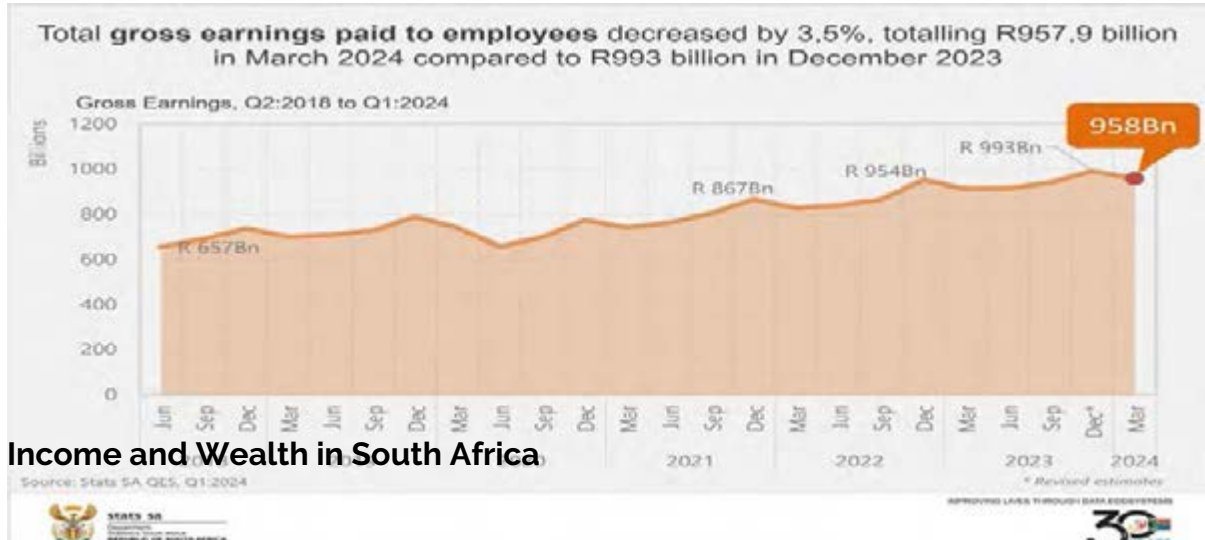
Total employment in the formal non-agricultural sector decreased by 67 000, in the first quarter of 2024 to 10,66 Million

Number of employees time-series from Q2:2018 to Q1:2024

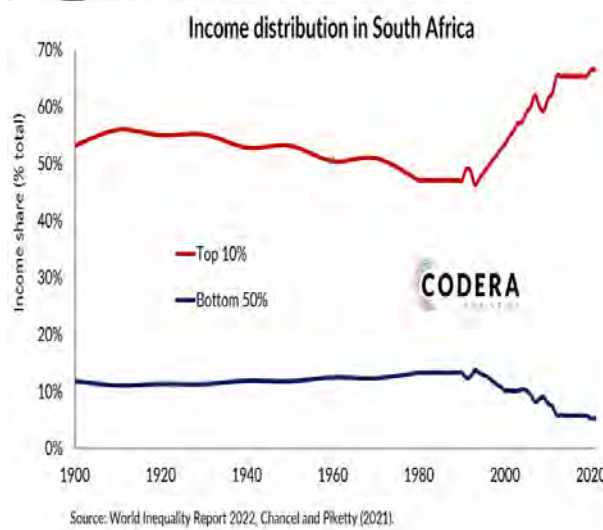




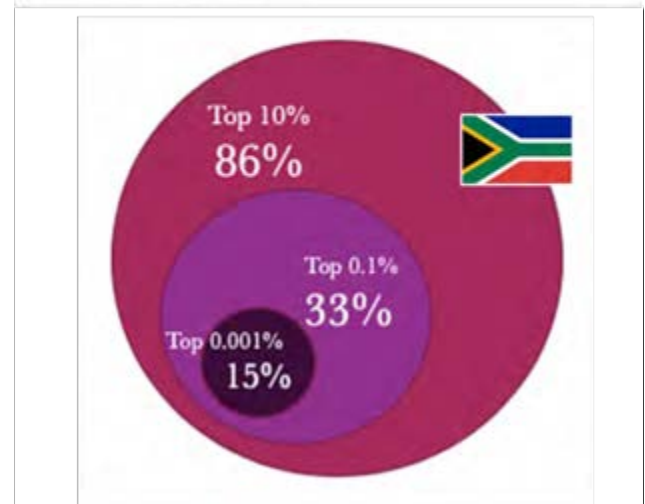
Current Earning



Income and Wealth in South Africa



(Fig. 8) Wealth Distributions (Chatterjee, 2020)



Pre-Conclusion





Aerial photo of Primrose (left), a middle-class suburb, and Makause (right), an informal township (slum) without streets, sewage, or running water. The neighboring settlements lay 14 km east of Johannesburg, South Africa's largest and most affluent city. Source: Johnny Miller/ Unequal Scenes

Concluding challenges

Combined yet Uneven Development Continues

Racial capitalist and Apartheid patterns persist

Increasing Ecological Precarity and Risks

Decreasing Public Expenditures (Austerity)

LEFT POPULAR FRONT AS A STRATEGY FOR BUILDING A POWERFUL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT OF THE WORKERS AND POOR – COMRADE ZOLA SAPHETHA



Our Theoretical and Political Orientation

On the second day the school grounded the scholars with Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Theory, National Democratic Revolution and the Revolutionary Tasks of the Working Class in deepening the Transition to Socialism.

On the day the school dealt with grasping with the concept of the State and Revolution and the practicalising the revolutionary tasks and gearing the working class to be a class for itself, the proletariat.



Today, fourth day the school dealt with the Strategic Role for Contemporary Socio-Economic Discussion in Building the Trade Union guided by broad theoretical framework of Marxist Political Economy – The Labour Theory of Value, the theory of crisis and the contemporary South African Economy.

Now presenting the re-awakening of the working class to re-suscitate its high level mobilising similar to late 70's up to early 90's working class momentum – bring back the organs of people's power which brought about level of consciousness to the working class to take responsibility for their revolution.

National Democratic Revolution – NDR 'A class alliance in the class struggle'

NDR originated from Communist Platforms

Lenin in the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 laid the theoretical foundation for the NDR when addressing the problem of colonialism and imperialism.

Emphasizing the issue of self-determination in national struggles

SACP in 1928: the "Black Republic Thesis"

The question of non-racialism and of majority

The relationship/debate on national oppression and class exploitation

Yesterday, the school reasserted the NDR as a Marxist-Leninist strategy in anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles – in the stage of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism.

African National Congress

Adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 as a minimum programme.

The 1969 ANC's Morogoro Conference – Strategy and Tactics Document clarifying that NDR was never for a bourgeois in character and content.

Even post 1994 democratic breakthrough, the ANC in 1997 at Mafikeng Conference reaffirmed the leading role of the working class in the struggle, as a primary motive force of its revolution.

Is the NDR in crisis or on Track?

The questions arise in a context of the 30 years of our democratic breakthrough when we still have:

Crisis levels of structural unemployment and inequality

High level of poverty



With a democratic state confronted with challenges of capacity, lack of resources, high levels of corruption and revelations of scandal after scandal of leadership both in the State and society.

Extreme levels of social violence and social cohesiveness fraying.

ANC multiple challenges arising from factionalism, gatekeeping, social distance, corruption, in-fightings, etc.

An SACP and COSATU with their own challenges and the working class that is far apart, the working class is at its weakest.

COSATU 14TH National Congress

After analysing the NDR, the congress came into a conclusion that NDR is stagnant – no longer in pursuit therefore resolve that:

There is urgency for repositioning of the socialist programme in the face of stagnation of the National Democratic Revolution.

The South African Communist Party & COSATU should pay a greater focus on the building of popular socialist fronts for both the defence of the NDR and elevation of the socialist cause among the ranks of the motive forces. That COSATU should build an active socialist programme.

COSATU as a revolutionary trade union should play a more deliberate role in popularising the socialist struggle as alternative to a stagnating national transformation.

The ANC must be contested in class terms as the NDR is a programme of continuous class analysis in the entirety of the class struggle. Reaffirmed that “The NDR is the most direct route to socialism in the South African reality”. The working class as a primary motive force must take its rightful place both in the NDR as a programme and the ANC as a leader of the Alliance.

COSATU Programme – Fivefold

Building and strengthening COSATU and its affiliates at the workplace

Building unity in action with other unions and federations.

Building and strengthening the socialist-axis.

Building campaigns with mass-based organisations and progressive NGOs, and

Building and fighting for the renewal of the ANC.

SACP 15TH Congress

Answers the question on NDR that has stalled on many fronts and in some respects, is in reverse.



Seeking to build working class hegemony within the alliance and through participation with the ANC, to build working class hegemony with the State itself.

In the same vein, the Party acknowledged that it has not sufficiently reinforced these efforts of building working class hegemony with the ANC actively participating on the ground to build a powerful socialist movement of the workers and the poor.

Therefore identified key sites of potential working class and popular power.

5 Tributaries – SACP Programme Five focus areas

Rebuild a powerful trade union movement

Building working class and popular power in our proletarian communities.

Land reform for urban and rural transformation.

Fighting for radical transformation of the Financial Sector.

An international call for workers of the World to unite for peace and development.

Both COSATU and SACP have a shared perspective on the strategic way forward.

Overarching mobilisation of the working class and working people - COST OF LIVING

South African economic situation as a context, which

Is unable to address the high levels of unemployment which rose in our democratic dispensation from below 20% in 1995,

Fluctuating and worsening above 20% starting in 1996, the year in which the government adopted the neoliberal GEAR policy.

Inability to overcome the high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality, as a result, many working class and poor households live in a crisis of social reproduction.

South African economy and the economic policy trajectory since the adoption of GEAR in 1996 have failed to address the persisting high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality.

Not only have the systemic problems of high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality persisted but have also grown in both extent and impact.

Every major global crisis such as:

2008 global economic crisis,

Busting of the global commodity super-cycle that peaked in 2011,

COVID -19 pandemic and its economic crisis,



All contributed to growth in the extent and impact of the high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality, and the economy following a stagnantly low, more exclusive path.

"Fiscal consolidation" or Austerity

A new Task for the Party -Building a Powerful Socialist Movement of the Workers and the Poor

Calls for new ways of organising and thinking about the NDR itself and the struggle for socialism.

Locates this socialist movement as a key force in driving a second, more radical phase of the NDR by uniting a broad range of socialist forces in society as a conscious force for revolutionary changes - The SACP playing not claiming its true vanguard role.

Anchor-ing this movement on the organised workers, we need to pose a critical question of the SACP and the relationship to the working class forces, the unions etc. because we struggle for their emancipation and in their name, of course to free ourselves too.

This means a conscious ideological and political education programme to train a cadre to build a socialist movement is critical.

A new Task for the COSATU and the Party

The starting point is obviously training COSATU and Party cadres to properly understand all the dimensions of this task (ideological, political, organisational). It means preparing these cadres who will understand both the theory and practice of building a socialist movement and also concretely contribute.

Such a movement needs to be built simultaneously with new strategies to expand and develop our economy and the absolute necessity to rebuild a restructured state owned enterprises sector as the mainstay for taking forward the national democratic revolution and indeed bring new ways of building people's economy, cooperatives, informal sector and other forms of sustainable livelihoods.

Left Popular Fronts

Need to regard fronts as a strategy to build this powerful Socialist Movement of the workers and poor.

Need to identify societal issues to mobilise fronts under the overall left popular front under the leadership of the left-axis directly led and driven by COSATU and the SACP as instruments of the working class.



It should NOT primarily be a collection of political parties –but rather rooted in workplaces, community & sectoral struggles and formations – build organs of people's power.

Should neither be anti-ANC nor pro ANC but coming together in a mass as a basic platform for anti-corruption, household debts, education, health, crime and corruption, GBV including other local and sectoral issues and campaigns.

To achieve this, we need to establish organs of people's power inclusive of the Alliance and MDM structures, progressive forces and organisations, non-governmental organisations, civic movement and civil society organisations – similar establishments such as NECC in all areas of focus – COSATU and SACP as a driver in the establishment such structures.

Community mobilisation requires joint campaigns for confidence and coordination.

Overarching Strategic Tasks under GNU

Fight against attempts to reverse our hard-won victories in terms of labour relation regime.

Fight against reduction of the public service wage bill.

Fight against the continuation of austerity.

Fight against the privatisation of the public infrastructure and logistics networks.

Fight for the implementation of the NHI and BIG.

Fight for progressive macroeconomic policies to support the socio-economic programmes.

Defend our foreign policy anchored by solidarity.

Modalities: Education Front

Recognise Education as an ideological terrain as it is not neutral.

Locate the role and purpose of education in the political economy under capitalism.

Challenges of education as they draw attention of many as a societal issue not sectoral or government.

Use the overarching vision of South African society "People's Education for People's Power" as yardstick to measure progress on the transformation of education, particularly the 7 features, namely: Destroying the backwardness of the apartheid system; mass based education; Reaching-out to all the people of this country, be they young and old, in farms, town or cities; Not to serve the interest of the rich; based on the actual experience of our people; Uncover the cultural



heritage of our people; unify the nation and pave the way for people's power (in control of both political and economic power).

Modalities: Health

NHI

Food Security/Nutrition

Preventative disease

Infrastructure

Breaking oligopolies

Big Pharmaceutical companies

Modalities: Economy

Cost of living

Macroeconomic Policy

Create more decent and sustainable jobs

Call for radical transformation of the financial sector

Land reforms for urban and rural transformation

Campaign against the continuation of austerity/Neoliberalism

Call for people's budget – Budget/MTBPS

Just Energy Transition

Modalities: Crime

In terms of the 2022/23 Annual Report, South African Police Services (SAPS), boast about 179,502 police officers in South Africa detached to 1163 police stations and responsible to police a population of over 60 million. This fall short of the UN recommended police-to-population ratio of 1:220.

Currently, police to population ratio stands at 1:450. In 1995, when the Police Service was established, after the integration of all police forces from defunct homelands, to form one Police Service, the service had 120 000 members to police 41.7 million people.

Crime Statistics for the Third Quarter Financial Year 2023/2024

The first two (2) quarters of the year 2023/2024 a number of just over 442 thousand arrests were effected, a further number of arrests as outlined below were effected during the festive season.



32 229 suspects were arrested for common assault and assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm

4 882 suspects were arrested for murder and attempted murder

4 783 suspects were arrested for sexual offences related crimes such as rape and attempted rape

6 383 people were arrested for driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs

3 747 suspects were arrested for dealing in drugs while,

16 942 suspects were arrested for being in possession of drugs

2581 suspects were arrested for being in possession of illegal and prohibited firearms and ammunition.

Serious Crime

Major Drug busts: In this period (2023/24 financial year), R800 million worth of drugs were destroyed in Gauteng. These were drugs collected during policing operations across the country. 15 Drug clandestine drug laboratories were shut down with 21 suspects arrested for drug related charges including manufacturing and dealing in drugs.

Murder: During this period, 2023/24 financial year, a total of 7 710 people were murdered. This accounts for an increase of 2.1% compared to the previous year 2022/2023. The majority of the top 30 stations where murder was most reported include, the Western Cape, KwaZulu Natal, Gauteng and Eastern Cape and amongst the top 5 stations are in Inanda in KZN, and Mfuleni, Gugulethu, Nyanga and Khayelitsha in the Western Cape.

Sexual offences related crimes: Although there was a decline of about 1.7% on rape, sexual assault and contact sexual offenses during the period, Gender Based Violence remains a pandemic in South Africa and the numbers are still significantly high at 15,284.

Stats comparison on percentage to the previous year:

Murders are up 2,1%;

Attempted Murders are up 12,9%;

Assaults (GBH) are up 5,8%;

Assaults (Common) are up 0,4%;

Robberies at residential premises are up 1,7%;

Robberies with aggravating circumstances are up 6,6%; and

Carjackings are up 6,5%.



Assaults with the intent to cause grievous bodily harm against children are up by 11,9% and against women are up 7% since this time last year.

Roundup Figures 3rd quarter 2023/2024 Financial Year

7,710 Murders (85,7 per day);

15,284 Sexual Offences (169,8 per day);

7,927 Attempted Murders (88 per day);

53,513 Assaults (GBH) (594,6 per day);

52,965 Assaults (common) (588,5 per day);

6,360 Robberies at residential premises (70,7 per day);

40,331 Robberies with aggravating circumstances (448,1 per day); and

5,973 Car jackings (66,4 per day)

These stats requires the societal response or reaction not only police or government – hence the left popular front to protect the working class.

Community Safety/Security

Revamping and strengthening police forums in communities where the working class leave.

Redefine organs of people's power such as street and ward committees.

Revive Know Your Neighbour Campaign.

Build caring and trained patrollers in streets.

What is to be done?

Collect Data of all structures, organisations (both national and local), CBOs, civic organisations, women movements, progressive movements, youth structures and movement (inclusive of students), pressure groups in communities, etc.

Prepare all structures of COSATU and the Party from national up to local level on the form and content of the front.

Regular joint COSATU and SACP meetings assessing progress and intervene where necessary

Identify key relevant campaigns for all areas identified for mass mobilisation as raised earlier on.

Identify key role players – organisations and individuals as coordinators from local, provincial up to national.

Prepare for the launch of the fronts or campaigns



COSATU and her Affiliates with the SACP should remain as resource for this work and its success – should put a proper infrastructure to drive this necessary political and revolutionary tasks.

TRADE UNIONISM AND SOLIDARITY – COMRADE DINGA SIKWEBU



A fragmented labour movement?

- Old ways of organising
- Political alliances
- Ideological affiliations

“All these factors have contributed to working class fragmentation and a lack of unity ...”

Parties to PSCBC: A reflection of a fragmented labour movement?





Fragmentation is everywhere

National Health Education and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU)

Academic Staff Association of Wits University (ASAWU)

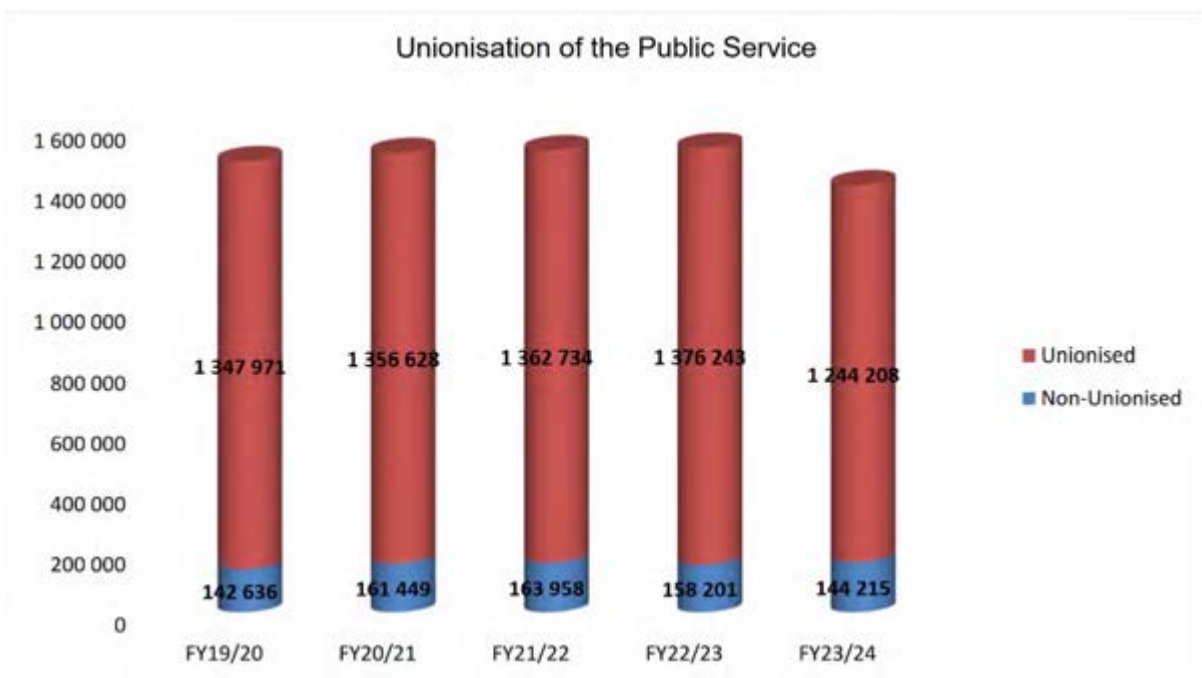
Admin, Library and Technical Staff Association (AL TSA)

National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA)

Union density in South Africa

Year	Formal sector employees only			All employees from both sectors			LFPR (%)	Unemployment rate (%)
	Employees (1 000s)	Union member (1 000s)	Union density (%)	Employees (1 000s)	Union member (1 000s)	Union density (%)		
1997	6 386	2 589	40.55	8 167	2 816	34.47	45.26	21.23
2001	7 202	2 810	39.01	9 012	2 894	32.12	56.32	29.40
2005	7 960	3 008	37.79	9 846	3 109	31.58	56.53	26.73
2010	9 596	3 531	36.80	11 698	3 559	30.42	54.79	23.88
2014	10 921	3 856	35.31	13 256	3 900	29.42	56.48	24.21
2018	11 330	4 005	35.35	14 012	4 042	28.85	59.09	27.03
2022	10 924	3 857	35.31	13 370	3 907	29.22	58.18	32.68

Source: Authors' own calculations using the OHS 1997, LFS 2001 and 2005 September, and 2010, 2014, 2018 and 2022 QLFS fourth quarter data.





GNU: The best possible political shell under which workers can struggle

National and provincial elections reflect a class stalemate in society. Having its reliable political reps dislodged in 1994, the capitalist/ruling class has been involved in a PASSIVE REVOLUTION (reorganisation and restoration of class power from above) over the last 30 years

A minority government would lead to more instability and uncertainty.

An ANC – EFF – (MKP) would lead to an intensification of PASSIVE REVOLUTION by the ruling class. Needed is SPACE TO REBUILD to repel PASSIVE REVOLUTION.

GNU's neoliberal foundations

Code name for austerity: "Macro-economic management must support national development goals in a sustainable manner". – GNU Statement of Intent

Challenge: The call for a "professional, merit-based, non-partisan, developmental public service that puts people first", in the context of austerity can lead to de-professionalisation.

Don't becry fragmentation

Hlanganani Basebenzi
Commemorating South Africa's Labour Movement

Origins of the trade union movement

In 1919, the first trade union for black workers came into being. The Industrial and Commercial Union (I.C.U.) was formed by Clements Kadalie and some dockworkers. Their basic demands were a minimum living wage and decent working hours. There were many strikes by African workers challenging the discrepancies in wages between workers. These strikes were crushed with force by the police.

Black farm workers' wages were miserably low:

- Men earned R1.20 per month.
- Women earned 50c per month.

Black industrial workers earned:

- R1 per month in rural areas.
- R8 per month in towns.

Capitalism breeds fragmentation of labour

- Proletarianisation (the making of the working class) fragments labour
- Labour market segmentation divides labour
- Differences in experience and unevenness in consciousness lead to different political & ideological orientations

Proletarianisation

- Migrants across Southern Africa
- Workers who migrated from Europe



- African workers dispossessed of their land
- Indentured workers recruited from South Africa

Labour Market Segmentation

Labour market segmentation divides labour according to:

Skills (craft or professional unions)

Workers who enjoy stable and secure jobs vs. careers with good development prospects, those who face instability in employment, and income uncertainty.

Fragmentation as a reflection of ideological differences

General Confederation of Labour (CGT), Confédération Générale du Travail: Communist

French Democratic Confederation of Labour (CFDT), Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail: Historically Christian. Sees itself as reformist.

Worker Force (FO), Force Ouvrière, officially (CGT-FO): Anti-communist union.

CFTC: Christian tradition

General Confederation of Clerical and Managerial Staff (CGC), Confédération Générale des Cadres: Union of supervisors.

Causes of fragmentation within PSCBC

Proletarianisation (historical make-up of workers) race, gender or origin?

Labour market segmentation (employees organising by skill, profession or craft)?

Ideological differences?

How to proceed under a GNU with a fragmented labour movement?

Don't bely fragmentation of the labour movement

Add two pillars to the union's strategy:

Pillar 1: Adopt a united front approach inspired by the Communist International (Comintern) strategy adopted to form united and popular fronts in the 1920s and 1930s.

Pillar 2: Develop a unified approach to solidarity

What is a united front approach?

The approach was adopted by the Communist International (Comintern) in 1922 to encourage collaboration between Communist Parties and Social-Democratic Parties.



Encouraged collaboration between the (IFTU) International Federation of Trade Unions (1919-1945) and Red International of Labour Unions (RILU) formed on 19 July 1921.

United front approach

Work with political parties across ideological lines.

Work with trade unions that have different political and ideological orientations.

What is Solidarity?

"Citizens, let us think of the basic principle of the International: Solidarity. Only when we have established this life-giving principle on a sound basis among the numerous workers of all countries will we attain the great final goal which we have set ourselves. The revolution must be carried out with solidarity; this is the great lesson of the French Commune, which fell because none of the other centers – Berlin, Madrid, etc. – developed great revolutionary movements comparable to the mighty uprising of the Paris proletariat". – Karl Marx, 1871 in a speech given in Amsterdam after a congress of the First International.

History of Solidarity

From the French *solidaire*, it has long signalled the solid bloc of resistance, the forms of association and unity that developed among modernity's dispossessed. Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker use the term to describe the forms of autonomous self-organization and coordinated resistance that developed between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, among sailors, slaves, pirates, dockworkers, peasants, religious radicals, and radical republicans across the Atlantic world. Likewise, Thomas C. Holt uses solidarity to analyse forms of slave resistance and post-emancipation revolts in colonial Jamaica.

Theorising Solidarity

I will argue that solidarity is best understood, not as an emotion or kind of fellow-feeling, but as a particular form of joint action characterized by a typical profile of commitments, intentions, and attitudes, and triggered by, inter alia, an identification with others on the basis of a shared cause, role, way of life, condition, or set of experiences". - Andrea Sangiovanni is Professor of Philosophy at King's College London.

What is Solidarity?

Solidarity is never a given. It is a political act.

Solidarity is a practice, not a sentiment.

Solidarity requires risk.

Solidarity starts from entanglement



Solidarity is a practice that cuts across identity and difference.

Solidarity emerges from and creates differential unities.

Solidarity practices work to create new subjects.

Solidarity is as much a temporal as a spatial concept.

Solidarity is as much a temporal as a spatial concept.

What does all this mean for the union?

Forge alliances with other unions in the sectors in which the union organises in.

Promote joint programmes of actions with other unions in the sector.

These collaborations to take place at all levels of the union.