

Defend the Namibian WRP! Put an end to the threats, interference, intimidation and harassment!

[threecolumns]The Workers Revolutionary Party of Namibia (a section of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International) is registered as a parliamentary party with long-standing member Hewat Beukes as its official responsible officer. In November 2014 the WRP took part in the Assembly (government) elections and won two seats.

However they faced problems immediately when parliamentary officials tried to insert a certain Willem Beukes as one of their MPs, whereas under Namibian law it is for each party itself to name its MPs. This being the case officialdom was obliged to back down. But this did not end the threats, interference, intimidation and harassment of the WRP.

The aim of the SWAPO (South West African People's Organisation) government is to silence effective opposition to their state-assisted looting of the country's assets and natural resources. Therefore they are deeply opposed to the policies which the WRP wants to pursue in Parliament. These were detailed in the maiden speeches of the two MPs explaining that "we use parliament to advance the demands of the working class including the poor peasantry". (NOTE: these two speeches are published in full in Workers International Journal no. 12, May 2015: web: workersinternational.info).

In cahoots with officials of the Namibian parliament, disgruntled, opportunist and politically backward elements are now attempting to close down the legally registered party and its responsible officer. These elements with craven respect for the "powers that be" are goaded on by unprincipled figures

such as the well-known lay-lawyer Auguste Maletzky, who in text messages on 8 and 9 May denounced SWAPO and its leaders Sam and Utoni Nujoma in gutter language, but on 10 May, hand-in-glove with SWAPO officials, denounced the leader of the WRP saying: “You [Hewat Beukes] are not the leader of the WRP! And we shall prove it to you”.

With hopes of personal gain involving the funding available for a parliamentary office and parliamentary duties, these people organised a raid on the family home of Hewat and Erica Beukes (one participant brandishing a gun!). They held a “congress” on Sunday 17 May at a luxury Hotel in Windhoek not far – but a world away – from the great mass of tin huts in the city’s suburbs, and then on Monday 18 May a journalist from Republikein newspaper informed Hewat Beukes that the paper had received a press statement from Maletzky stating that this “congress” had “elected” new leaders of the WRP and carried out expulsions!

For over three decades and with huge personal tragedy, the leaders of the WRP in Namibia have stood with the workers, poor farmers and oppressed ethnic groups in their country;

- first in the struggle against apartheid,
- then against “liberation” leaders who held back the struggle, exploited and abused genuine freedom fighters and murdered them, delivered them over to apartheid forces, imprisoned them in holes in the ground and tortured them
- then – against a corrupt regime brought in by an unholy alliance of the USSR, western imperialist business interests and western governments – fought for over two decades against exploitation, legal chicanery and attempted class violence on the part of the new SWAPO state.

This is the principled and recognised leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Namibia who dare to organise and speak out. It is therefore easy to see why the authorities urgently need to frustrate the wishes of the 13,328 Namibians who voted for the WRP. Under pressure and in public the SWAPO

government is hoping to assuage opposition by “admitting” it has made “mistakes” and it will now work hard to do better, but behind the scenes SWAPO is fuelling attacks on the opposition – the WRP.

The “International Updated Report” from the WRP Namibia details the behind-the-scenes alliance between parliamentary officials of the SWAPO regime (the Speaker of Parliament and the Secretary of the National Assembly) with this group which hopes to “dismantle the Workers Revolutionary Party and set up a surrogate” (<http://workersinternational.info/2015/05/international-report-from-wrp-namibia/>).

We are now calling upon all socialists and upholders of democratic rights to defend the WRP of Namibia. The following questions are being put to the Speaker of the Namibian Assembly:

- On what legal basis does he disregard due communications by the WRP’s statutorily authorized representative?
- On what legal basis does he communicate with unauthorized persons?
- On what basis does he accept illegal communications (without the registered logo, name, address, authorized rep) which constitute criminal offences?
- On what legal basis does he suspend payment and offices?

We in the Workers International have spent our lives facing down attempts to bully and intimidate us, and we do not take such threats lightly. We will take all necessary steps to stop any intimidation. The WRP Namibia has over many years of struggle established a real alliance with the many oppressed and exploited sectors in the country:

- ethnic groups struggling to maintain their lands against sell-off to foreign business interests, and for a fair share of the reparations from the former colonial power;
- home-owners who are unconstitutionally foreclosed;
- miners and civil servants and others robbed of their

pensions;

- workers struggling for a living wage.

The WRP Namibia has made considerable progress over the last couple of years. The party may suffer setbacks and blows orchestrated by the SWAPO regime manipulating opportunists who follow individual and sectional agendas. Such people have no confidence in the way forward involving the working class and poor farmers acting in their own class interests. But the WRP is a section of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International, and that body is precisely based on such confidence, not just in Namibia but all over the world.

So we will support each other in resisting and overcoming all such setbacks along the road of rebuilding the international leadership of the working class. We ask all those who have the interests of the working class at heart

1. To protest at these attempts to stifle and silence the WRP of Namibia.

Protests can be sent to:

j.jacobs@parliament.na and
parliament@parliament.gov.na

2. Contact the WRP Namibia (at P0 Box 3349 Windhoek, tel 061-260647, or email jacobusjosob@ymail.com) to express your support and solidarity and if possible arrange to donate to the comrades' fighting fund. Donations to the Workers International account: Account name: "Correspondence", Unity Trust Bank, Sort Code: 08-60-01, Account number: 20059400
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International report from WRP Namibia

An investigation into the operations of a strike force set up by one August Maletzky, Harry Boesak, Willem Beukes, and Benson Kaapala in cooperation with the Speaker of Parliament and the Secretary of the National Assembly to dismantle the Workers Revolutionary Party and set up a surrogate has produced the following insight:

The Speaker and the Secretary as far back as 8 May 2015 went into verbal and written communications with the said group regarding efforts to dismantle the WRP and to set up an organization with the same name.

On 9 May 2015 the group sent a group to a WRP Politbureau meeting at the house of Hewat and Erica Beukes where one of them threatened to shoot Cds Jacobus Josob and Sageus Tjihenuna, and anyone who worked with Hewat Beukes. He had to be restrained and dragged out of the house where he continued his threats both physical and politically. Most of the group were unknown lumpent elements.

The seriousness of these threats became only clear when it came to light that this group was operating under the direction of the Speaker, Professor Peter Katjavivi, Secretary Jakes Jacobs, a magistrate Oupa Britz, August Maletzky and Harry Boesak.

This group scheduled a meeting at the Safari Motel for 17 May 2015 for a meeting with persons to come from all over the country. The meeting alone will cost at least R60,000.00.

The following extracts from August Maletzky's email and cell phone messages which he sent around regarding his new masters and afterwards his tirades and threats carried to practicality

by his operatives against Hewat Beukes shows clearly to what extent and lengths the Speaker, Professor Peter Katijavivi would go to connive against the WRP.

It is a statement of character spanning the entire exile era.

Maletzky used the crudest and the most uncouth language against the Professor's party associates, but he does not wince for a second. Maletzky upon agreements turns right around and directs his total and absolute lack of culture against Hewat Beukes without a murmur from the Learned Professor.

The crude swearing of Maletzky constitutes *crimen injuria*, but our lawmaker has no qualms to associate himself.

The fact that he uses legitimate objections against the SWAPO whilst having no qualms to make a 180 degree turn-around shows the unprincipled character of the person.

Hewat Beukes you called me an inveterate criminal, and apologized after I compelled your sorry ass to. Well, Hewat Beukes, your sorry ass days are numbered. Do the right thing now, face the inevitable consequences. Freaken fool, thank your stars for having your teeth intact. Your dream is about to be shattered. Hungry Poes.. **August Maletzky** 08/05/15 20:04

Hewat Beukes, your boundless stupidity is about to backfire big time. How come you call yourself the leader of the WRP? Who gave you the right to: Besides, why don't dos lose the raging discontent about your legitimacy as WRP leader on FB? Isn't it laughable that the constitution of the WRP was signed by you and Josob? You are not the leader of WRP! And we shall prove it to you From: **August Maletzky** 10/05/15 22:01

August Galax 8 May at 19:51 Swapo's dirty panties on display: Utoni Nujoma, freaken kont! This is especially for you and your disgraced dad, Sam Nujoma:)

August Galax 8 May at 11:43 The Truth will always prevail...Swapo's betrayal of their own freedom fighters disclosed by none other than Mihe Gaomab. They, Swapo, are a disgrace and an insult to humanity. That is why they like parasites, survive by rigging elections!

We call on our members and our international comrades to support us in our struggle against the perverse and contemptible methods used by the Namibian Parliament to threaten the lives of our leaders, destroy the WRP and deny the Namibian electorate the right to elect their own representatives. We call on them to make their aversion to this perversion of Universal Franchise known to the world and the Namibian Parliament.

The bourgeoisie backslap and award these anti-democrats for sending the Namibian Nation deeper into the abyss. These are crucial actions by the imperialists to legitimize their surrogates.

Kindly make the contrary statement.

We call on our members and our international comrades to support us materially and financially to mobilise our defence against this vicious enemy and to exercise the right to build our party.

We assure you that nothing will deter us!

Signed: Hewat Beukes, Authorised representative

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY TO REBUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

P.O. Box 3349 Windhoek Fax: 088641065 Tel: 061-260647
jacobusjosob@ymail.com 15 May 2015

April 2015 Journal. Out Now!

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Invitation– from WRP Namibia

Letter:

to Mr. Charles Lobodell, Political Officer, American Embassy, Windhoek, re: Meeting 10 December 2014

Dear Sir,

You have requested a meeting with me to discuss:

- Our position on the election.
- Our programme for the next 5 years in parliament.

We have delegated Mrs Erica Beukes, Jacobus Josob and our two parliamentarians to meet with you on Thursday, 14:00, 11 December 2014. As indicated I will not be able to attend.

Our delegation is to discuss the following concerns.

In 1976 Dr Henry Kissinger on behalf of the American Government requested Sam Nujoma to get rid of the “radicals” in SWAPO. The “radicals” were SWAPO Youth League and PLAN fighters who were demanding a stop to the corruption of the SWAPO leadership and a Congress to call the leadership to order and chart out a political programme centred on self-determination. This leadership were using warehouses of weapons, food, clothing, medicine and general provisions as their wholesalers while PLAN fighters were dying of hunger in the camps.

They were also opposing the Sole and Authentic Representative status of SWAPO bestowed on it by the United Nations Organisation. The SWAPO leadership was tribal and did not represent the Namibian Nation.

Dr Kissinger also had talks with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

Shortly thereafter the Zambian Army rounded up the Plan and Youth League members and started killing them. The survivors

were kept at Mbaroma Camp in Zambia.

As a result of the Kissinger initiative, SWAPO in 1978 started building 3 metre deep dungeons in which it threw hundreds of SWAPO members culling them regularly by firing squad and hurling some of them from a mountain cliff in Southern Angola. Thousands died in this manner until 1989.

Three days before the Cassinga massacre the SWAPO leadership ordered the Mbaroma Camp inmates to be dressed in army fatigues and brought to Cassinga in southern Angola to be massacred on 4 May 1978.

Sam Nujoma during this reign of terror caused the 11-year old son of Martha Ford (née Beukes) to be killed as reprisal for her criticism of their treacherous politics and sexual abuse of young girls. Mrs Ford was a member of the Politbureau.

The ultimate consequence of this was that the issues of self-determination and civilization was deferred to today. We now sit with a kleptocracy which ravages the country and its people like a swarm of locusts.

Our delegation will also inform you of the electoral fraud which has become endemic in this country. The very sovereignty of the country has been shown to be void with the Indian voting machines. This has been declared "free and fair" by the European Union while the German Supreme Court has declared voting machines to be intransparent and open to fraud. Even Universal Franchise has been assailed and nullified.

Our concern is that the Kissinger Initiative put an indelible question mark on your invitation. We cannot be blamed for suspecting that this may be the beginning of American intervention in Namibian affairs which bodes ill for Namibia, ourselves and our party.

If that is the case, we demand that you desist from continuing the Kissinger initiative.

We write this letter for the historical record, the laws of which are stronger than any power.

Hewat Beukes, Authorised Representative.

Urgent appeal for assistance from the Workers Revolutionary Party of Namibia.



[threecolumns]**WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY TO
REBUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

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14 December 2014

INTERNATIONAL APPEAL

Our party is a member of the Workers International for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International. Its leadership emanated from the liberation struggle of Namibia and were part of the socialists in the SWAPO Youth League, which in 1976 unsuccessfully challenged the SWAPO Leadership for all-encompassing corruption and imperialist collaboration due to imperialist intervention.

In 1984 we started building our party clandestinely and stood

in the forefront of the struggle against the terror campaign and mass killings of SWAPO members by the SWAPO leadership in exile in Angola and Zambia. In 1988 our party called out the mass protests of 4 May 1988 against South Africa just prior to independence obtained in 1989.

Since 1990 we fought on all fronts on issues wracking the working class and the colonial status quo maintained by the colonial ruling classes through a caretaker boss-boy SWAPO regime.

We dealt with trade union issues, the homeless, the landless and workers who were in struggle over the past 24 years. We participated in elections to articulate a workers program and self-determination for national groups.

We did not stand in the 2009 elections due to our work with mass workers groups such as the TCL miners whose pensions were stolen, teachers who were being pauperized, fuel workers who were being brutalized, the Truth and Justice Committee seeking historical restitution of history, landless whom the regime sought to bulldoze after they had taken their land by themselves.

We took part in the 28 November 2014 general elections, incorporating former soldiers of South Africa who were forcefully conscripted during the colonial era and whose pensions were stolen by the SWAPO regime, and won two seats in the National Assembly to the consternation of the bourgeoisie.

The media speculate on how a party which have not made one rally or campaigned could obtain such high number of votes and for that matter a communist party.

Our votes vary between 1.5 and 2% over this vast country (1,600 km north to south, from central Namibia to north west 1,600 km, east to west 800 km.)

Our votes came mostly from organized groups and from

supporters of our work over 24 years.

Unlike the bourgeois parties we immediately establish contact with our voters and supporters to organize and to consult.

The Workers International supported us financially with their support crucial to our success over this vast country.

We now face a problem with a shortage of funds for follow-up work which is crucial for consolidation. We herewith appeal internationally for further support of at least one-thousand British pounds to sustain our work.

We further need to put out our own paper "The Worker" nationally to counteract the incessant attacks by the bourgeois media which seeks to portray us as unrealistic and misrepresent us.

We need to bring our true history to the regions through our branches and we are now in a position to take the next step to join the United Front with the NUMSA in South Africa.

At the moment there is no way in which we can meet the costs for this work ourselves until we have established proper organization.

You can donate to the following bank directly:

- Bank of Scotland
- Miss Eva-Panduleni Beukes
- Sort: 80-45-13
- Account No: 10164363

or send cheques made out to EP Beukes to P0 Box 68375, London E7 7DT

Hewat Beukes,

Leader.[/threecolumns]

ELECTION MANIFESTO FOR NAMIBIA 2014

[threecolumns]

**WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY TO REBUILD THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONALP.O. Box 3349 Windhoek Fax: 088641065 Tel:
061-260647 jacobusjosob@ymail.com**

Introduction

We are using the 2014 elections to propagate the following enlightenment for the working people of this country:

On 13 November 1970, the Namibian nation called together the National Convention at Rehoboth where national groups were represented by their respective leaders including the SWANU and SWAPO. It was to be a united front for the liberation of Namibia from South Africa. In January 1971 the UNO declared – SWAPO a tribal organization – the Sole and Authentic Representative of the Namibian People, thereby rendering void the right to self-determination of the Namibian People.

The UNO subsequently revoked the representative status of the leaders of the different national groups and thus opened the way for the South African sponsored Turnhalle Conference in 1975 and the Conscription Act in 1977.

We the present leaders of the WRP – then leaders of the Youth League – with others led the Anti-Conscription movement, which was opposed by the SWAPO leadership in exile.

The Anti-Conscription movement led to mutiny within the SWATF and soldiers who escaped fled into exile to Angola and Zambia

where they were forced to confess to being spies and all of them were killed.

In 1982 the "Five Western Powers" with South Africa and the UNO agreed to so-called National Reconciliation in which the South African sponsored parties would reconcile to leave the colonial economic situation as is.

SWAPO willingly reconciled with the colonial ruling classes, but seized N\$36 million of the SWATF/KOEVOET pension. These soldiers were demobilized and immediately became victim of Labour Hire and dire exploitation as part of the lower working classes.

The SWAPO leaders now use their phony liberation status to refuse to give back the stolen pensions.

The SWATF/KOEVOET represent in every respect the plight of the working classes of Namibia.

For this reason, we the WRP have integrated this group of soldiers to give them the respectable political home which they deserve.

Our election campaign is based on the following:

- 1. We, the WRP, go to Parliament to speak over the heads of the bourgeois parliament, to the masses of the people. We have no regard for the Namibian Parliament as it is an institution of capitalism and in a backward country like this it takes absurd forms in which it is a mere rubber stamp for legislation and decisions of the big corporations and the banks. We cannot speak of taking over parliament as the elections have already been rigged with inaccessible electronic voting machines made in India.*
- 2. We are using these elections to advance the demands of the working class including the poor peasantry and in*

particular the demands of the SWATF/KOEV0ET families and relatives, in relation to stolen pensions, loss of income and losses in general through economic sanctions, marginalization, victimization and discrimination, landlessness and homelessness.

3. We will articulate and support the demands of the Herero and Nama people for War reparations for Genocide (1904-8) from the German State.
4. We will put forward the seizure of our Natural Resources to enable us to fund the upliftment of the working class and poor peasantry in general and the neglected SWATF/KOEV0ET soldiers in particular.
5. We will put forward the immediate cessation of the wanton sale of our natural resources through Exploration Licenses (EPL's) with seizure of it without compensation, to enable us to fund the upliftment of the working class and poor peasantry.
6. The demands of the SWATF/KOEV0ET will also highlight the demands of the working class in general.
7. We will further advance the demand for basic needs of the working class families to be provided and subsidized by the government on the first tier level (Municipalities), housing, water and electricity, public transport, clinics, kindergartens, sport and recreation facilities, etc to be brought to the people.
8. We will advance taxation for excesses and demand **living** wages tied to the rate of inflation (and not minimum wages).
9. We will demand land to the landless and subsidies for the upliftment of the poor peasantry.
10. We commit ourselves to rebuild the 4th International with the world's working classes, the subregional working classes of Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia and in particular South Africa with which we share a common political history.

Hewat Beukes

Authorised Representative.[//threecolumns]

Marx falsified and emasculated on the essential question of class

[threecolumns]

HEWAT BEUKES responds to an article in the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper

The article reproduced below expressing the class position of an Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) MP appeared in the Mail & Guardian newspaper in South Africa. Ironically, it is an article which exposes the tribal petit bourgeois method of dividing the working class. We need to answer this article in its essential conjectures.

A cursory perusal of Marx's writings will show that it is simply not true that Marx deliberately glossed over the race question. In fact Marx showed in all its profoundness that where national and/or race oppression is present the working class can only emancipate itself after the freedom of the race and/or the nation. Lenin took this further in his "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" by showing that the working class can only unite and emancipate itself through a conscious struggle against such race and/or national oppression.

It is in this vein that Trotsky gave the choice to the South African white workers, either with the black working class or with imperialism. More cannot be said of the Marxist attitude to racism and particular oppression of sections of the class.

Karl Marx examined the historical development of human society

as a scientist with the aim of acting upon it to change it, not only to interpret it. In the process he uncovered amongst others, the social forces and the laws driving this development. Amongst them, he identified the central force as the struggle of the classes.

In capitalism he examined the process of the creation of value. He laid bare the social and property relations engendered by this capitalist production process of commodities. He examined the essential contradictory nature of these social and property relations which drives the conflict between the classes. He examined in the most minute detail the nature of labour including wage and chattel slavery and their impact on production of wealth, and the struggle of the working class. He even distinguished between the form and economic effects of ancient slavery and the trade with African slaves.

In his studies and analysis of class he did not find the national and/or race question a separate issue of interest, but a fundamental issue to be overcome by the revolutionary working class movement as of objective necessity of which moral or any other subjective considerations would naturally be concomitant, but not the departure.

This becomes clear in the following two quotes from Marx:

Letter of K. Marx to A. Vogt in New York London April 9, 1870:
But the English bourgeoisie has, besides, much more important interests in Ireland's present-day economy. Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of tenant-farming, Ireland steadily supplies its own surplus to the English labor market, and thus forces down wages and lowers the moral and material condition of the English working class. And most important of all! Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who

lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the negroes in the former slave states of the U.S.A. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and the stupid tool of the English rule in Ireland. This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short, by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it. But the evil does not stop here. It continues across the ocean. The antagonism between English and Irish is the hidden basis of the conflict between the United States and England. It makes any honest and serious co-operation between the working classes of the two countries impossible. It enables the governments of both countries, whenever they think fit, to break the edge off the social conflict by their mutual bullying, and, in case of need, by war with one another. England, being the metropolis of capital, the power which has hitherto ruled the world market, is for the present the most important country for the workers' revolution, and moreover the only country in which the material conditions for this revolution have developed up to a certain degree of maturity. Therefore to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Workingmen's Association. **The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent.**

Excerpt from K. Marx, Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. I (Chapter X, Section 7) "In the United States of North America, every independent movement for the workers

was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California.

It is clear from these quotes that to eliminate the race and national questions from Marxian science of class analysis is to stultify it, to pour concrete in its joints and render it meaningless and a futile exercise as in terms of Marx himself no revolution will emancipate the wage slave without addressing race and national oppression.

The EFF MP's position therefore seeks no less than to emasculate Marxism as the science of working class struggle and revolution. It seeks to do so without facts, by disregarding the written fact and replace it with fiction. It is the petit bourgeois method of renouncing Marx and Marxism.

Fanon was not a Marxist. He treated racism as a thing in itself, some inherent psychological response from whites against blacks. He could perhaps be described as a black nationalist in essence. He was not concerned with the economic implications of racism and its relation to and effect on the class struggle. He was occupied by racism as an empirical manifestation, and not by racial exploitation as a variant form of labour for the creation of value, and he brought to bear on it subjective evaluations rather than scientifically founded expositions.

Two quotes illustrate this point:

"The Negro enslaved by his inferiority, the white man enslaved by his superiority alike behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation."

"When people like me, they like me "in spite of my color."

When they dislike me; they point out that it isn't because of my color. Either way, I am locked in to the infernal circle."

It is clear that Fanon either did not read Marx, did not understand him or simply disregarded his work. From the Marxian quotes above it is clear that Fanon could not form a Triad with Marx and Lenin. Moreover, he does not approach the race question as an analyst or scientist, but as a victim.

The end result was as it is with all revisions, distortions and perversions of science, he could not put forward a relevant programme for the emancipation of the colonial working classes. With such a psychological baggage Fanon could not possibly reach at internationalism as a precondition for working class (and race) emancipation. He landed at guerrillaism of the peasantry, a class which Marxists consider the breeding place of individualist production, the embryo of capitalism if it develops outside the leadership control of the working class.

This was the model on which Southern African liberation movements built their incumbencies with dire consequences for the working class. This was done in full approval of the imperialists. In a central square in Harare a huge statue of a peasant with a sickle in his hand stare fiercely and derisively down on workers passing through or having their meals. The radio and media used to lambast them for their purported bourgeois values and individualism while the peasants had selflessly sacrificed for independence. It was never true. In Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique the urban proletariat provided the centralisation and organisation for the liberation movement. Due to the need to scupper national self-determination imperialism and Stalinism wrested control away from them.

The intimation from black or race nationalists that imperialism and capitalism had some innate psychological partiality to race is belied by history of South Africa

itself: During the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902 about 30,000 Boers mostly women and children died in the British concentration camps. Nothing equalled this in the 400-year colonial history of South Africa in terms of racial brutality. It was surpassed in extent only in neighbouring Namibia during 1904-8 with the near extermination of the Herero and the Nama nations for resisting subjugation and exploitation and not on the basis of racist compulsions.

The ease of the merger of black and white in their collective exploitation of the black and white workers and their collective hatred of the black working class as revealed in Marikana put the issue beyond doubt.

This is actually a phenomenon which was not understood by Fanon. Throughout the several hundred-year epoch of capitalist race exploitation, the emergent African feudal and tribal ruling classes were an indispensable part of that process. Basil Davidson in his "In The Eye of the Storm" relates how the ruling castes of the Central African Kingdom amongst others traded with slaves with European colonisers of the Americas. Likewise imperialism in post-colonial Southern Africa needed the tribal royalties and black petit bourgeoisie for its continuation.

We now turn to South Africa itself. The issues surrounding "black consciousness" – the central theme of the article – have been wracking Southern Africa since around 1970. A black consciousness movement which rejected any compromise with the white ruling class took root at the time. Steve Bantu Biko became its iconic leader. It essentially shunned class analyses, but it demanded no less than a proportional appropriation of the economic resources as a basis of any conciliation between white and black.

This militant black nationalism was counteracted by a "non-racial" alliance of black nationalists and the liberal bourgeoisie which eclipsed black consciousness in the 1980's

with the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), an ANC front. (During this period the ANC and the SWAPO were liquidating thousands of young activists in exile including the youth who had fled Namibia during 1974 and South Africa in 1976 and its aftermath.) The UDF's black-white unity was condition less and they eclipsed the militants which had no class analysis and defence for their purported "reverse racism" against the former's pragmatic unity. Of course, factors that assisted in the demise of the militants were the billions pumped into the promotion of the bourgeois alliance by imperialism, through the Anti-Apartheid Movement and physical elimination. Steve Biko is the most notable example of this physical annihilation by the South African State.

Epigones of the black consciousness proponents remain in South Africa. But, unlike their progenitors, they are eclectic and responsible for the attempts to fragment the working class in tribal and national groups and strata. Of course this is inevitable if one responds to class oppression in race and tribal terms. This position has much to do with the outlook of the petit bourgeoisie in general, the tribal petit bourgeoisie in particular.

There can be no doubt that the production of surplus value and its expropriation is the central objective of the capitalist. There can thus be no doubt that racial exploitation of labour is a sub-relation of class exploitation.

But, in South Africa there is no longer exploitation based on race enforced by law.

There remain no institutional obstacles to the unity of the South African working class.

The task is now to strengthen the United Front with NUMSA and to take it forward to build a revolutionary party for Southern Africa which shall seek unity with the international working class movement. This unity will be obtained within the

struggle to redeem the true history of the working class.

By Hewat Beukes, Oct. 2014

From:

<http://mg.co.za/article/2014-09-26-class-theory-finally-decolonised>

"Class theory finally decolonized

26 Sep 2014 00:00 Andile Mngxitama

Fanon creates a triad with Marx and Lenin, to help the EFF reclaim class from its racist foundations.

We need Frantz Fanon, the black thinker of anti-racism, to keep in check the European sensibilities of the first two (Vladimir Lenin and Karl Marx) in the holy triumvirate. (Supplied)

Ironically, "class" a putatively combative analytical category in the Marxian tradition, has been one of the most effective means to hide race oppression in racist and colonial societies.

This claim would surprise many because class, as a Marxist tool of analysis, seeks to identify more precisely the workings of capitalism and also to identify the social strata imbued with the capacity and interest to carry out the task of being the "grave diggers" of capitalism – those who would usher in the socialist society where suffering will cease to exist. That was Karl Marx's fantasy in any event.

The problem is that Marx was trapped in the Eurocentric, anti-black racism of his time. This truth is part of the DNA of his philosophy. Marx's racist, mechanical thinking on the movement of history leads him to call for the colonisation of nonEuropean worlds to hasten the march towards communist nirvana. So, the foundation of class theory is anti-black.

Class analysis needs be decolonised and subjected to anti-racist analysis if it's going to serve black people. The hegemony of white thought has ensured the acceptance of class unquestioningly. In our universities, which are dominated by Western thought, class is seen as a scientific category, whereas race is considered a mere epiphenomena, a derivative of class, or even a non-category of "social constructionism".

From the above, the conclusion is drawn that race does not exist. Blacks cease to exist because, as we hear, class is the fundamental contradiction. But black radical thinkers such as Frank Wilderson have shown that class cannot account fully for black suffering, which exceeds the capitalist exploitation and alienation that affect white workers.

Black suffering also includes "fungibility", the idea that one doesn't just sell one's labour power as white workers do, but that one is sold as a commodity. White workers could buy themselves a black person off an auction block during the days of slavery, and they are known to have done so. This is over and above the fact that white workers benefit from the exploitation of blacks.

In South Africa, the early Afrikaner proletariat had access to the slave labour of Africans. Basically, they were workers who owned workers; the story of inboekselings – the African slaves of the trekboere – is still to be told.

Bad history

In South Africa, class reductionism has a bad history. White Marxists insisted on it as a choice weapon to avoid accounting for their complicity in black oppression. Often, the insistence on class instead of race in anti-black, racist societies actually meant the defence of the settler colony.

In South Africa this led to the bizarre situation where black people were trained to deny white oppression and say they were oppressed by an abstract, impersonal "system", not white

people.

This saw guerrilla insurgents sent back from exile at great personal risk to destroy “economic installations” and to take care not to harm white people in the process.

We ended with a war without a war when on the side of the white oppressor, the black person was the actual subject of exploitation and violent repression, as demonstrated by the occupation of the townships by the army and police, hit squads and long-term jail sentences, if not capital punishment. White oppression was personal, the Marxist response was impersonal.

There is a bitter truth to face: to be a class warrior or even a Marxist doesn't mean one is above anti-black racism. The dramatic resignation of Aimé Césaire from the French Communist Party in 1957 shows this reality in clear terms.

Césaire, who was protesting the reality that Marxism was put to racist use, poignantly stated: “What I want is that Marxism and communism be placed in the service of black people, and not black people in the service of Marxism and communism.”

At times when listening to black people who have assumed Marxism, one can't fail to notice how their entry to the thought process requires that they deny themselves as black people.

Triad of Marx, Lenin and Fanon

Up to now difficulties of class theory have not been decisively resolved. The self-description by the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) as a “Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian” party presents a refreshing attempt to decolonise the anti-capitalist struggle. This triad of Marx, Lenin and Frantz Fanon is recognition that Marxist-Leninism in racist societies falls short of the task of emancipation.

We need Fanon, the black thinker of anti-racism, to keep in check the European sensibilities of the first two in the holy

triumvirate.

As far as we know, it's the first time that a political movement has explicitly expressed its ideological framework in this way.

Fanon, a student of Césaire, was to turn the Marxist schema upside down, almost as profoundly as Marx had done with Friedrich Hegel.

Fanon argued that in colonial settings, "Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched" because, he argued, "the economic substructure is also a superstructure. The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich".

The EFF's ideological innovation introduces a productive tension that may contribute towards developing a theory and practice of emancipation that reclaims class from its racist foundations and decolonises it in the service of black emancipation.

Class is too important to be left to racists to misuse at will in the defence of white supremacy.

Andile Mngxitama, an EFF MP, is co-editor of Biko Lives! to be launched on September 26, and is the founding editor of New Frank Talk, a journal on the black condition. He writes in his personal capacity"

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In Response to the SA Metalworkers union's "Movement for Socialism" proposal

[threecolumns]

HEWAT BEUKES, a leader of Workers International, previously a member of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) Youth League and now in opposition to the Namibian SWAPO government, interviewed TANGENI NUUKUAWO, a leader of the 1971-72 general strike and also formerly a member of the SWAPO Youth League. This is an extract from the book "Movement for Socialism"

In the first chapter of "Trade Union Struggles for Freedom in South Africa" (page 43 in this book) there is a reference to the 1971-72 general strike in Namibia (then South West Africa) being a prelude to the strike wave in Durban in 1973. The Namibian strike also profoundly affected the freedom movement when 4,000 youth joined the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in exile.

The South West African Native Labour Association (SWANLA) was formed in 1943 by the South Africa colonial government for the purpose of herding workers from the north of Namibia to work in the mines in the south.

Under the so-called contract system, workers were gathered together in Ondangua and then driven down to Grootfontein where their assigned bosses would collect them. The compulsory contract was for 18 months. Over time the entire commercial, small industrial, mining and agricultural sectors would be fed by contract labour.

Tangeni experienced this himself and remembers his father who was a labourer in Walvis Bay. He was employed on compulsory 18-month contracts, during which time he could not come home and his wife was not allowed to visit him. Tangeni obtained a permit to visit his father in the compound, but for only one hour at lunchtime.

The beds were concrete slabs protruding from the wall, one on top of the other. Rooms were small for two to four occupants, but during the return of seasonal workers these were overcrowded. The food was the same day after day for 18 months; lunch consisted of porridge with either meat or fish relish, and breakfast consisted of brown bread with jam.

It was slave conditions, performing back-breaking labour without sitting down for more than eight hours a day. Workers developed back problems and illnesses arising from the unsanitary conditions. If you became sick you lost your job.

Many Angolans were contracted. They were much cheaper than the Namibians. Mostly illiterate, they suffered even worse abuse and exploitation. Many lost their lives due to being killed on farms with no relatives to enquire and question their whereabouts. They were slaughtered.

The inhuman conditions built up frustration and resentment to breaking point amongst the vast number of workers housed in large compounds especially in the urban areas, and in 1971 the anger boiled over into a general strike which started on 13 December 1971 and ended on 20 January 1972.

The organisation was underground with the leaders explaining to the workers concentrated in the compounds that their situation could only be changed through political struggle. They needed to overthrow the system. They demanded amongst others:

- the right to free movement;
- better wages and better conditions of work;
- the pass book to be replaced by an I.D.;
- the right to negotiate for pay and to choose their own employers.

However, finally the only change brought about by the strike was the shortening to six months of the compulsory period before returning home to see their families.

Nevertheless the strike had a heavy impact on the economy. Production went down in mines and fishing, also farms were unattended. Most important, it gave way to political organisation and awareness. The colonial regime transported many workers back to the north, but they returned as organised workers, and as a token of defiance and freedom they cut a large section of the border fence between Namibia and Angola.

Before the strike, political organisation was loose. The SWAPO Youth League consisted of unstructured individuals. The Strike gave structure and organisation both to the workers and the Youth League. In 1973 there were school boycotts in the north and organisation of national resistance against the Bantustan policy enforced by the Odendaal Plan of 1964 which put homeland "second tier" authorities in place for the various national groups.

These boycotts and resistance were met by harsh repression by the colonial regime and the homeland authorities. In the north youth and workers were tied to trees and flogged with palm branches. This led to an exodus of four thousand youth in 1974 to join the SWAPO in exile in Zambia; when the Anti-Apartheid Committee interviewed the youth in Lusaka they mostly wanted to hear about the strike

No wonder! The Namibian General Strike defied the largest colonial military force in Africa – one soldier for every 12 Namibians – and shocked not only the colonial administration for its determination and death defiance but the South African regime itself.

It was a big thing internationally. South African contract workers in mines and industry suffered the same conditions as those who took strike action in Namibia, and so the mood spread. A strike of 300 PUTCO workers in the Transvaal against low wages was followed by the wave of strikes which exploded in Durban in 1973. Our general strike had an impact in South Africa, and the development of workers' struggles in South

Africa had an impact on us.

In Namibia the general strike led to a restive period of labour resistance and political organisation culminating in the 1978 Rössing Strike which involved thousands of miners at the Rössing uranium mine and other mines and which saw the formulation of a broad set of demands including trade union demands. This level of development was influenced by the trade union struggles in South Africa.

Today it is particularly important that the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (NUMSA) has broken with the ANC. Even when we joined SWAPO in exile in Zambia in 1974 we were already conscious of the corruption and political poverty of the SWAPO leaders and SWAPO in government has proved this to be true! We knew when we organised the general strike that workers' conditions could only be changed through political struggle. Workers here are faced with the same task as workers in South Africa – to start a Movement for Socialism.

NUMSA is the biggest affiliate of the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), but COSATU is in President Zuma's pocket and the ANC can't even implement the Freedom Charter! I thought the general secretary of the ANC was a communist, but then I listened to his statements on relations between the ANC and the unions and realised that the ANC seeks to seriously weaken the workers' situation, and so I agree 100% with NUMSA's decision to work towards a new independent workers' party for socialism.

It is now our job to educate and organise![/threecolumns]

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