

# **Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital* as a guide to popular solidarity for an emancipatory left**

**Patrick Bond, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa**

**Presented to the conference**

## **The 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of *The Accumulation of Capital***

**Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (Berlin), 9 March 2014**



- crisis tendencies and displacements
- capitalist & non-capitalist relations
- circuits of capital
- overaccumulation's spatio-temporal fixes
- imperialism, BRICS subimperialism
- brics-from-below & other solidarities

# The Accumulation of Capital in Southern Africa

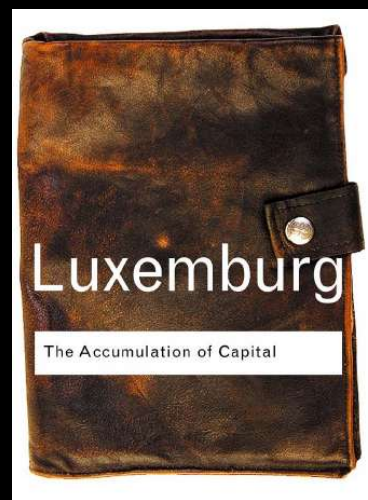


rosa luxemburg political education seminar 2006

## SOUTH AFRICA THE PRESENT AS HISTORY FROM MRS PLES TO MANDELA & MARIKANA



John S. Saul & Patrick Bond



***extra-economic extraction***  
**in capitalist/non-capitalist relations**



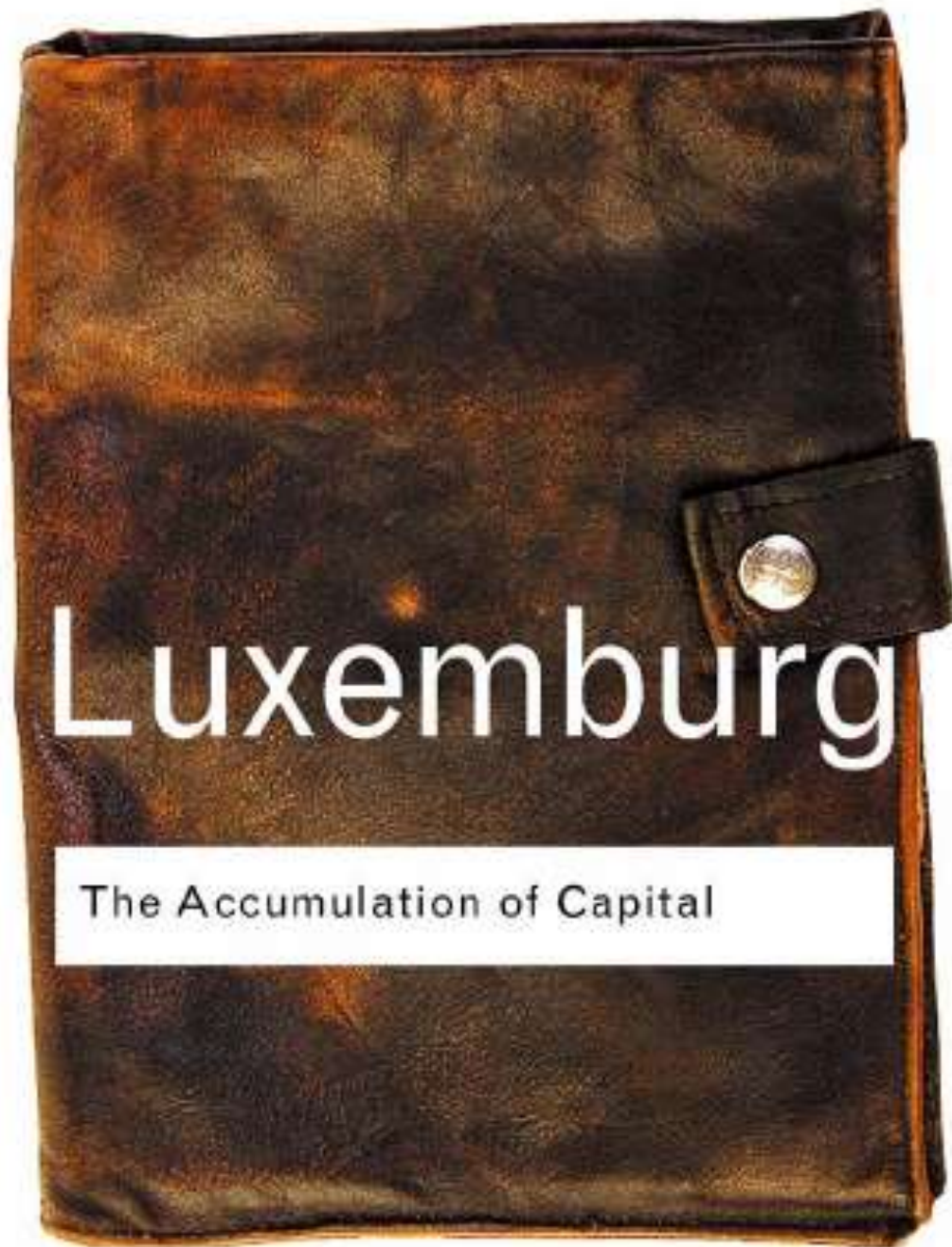
**Rosa Luxemburg**

**Accumulation of capital periodically**

**bursts out in crises** and spurs capital on to a continual extension of the market. Capital cannot accumulate without the aid of non-capitalist relations, nor ... can it tolerate their continued existence side by side with itself.

**Only the continuous and progressive**  
***disintegration of non-capitalist*** relations makes accumulation of capital possible.





Non-capitalist relations provide a fertile soil for capitalism; more strictly: capital feeds on the ruins of such relations, and although this non-capitalist milieu is indispensable for accumulation, the latter **proceeds at the cost of this medium nevertheless, by eating it up.**

Historically, the accumulation of capital is a kind of **metabolism between capitalist economy and those pre-capitalist methods of production without which it cannot go on and which, in this light, it corrodes and assimilates.** (p.397)

# **Luxemburg *follows flows and crises of capital***

**Marx emphasises the need for perpetual 'overproduction', i.e. enlarged reproduction, since a strict policy of simple reproduction would periodically lead to reproductive losses. (p.63)**

**The course of reproduction shows continual deviations from the proportions of the diagram which become manifest**

- (a) in the fluctuations of prices from day to day;**
- (b) in the continual fluctuations of profits;**
- (c) in the ceaseless flow of capital from one branch of production to another, and finally in the periodical and cyclical swings of reproduction between overproduction and crisis. (p.76)**





# UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Nature, Capital and the Production of Space

NEIL SMITH

Third Edition, With a New Afterword

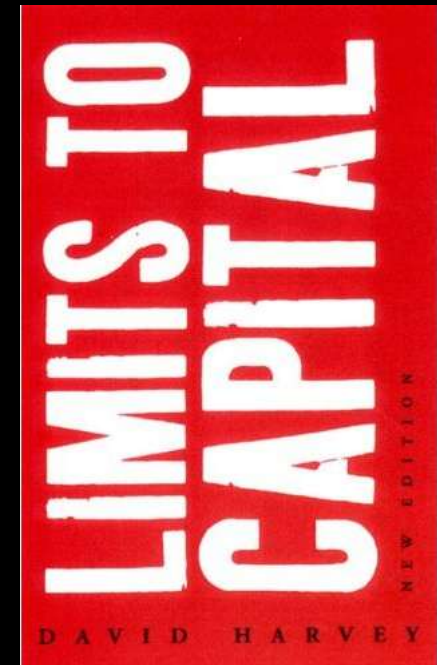
DAVID HARVEY  
**THE ENIGMA  
*of* CAPITAL**



AND THE CRISES  
*of* CAPITALISM



DAVID HARVEY  
THE NEW IMPERIALISM



# political economy: *follow circuits of capital*





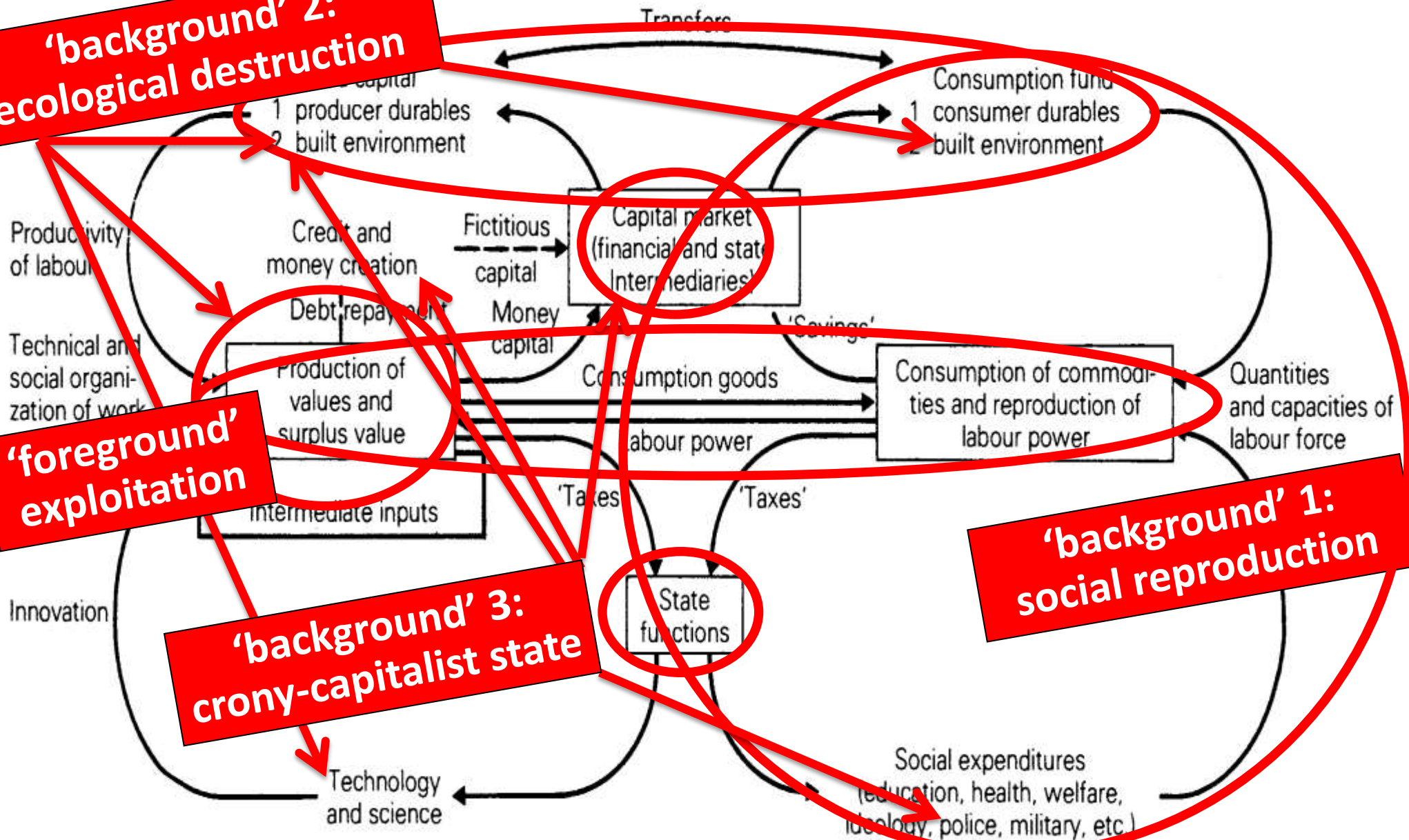
# political economy: *follow the flows of capital*

**'background' 2:  
ecological destruction**

**'foreground' exploitation**

**'background' 3:  
crony-capitalist state**

**'background' 1:  
social reproduction**





# political economy: *follow the crises of capital*

- 1) rising organic composition of K, overproduction
- 2) overaccumulation intensifies ruinous competition
- 3) capital responds to crisis tendencies:
  - Marx – search for relative and absolute surplus value
  - Luxemburg – capitalist-noncapitalist relations, imperialism
  - Harvey – spatio-temporal fixes, accumulation by dispossession
- 4) relative surplus value amplifies overproduction
- 5) absolute surplus value leads to imperialism
- 6) dominant capitals resist and transfer devalorisation to vulnerable spaces and populations, and to nature

**territorially-rooted power blocs** generated by internal alliances (and conflicts) within national boundaries, or occasionally across boundaries to regional scale, are the critical units of analysis when it comes **to fending off the devalorization of overaccumulated capital**

concentrations of economic and political power within one region can become a basis for the domination and exploitation of others. Under threat of devaluation, each regional alliance seeks to use others as a means to alleviate its internal problems. The struggle over devaluation takes a regional turn. But the regional differentiations are rendered unstable thereby. Furthermore, the variegated mobilities of capital and labour power tend to undermine the very regional structures they help create. Regional alliances founder on the rock of international competition and the impulsion to equalize the rate of profit (particularly on money capital). The struggle to reduce turnover time re-orders relative distances and makes nonsense of regional boundaries, which are highly porous anyway (even when patrolled by customs and immigration officers). And when devaluation threatens, individual elements of both capital and labour can just as easily run for the safest havens as stay in place and fight to export the costs to other regions.

## World GDP\*

% change on a year earlier



\*Estimates based on 52 countries representing 90% of world GDP. Weighted by GDP at purchasing-power parity

Source: *The Economist*



The opening up of global markets in both commodities and capital created openings for other states to insert themselves into the global economy, **first as absorbers but then as producers of surplus capitals**. They then became competitors on the world stage.

What might be called **'subimperialisms'** arose... **each developing centre of capital accumulation sought out systematic spatio-temporal fixes for its own surplus capital by defining territorial spheres of influence...**



# Harvey's augmentation of crisis theory:

- '*spatial fix*' – from gentrification to globalisation
  - **shifting** overaccumulation across space, amplifying uneven development
- '*temporal fix*' – financialization
  - **stalling** across time using credit system (mop up overproduction now but pay later)
- '*accumulation by dispossession*' – imperialism
  - **stealing** across space and time, amplifying uneven and combined development

<http://davidharvey.org>



# Luxemburg: *the limits of crisis displacement*

Capitalism is the first mode of economy which is unable to exist by itself, which **needs other economic systems as a medium and soil**. Although it strives to become universal, and, indeed, on account of this its tendency, it must break down – because it is immanently incapable of becoming a universal form of production.

In its living history it is a contradiction in itself, and **its movement of accumulation provides a solution to the conflict and aggravates it at the same time.** (p.447)



***Berlin, 1884-85***  
***'Scramble for Africa'***

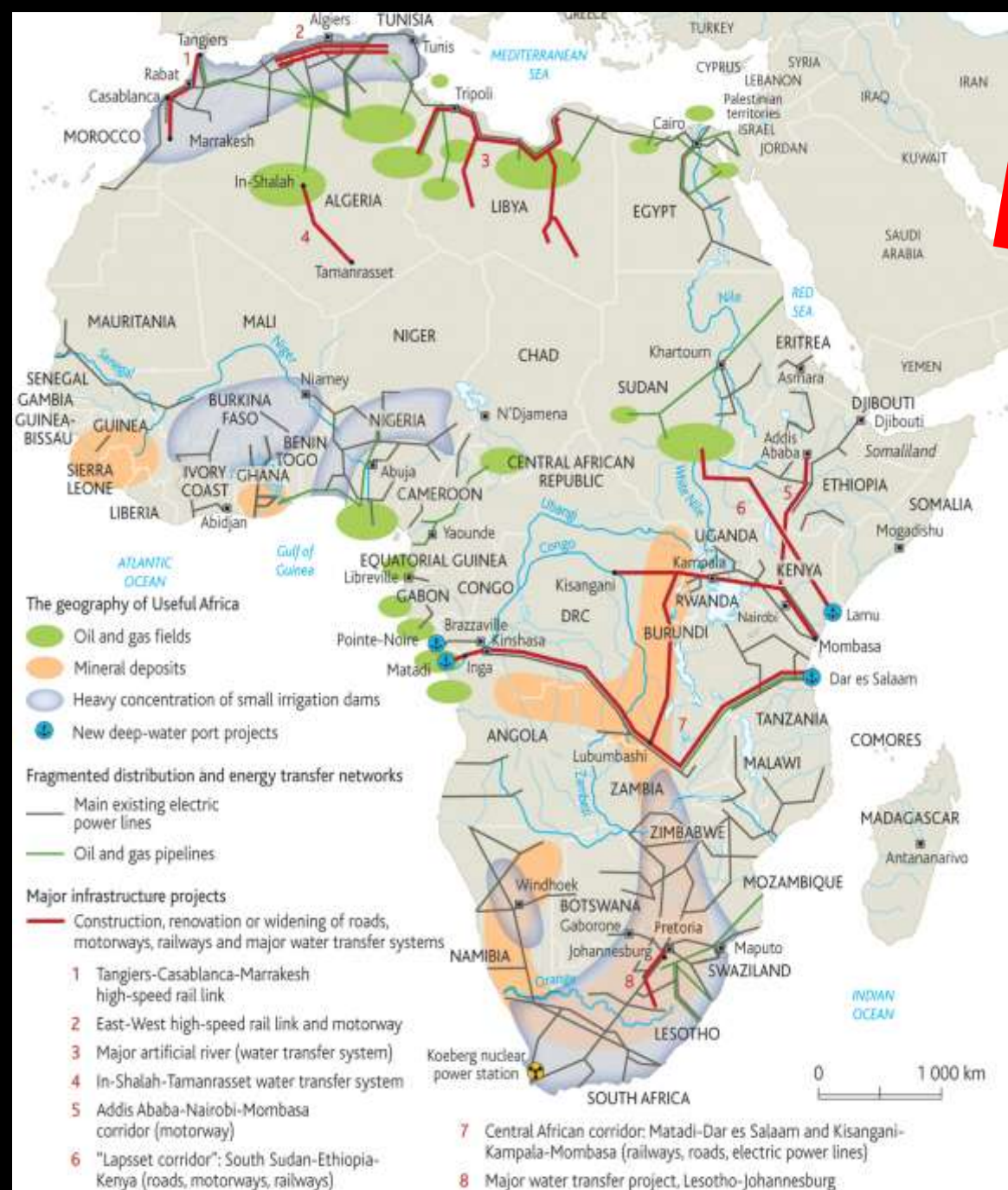




what did they  
all want here?

## useful Africa

Source: Le Monde Diplomatique, Feb 2011



***Berlin, 1884-85***



***Africa carved***



# *Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Spain, etc*





***Durban, 2013***  
***BRICS summit***

Manmohan Singh

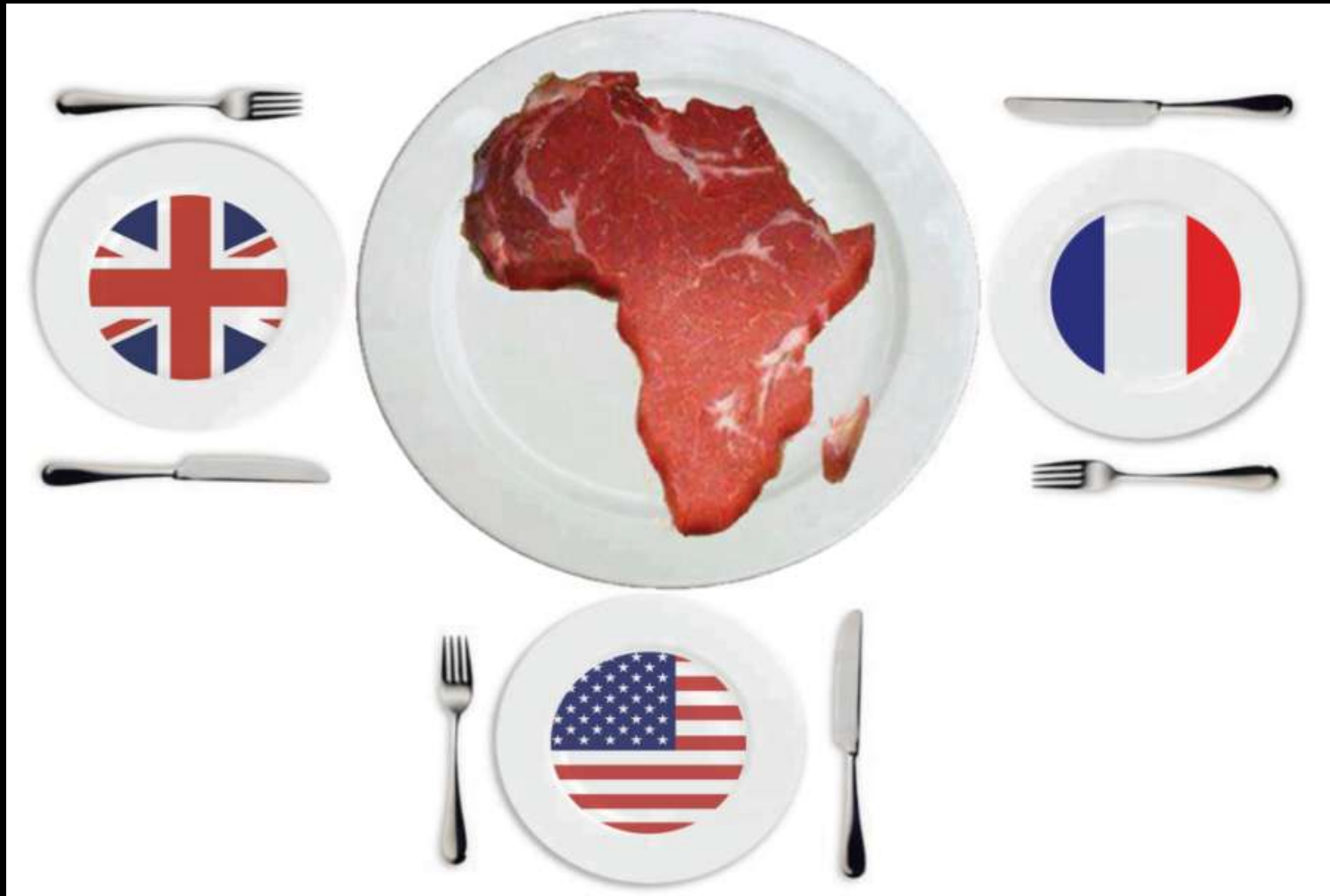
Xi Jinping

Jacob Zuma

Dilma Rousseff

Vladimir Putin

# against neocolonialism and neoliberalism?





or

within?



**New York Times:** 'BRICS can agitate for *a seat at the table*' of the global economy, through 'signing new *financial cooperation* agreements... [and] *signaling discontent at their lack of influence* over decision-making within the world's *existing financial institutions, and exploring steps to do something about it*' (April 2012)

**BRICS Development Bank (\$50 bn)**



**Contingent Reserve Arrangement (\$100 bn)**

# *global leaders amplify climate crisis*

## Copenhagen Accord, COP 15, December 2009

*"they broke  
the UN"  
(Bill McKibben,  
350.org)*

- Jacob Zuma (SA)
- Lula da Silva (Brazil)
- Barack Obama (USA)
- Wen Jiabao (China)
- Manmohan Singh (India)

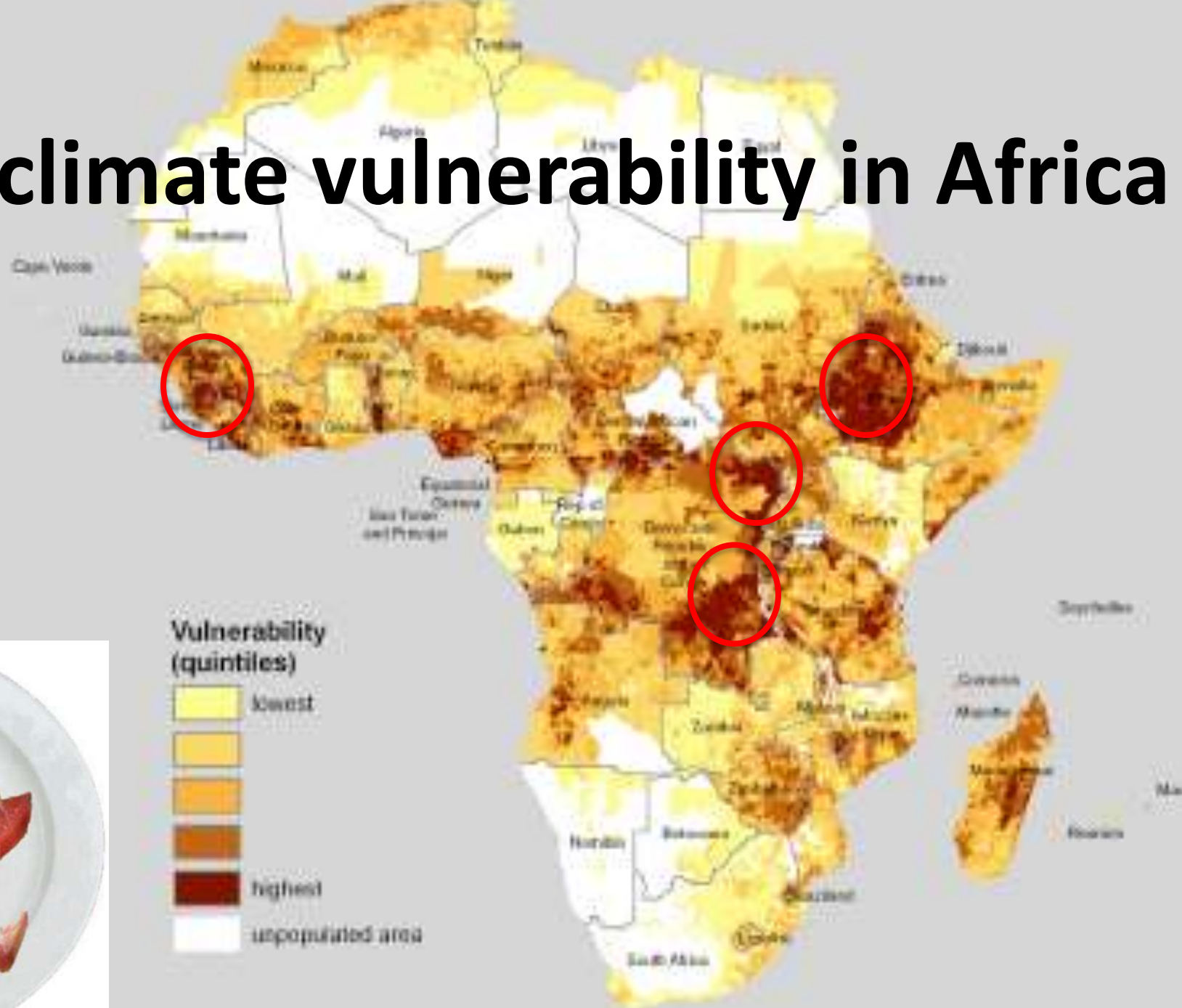
*non-binding;  
confirms  
4 degree C  
increase  
(9 for Africa)*



*another seat at a table:  
a place to cook Africa*



# climate vulnerability in Africa



source: Strauss Center, Univ of Texas

You Tube



Browse

## The Bill - short film - Germanwatch

germanwatch



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31 videos

**rich countries owe ecological debt**



1:22 / 4:22





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WORKERS**

**FIRST STRUT: SA WAKES  
UP TO BOND DEFAULTS**

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# SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

**Is SA getting trade and foreign policy right?**





**in context of global crises, enter BRICS**

**“a new global  
economic geography  
has been born”**

**– President Lula da Silva,  
BRICS Brasilia Summit, 2010**



# why BRICs? answer from New York/London: *building-block 'bricks' of 21st century world capitalism*

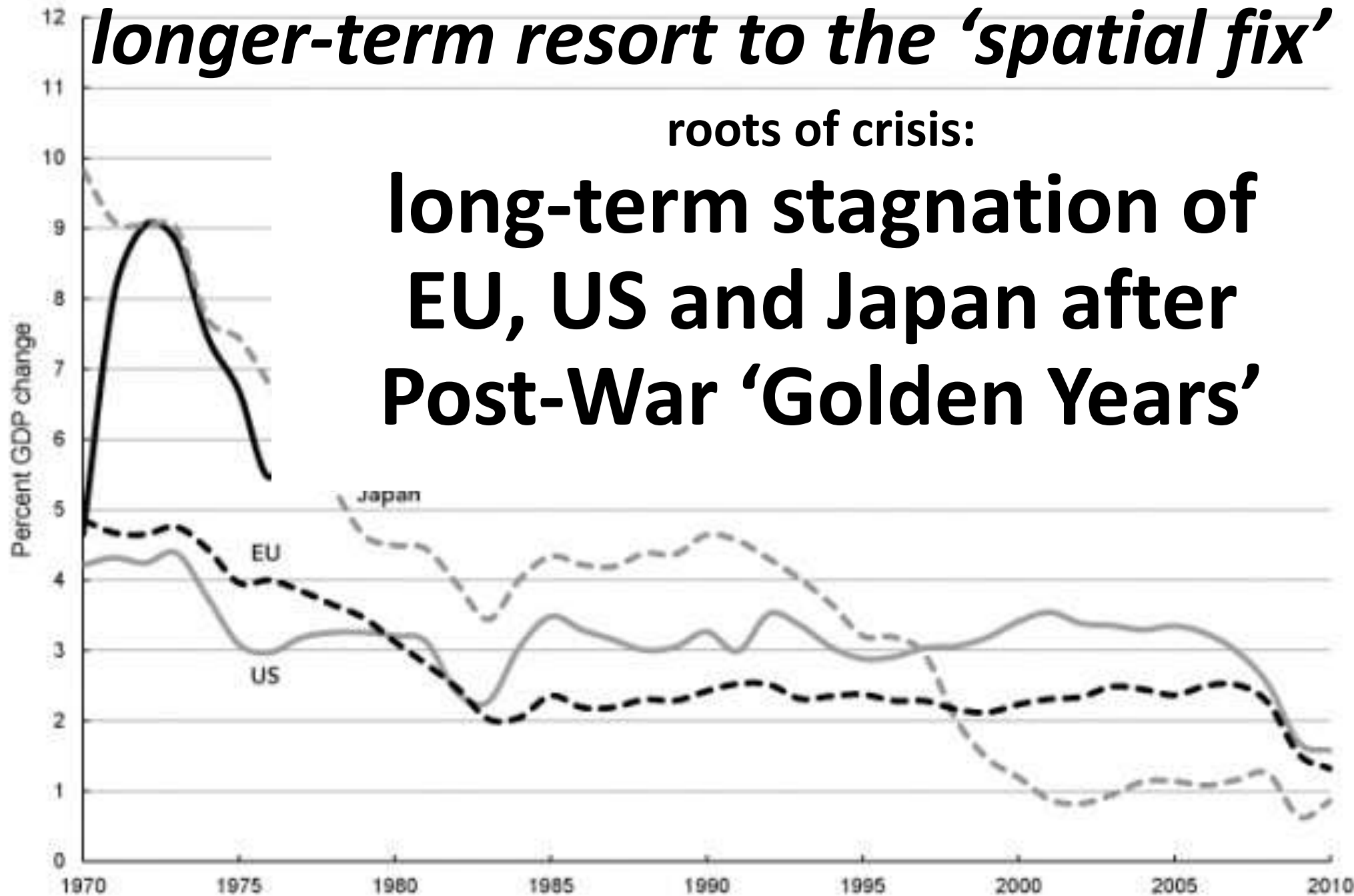


**SOUTH AFRICA (added in 2010)**

# *longer-term resort to the 'spatial fix'*

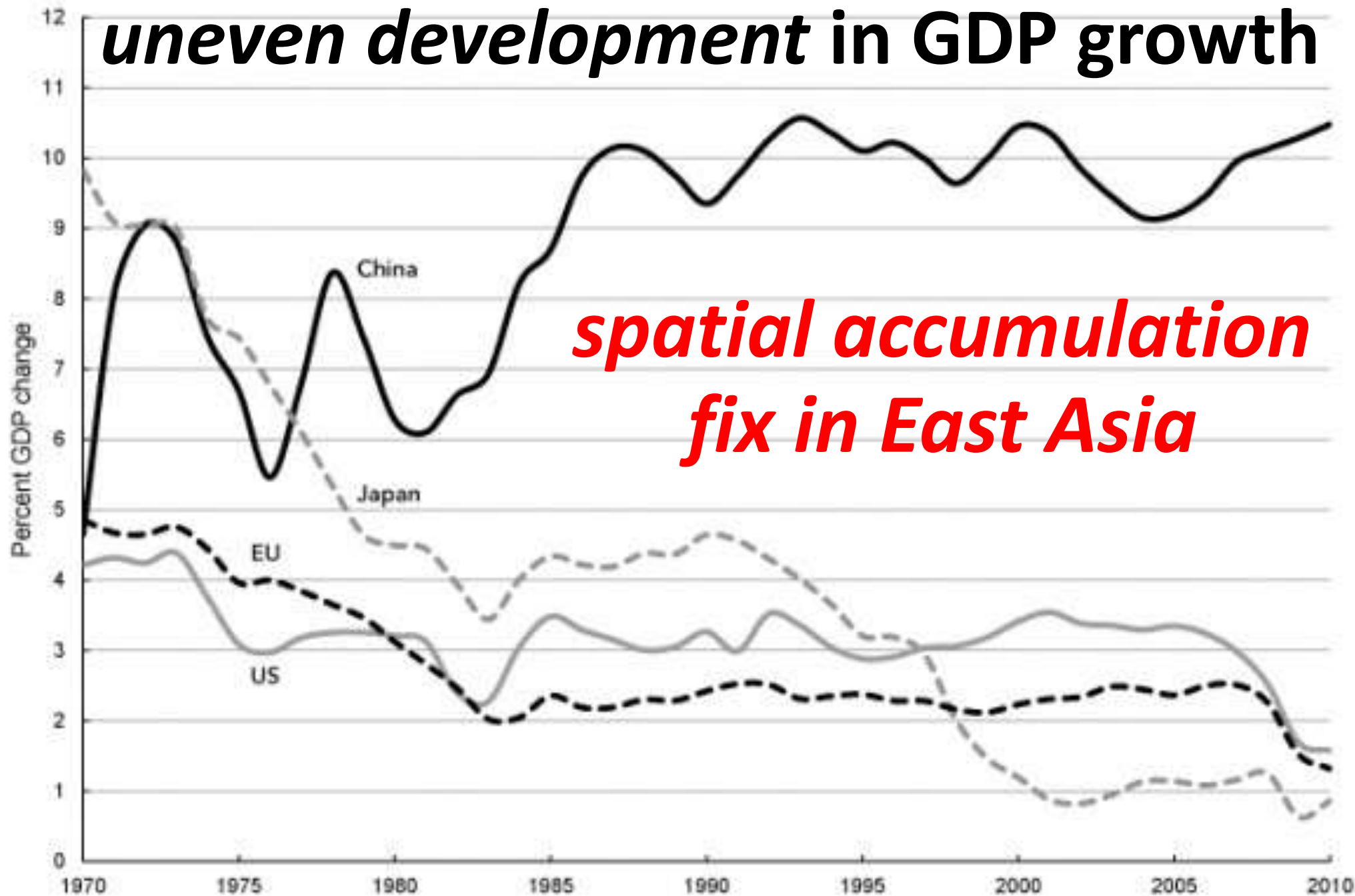
roots of crisis:

**long-term stagnation of  
EU, US and Japan after  
Post-War 'Golden Years'**



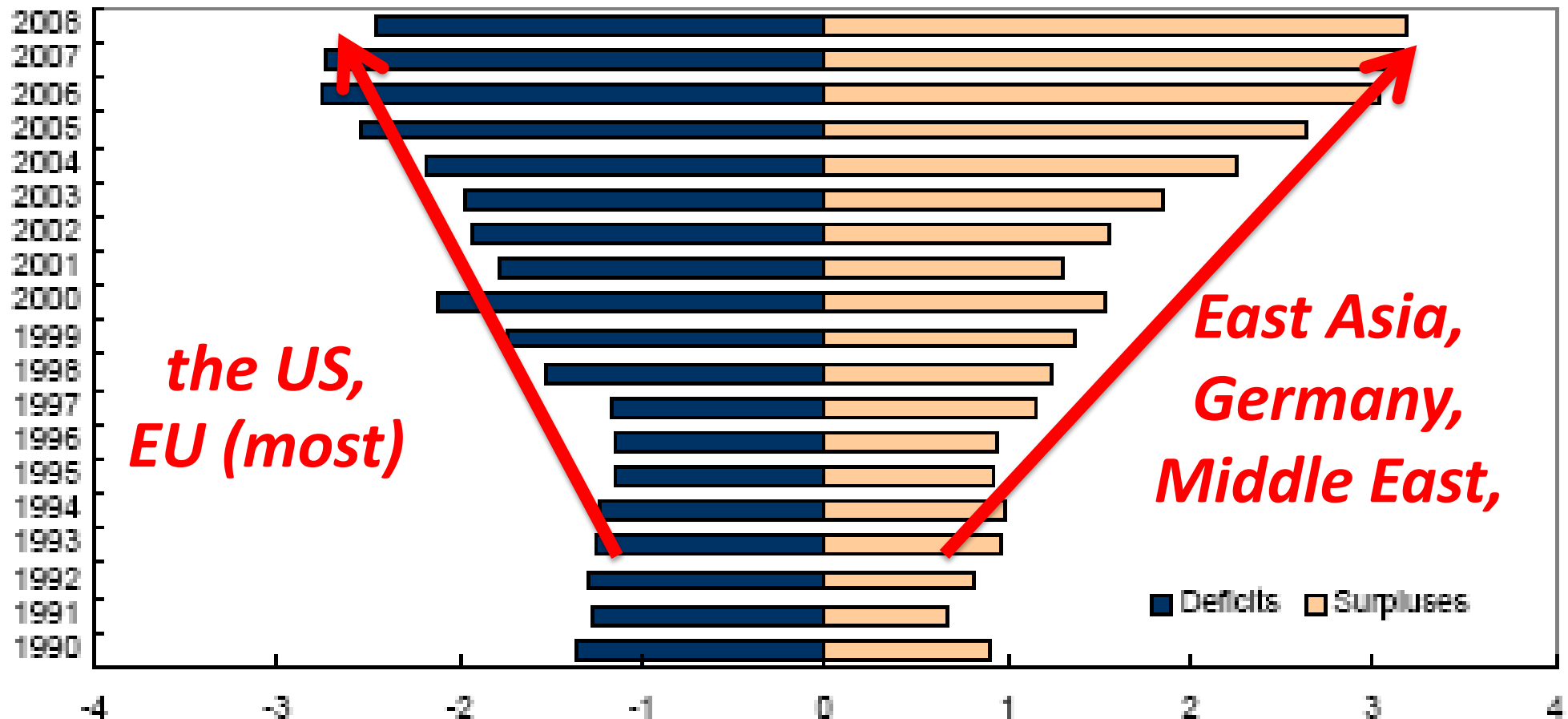


# *uneven development* in GDP growth



# a spatial fix in trade emerges

GLOBAL CURRENT-ACCOUNT BALANCE, 1990–2008  
(Per cent of GDP)



Source: UCTAD secretariat calculations, based on data from Thomson DataStream.

Note: Data refer to 122 countries.

# Current-account imbalances

As % of world GDP

Oil exporters

China

Japan

Germany

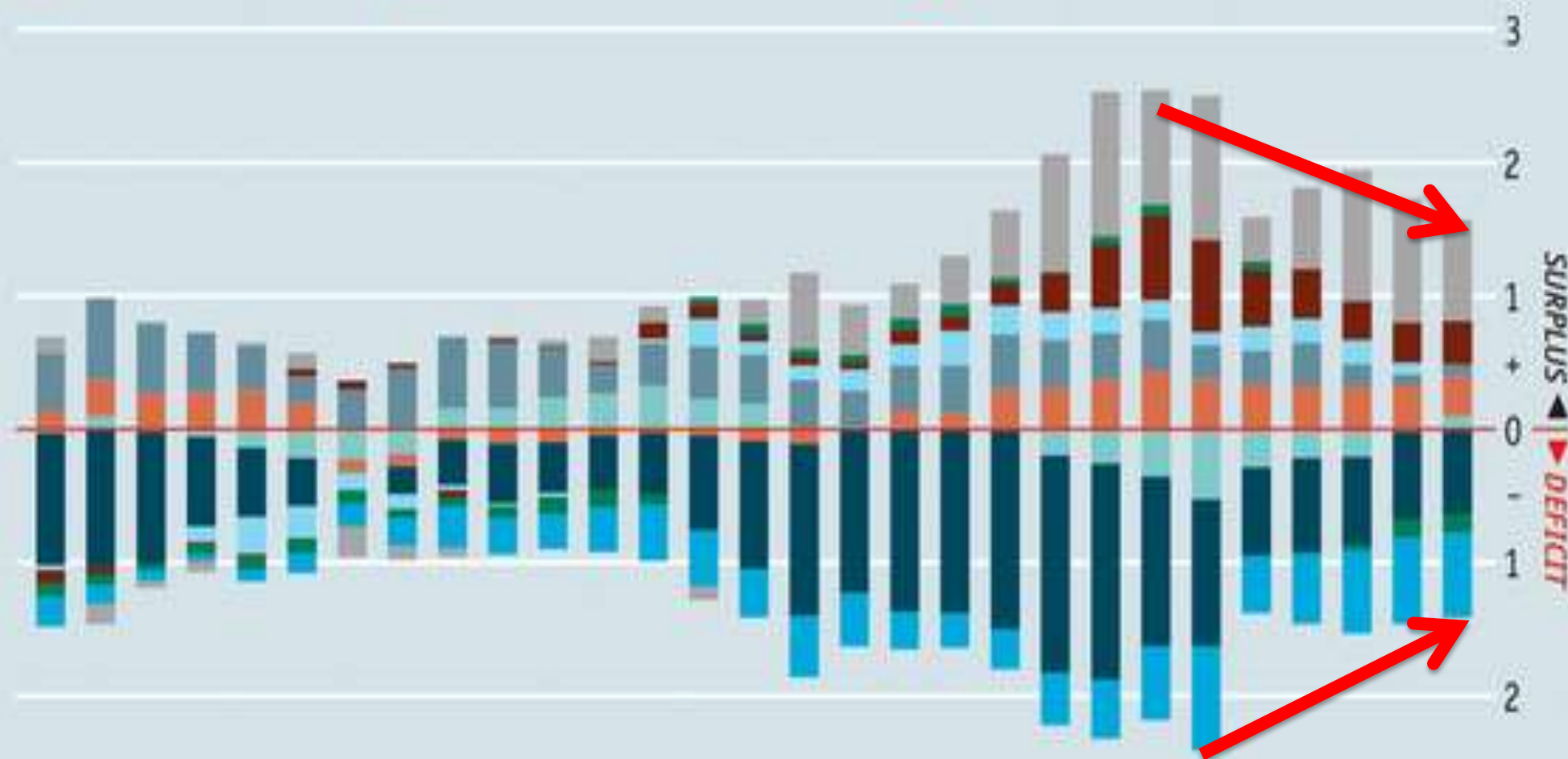
Euro area (excl. Germany)

United States

Rich countries (excl. Euro area, Japan, US, Norway)

Developing Asia

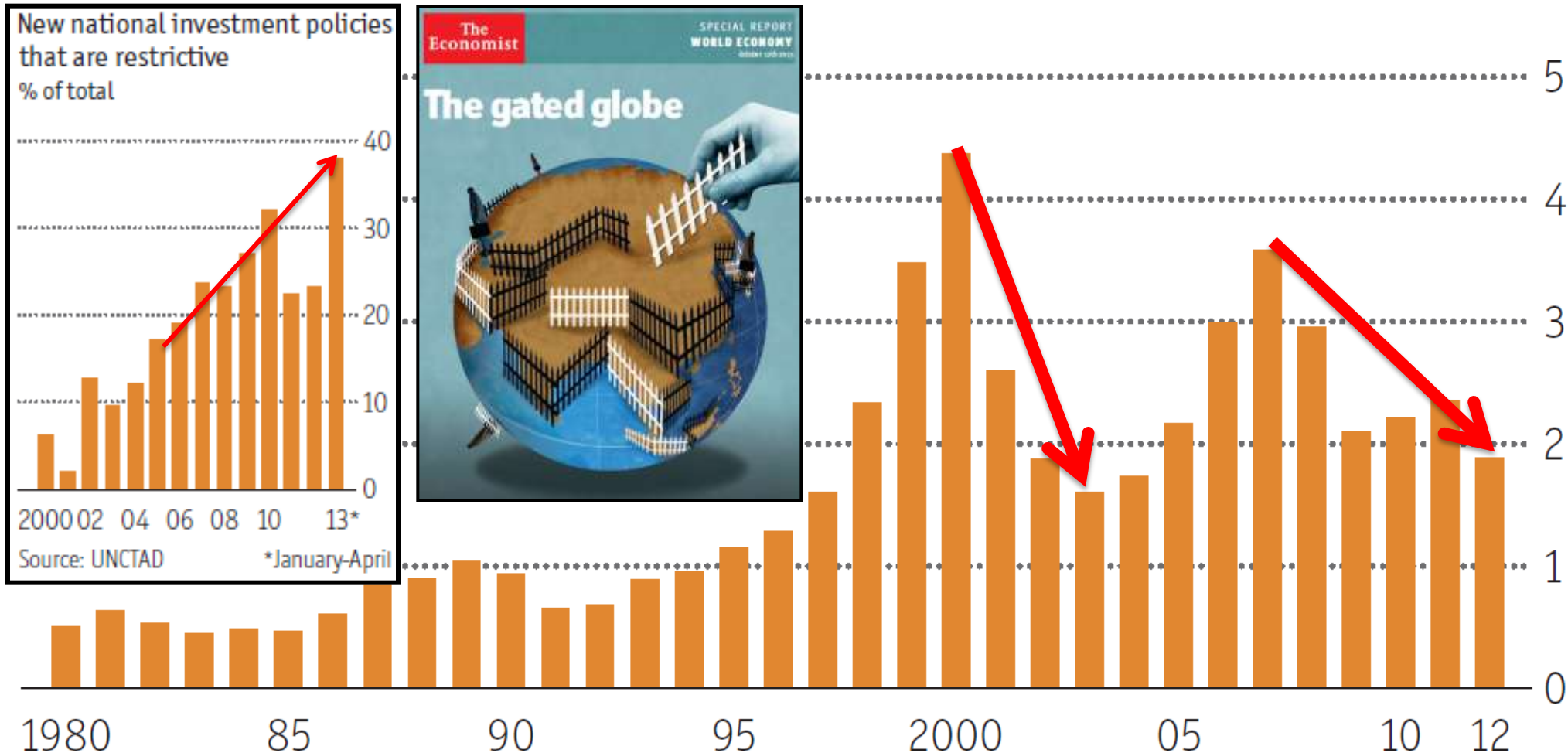
Emerging markets (excl. Asia)





# spatial investment fix hits overaccumulation *and pressure rises for deglobalisation strategies*

World foreign direct investment flows as % of world GDP

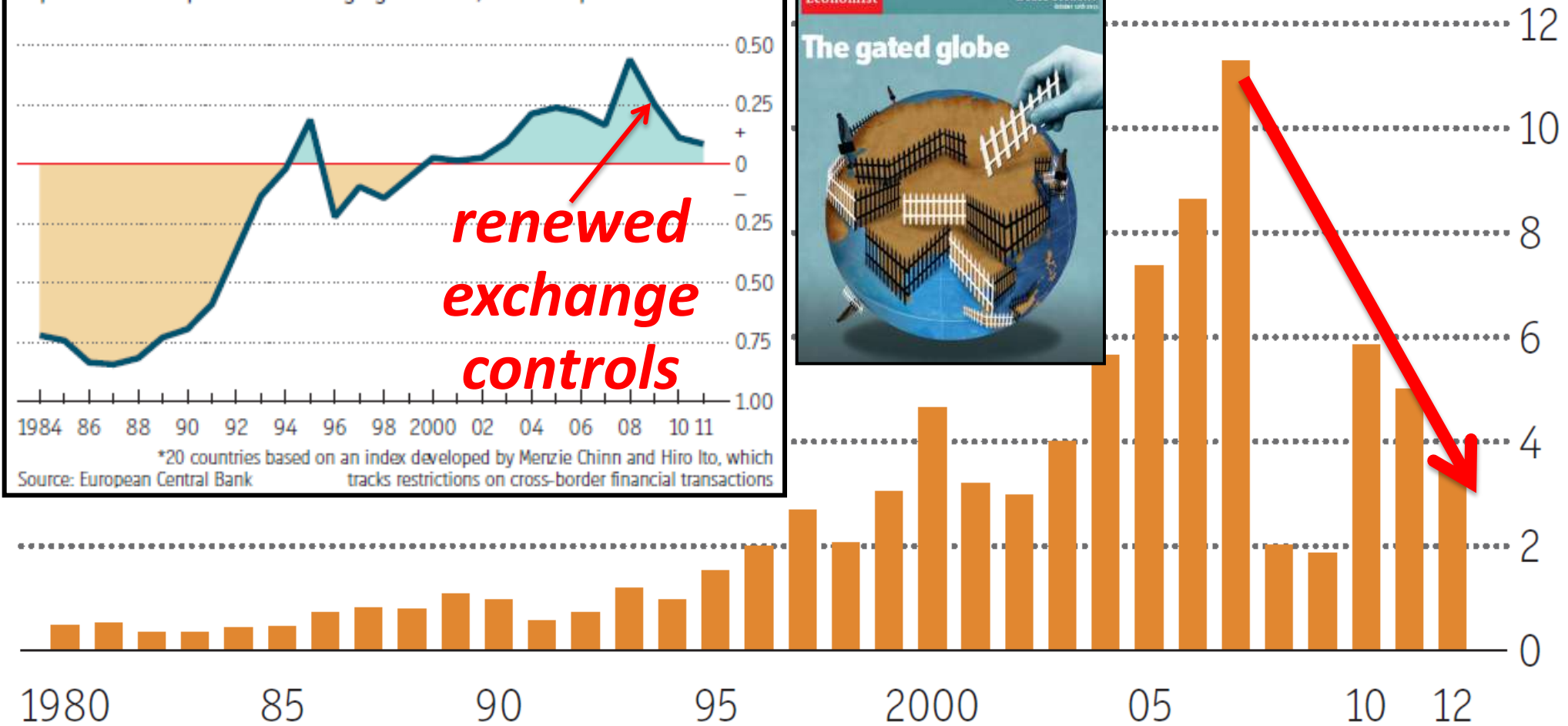
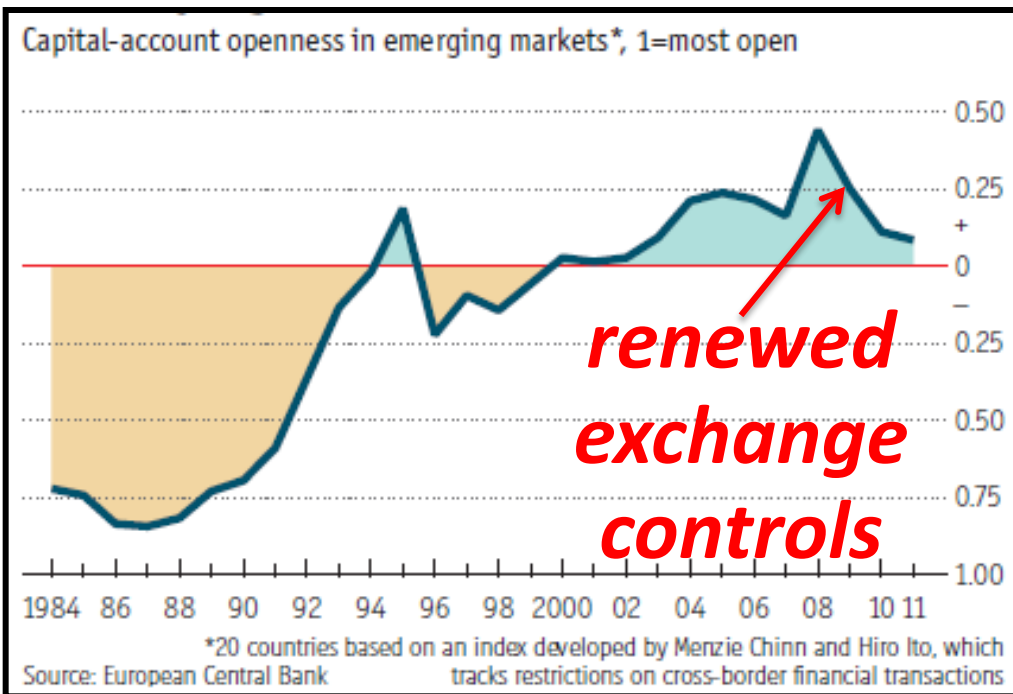


Sources: UNCTAD; IMF; *The Economist*

# spatial financial fix bursts its boundaries

## *emerging markets began closing capital accounts*

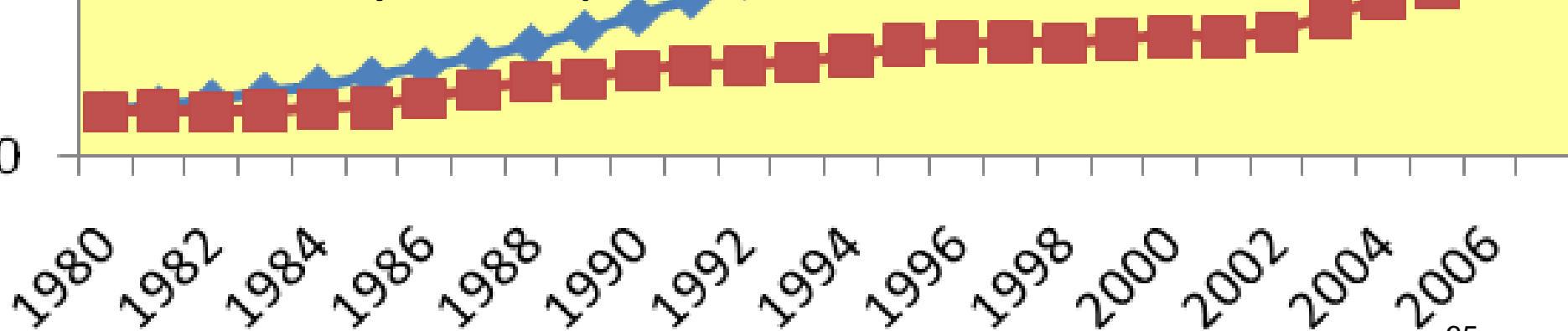
Cross-border capital flows, \$trn\*



# limits of the temporal fix? *finance delinks from world's real economy*

market value of financial assets  
and aggregate global GDP at  
current prices (billion US dollars)

Source : Leda Paulani, USP with  
McKinsey Global Report data





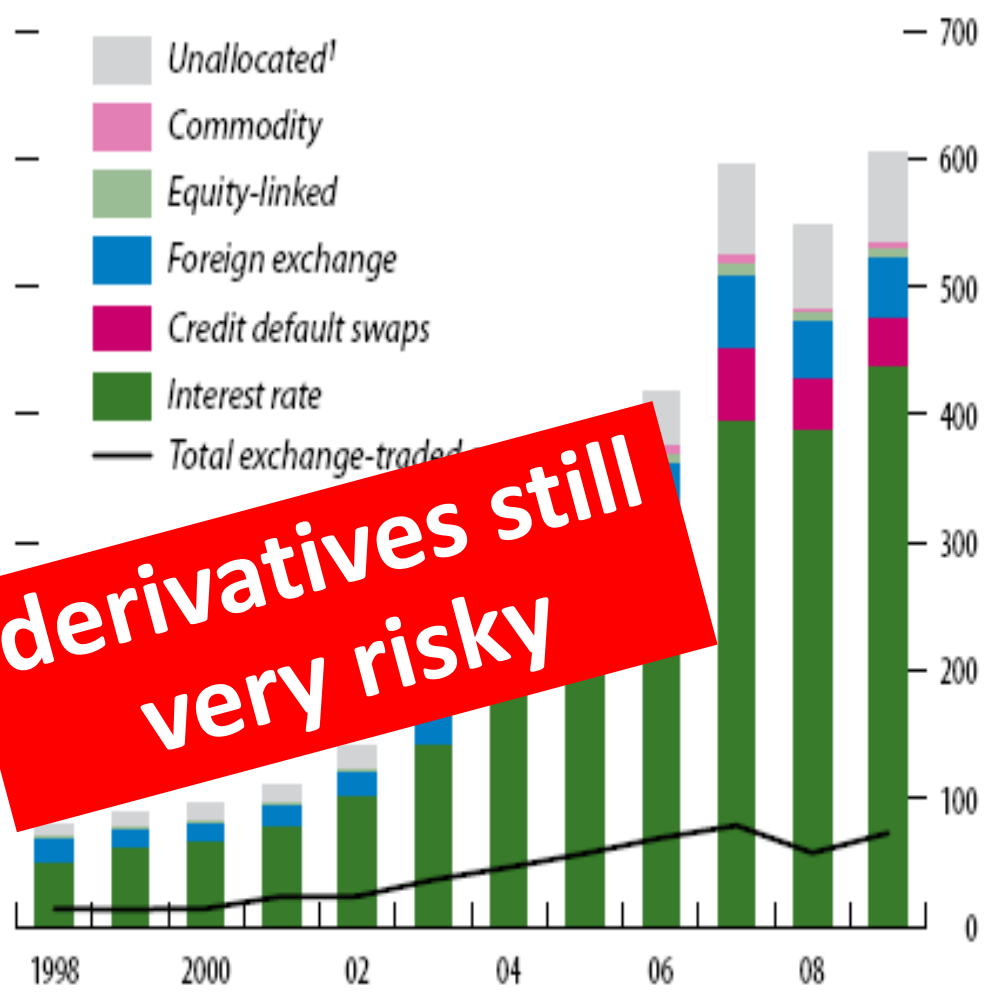
# wealthy governments' debt reached (political) ceiling...

...vast increase  
mainly reflects  
bailout of US  
and European  
banks in late  
2008



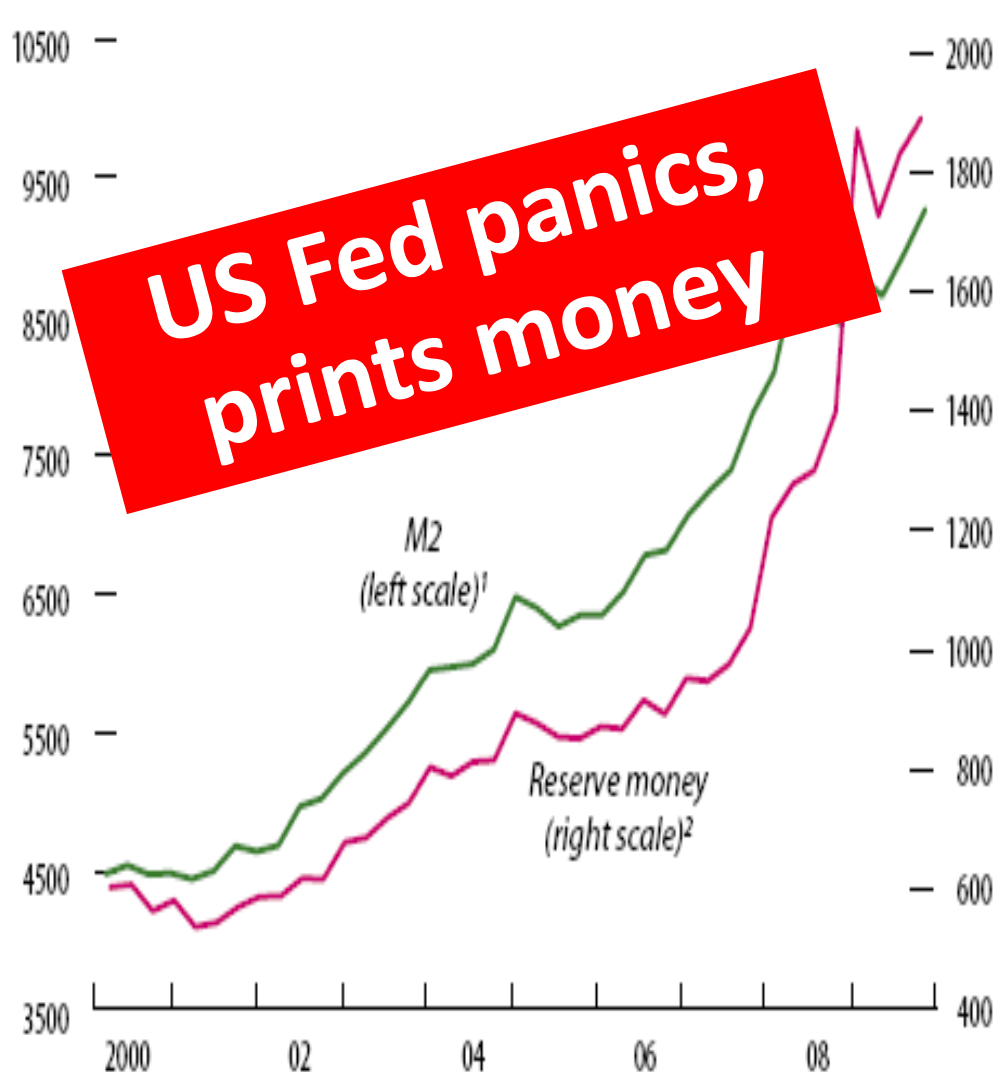
# 'temporal fixes': derivatives, 'Quantitative Easing'

**Figure 3.1. Global Over-the-Counter Derivatives Markets**  
(In trillions of U.S. dollars; notional amounts of contracts outstanding)



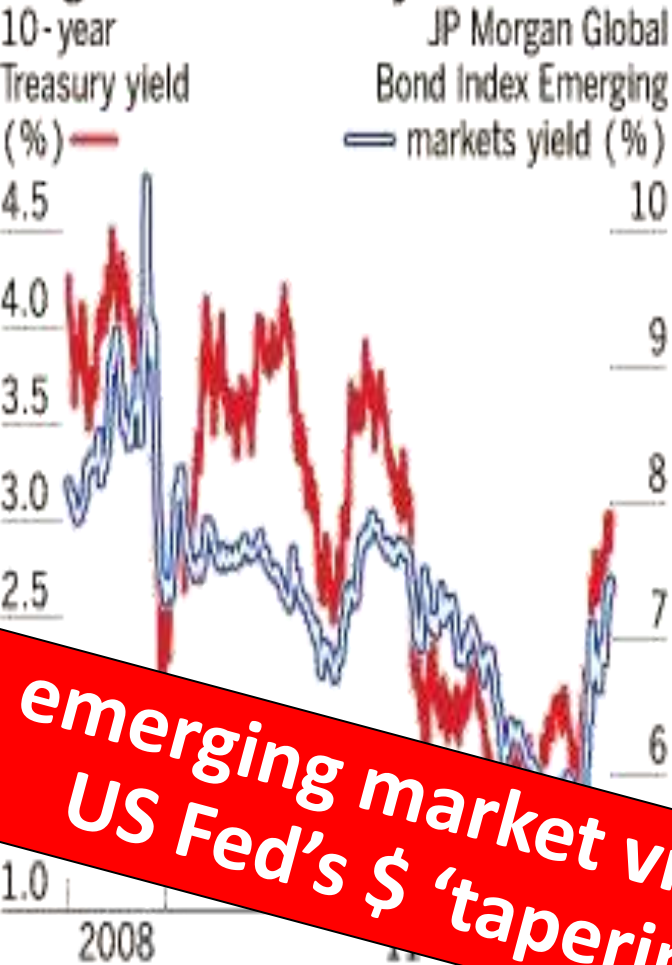
**Figure 4.1. Global Liquidity**

(In billions of U.S. dollars; GDP-weighted; quarterly data)

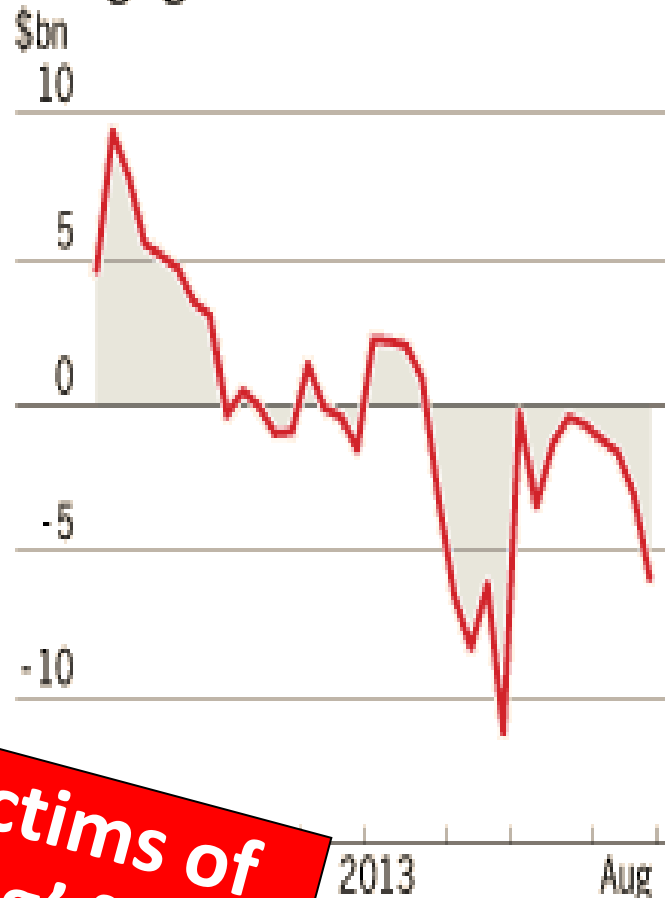


# as temporal fix reaches limits, displacement of devalorisation – to the ‘fragile five’

## US government bond yields



## Equity and bond funds flows into emerging markets



## Emerging markets currencies



**emerging market victims of US Fed's \$ 'tapering' fix**



# The Great Deceleration: BRICS lead





what about  
imperialism?

down with dictators,  
up with democracy  
and civil society (?)





Gaddafi



Deby



Mswati



Compaore

*with rare exceptions, Obama nurtures Africa's tyrants*



Zenawi



Gomes



Wade



Yanneh



Obiang



Kagame



## Nouakchott, Mauritania

The United States flew PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here to track al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. The flights ended in 2008 after a coup.



## Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti

The U.S. military targets al-Shabab in Somalia and al-Qaeda in Yemen from this key base.

## Nzara, South Sudan

The U.S. military says it is planning to base surveillance planes here.

## Arba Minch, Ethiopia

The United States flies Reaper drones from here over Somalia.

## Victoria, Seychelles

The U.S. military flies Reaper drones over East Africa from this island base.

## Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso

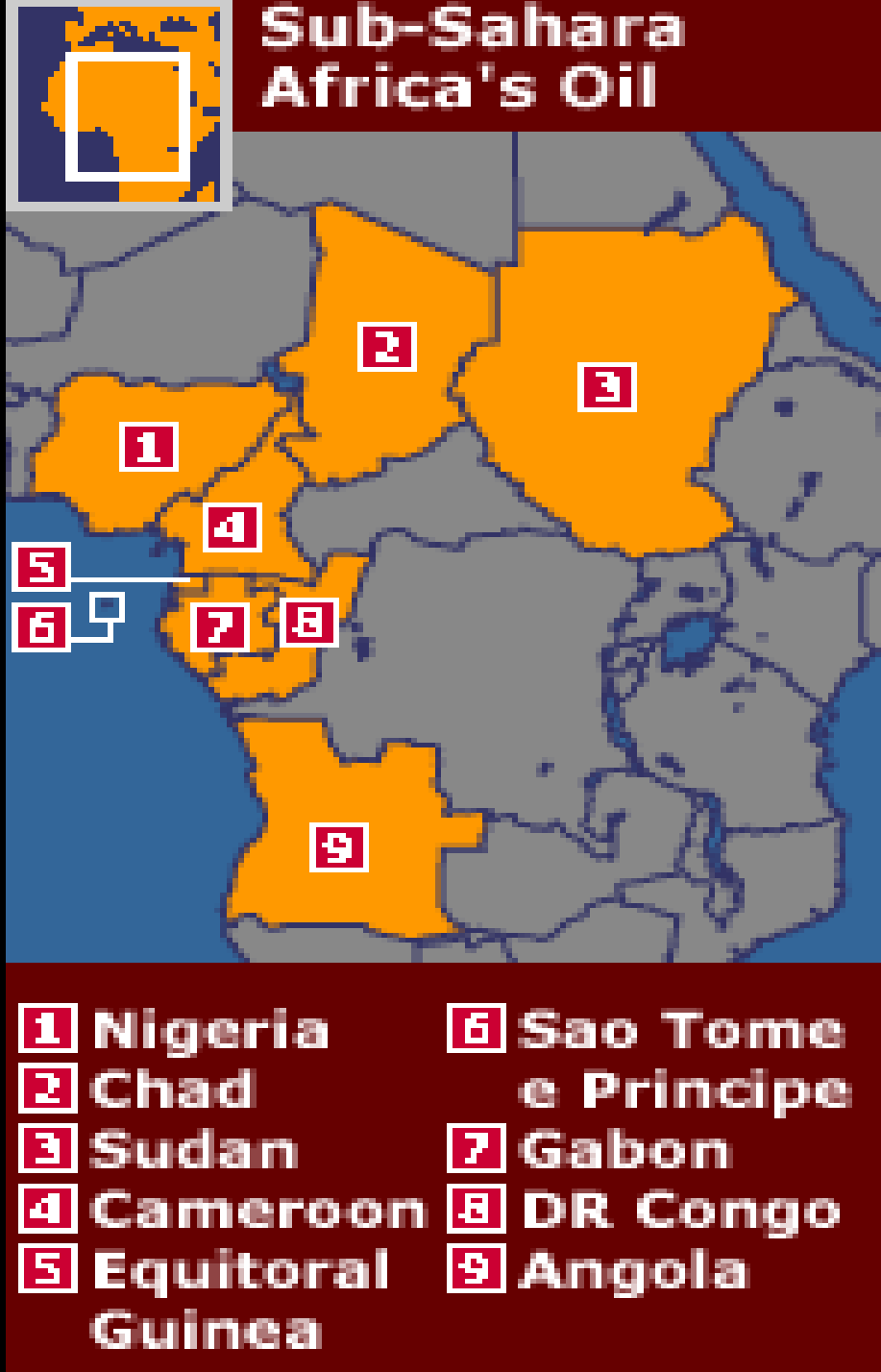
The United States flies PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here north to Mali, Mauritania and the Sahara.

## Entebbe, Uganda

The United States flies PC-12 surveillance aircraft from here over territory used by the Lord's Resistance Army.

## Manda Bay, Kenya

More than 100 U.S. commandos are based at a Kenyan military installation.



# Africa's existing oil

- substantial reserves
- oil and wars: Sudan, Angola, Chad, Congo
- US imports more than 20% from Africa

<http://www.catholicrelief.org/images/oil/Africa-Map-Web-PS0301-Da.jpg>

(credit: Horace Campbell)

## NEW KIDS ON THE BLOCK

### Guinea

Despite the political risk, Western oil companies are queuing up to explore

### Sierra Leone

An "active petroleum system" discovered by Anadarko 1125km west of the Jubilee field



### Uganda

Up to 2bn barrels found under and around Lake Albert

### Tanzania

Already a gas producer, and further prospecting occurring in the Rovuma basin

### Mozambique

Anadarko committing over \$250m over the next few years in exploration.

### Liberia

Several prospecting licences for auction

### Côte d'Ivoire

Vanco's Orca 1-x exploratory well will reveal offshore potential

### Ghana

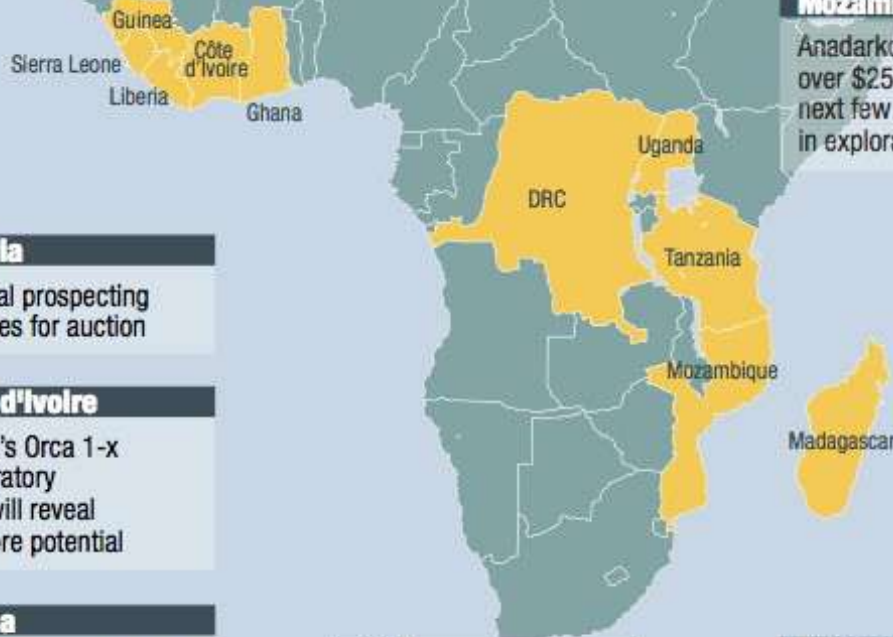
Potential upside of 1.8bn barrels in the Jubilee field, and 1.4bn barrels in Tweneboa-1

### DRC

Political turmoil means exploration is still years behind its neighbours

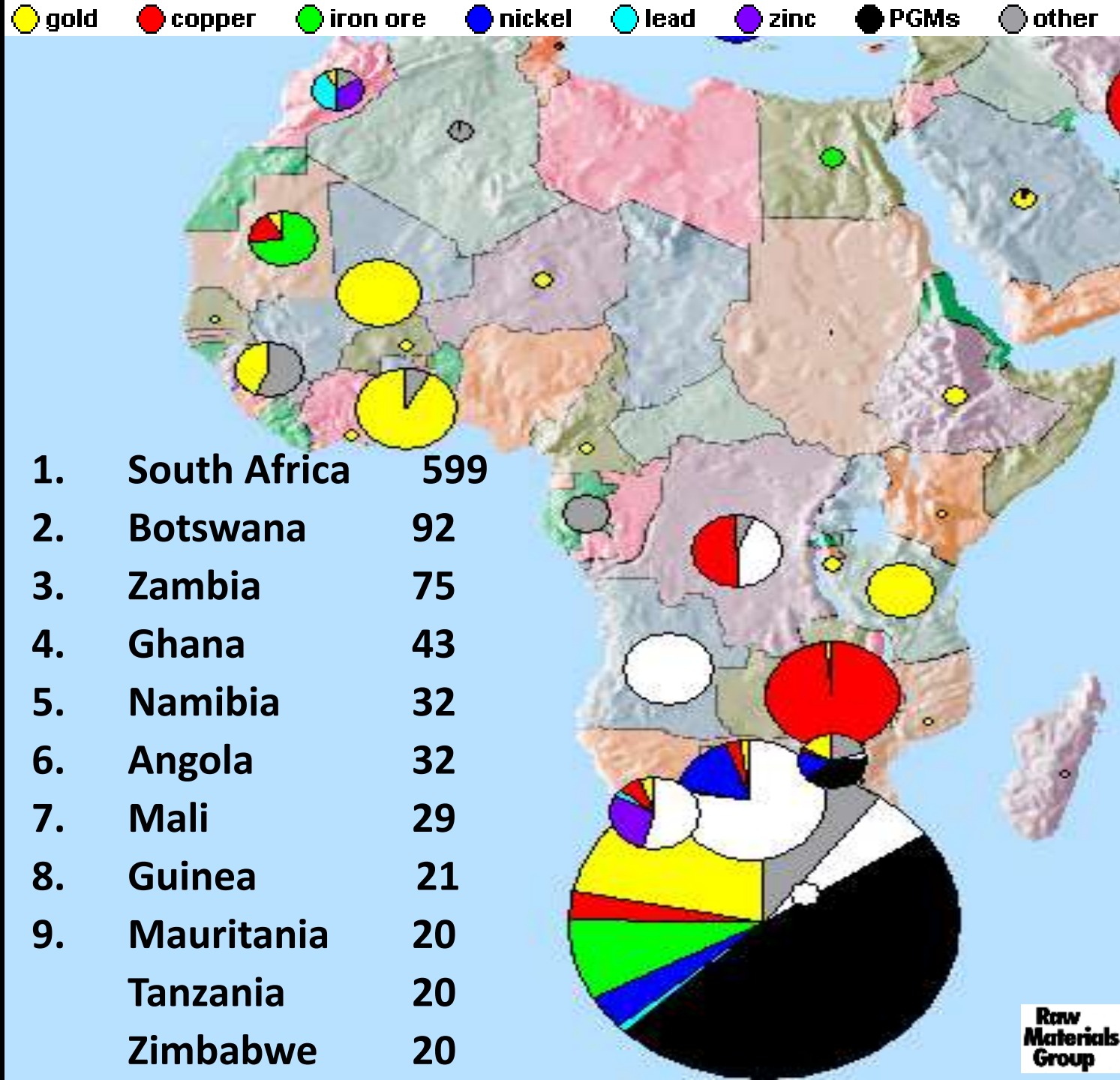
### Madagascar

TOTAL drilled an estimated 80 wells in 2009





# Africa's mining production by country, 2008





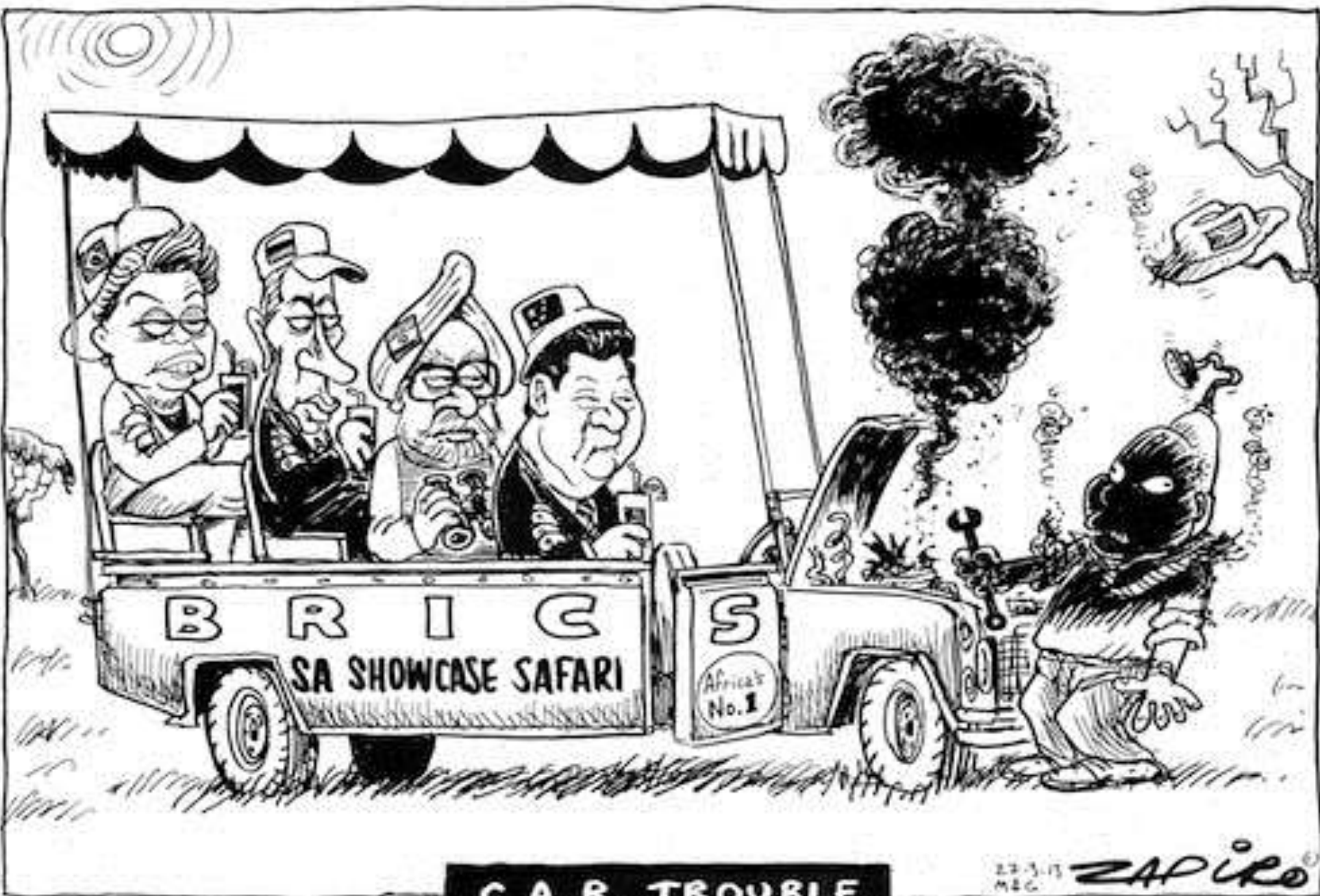
**South Africa (re)joins  
the scramble for the  
Central African Republic:  
early March 2013**





**a few days later, return  
from Central African  
Republic (CAR)**





C.A.R. TROUBLE

22.3.13  
M&C

ZAPIRO

The lure of arms deals and diamonds – and possibly other mineral resources – sucked the ANC into the Central African Republic.

# Mail & Guardian

AFRICA'S BEST READ

March 28 to April 4 2013

mpg.co.za



## CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

# Are these the deals our troops died for?



ANC security and intelligence strengthen partnership with special adviser to toppled CAR president in business interests involving armoured vehicles and diamonds 2 & 3

Zuma escalated SA's mission despite warnings of growing instability 3



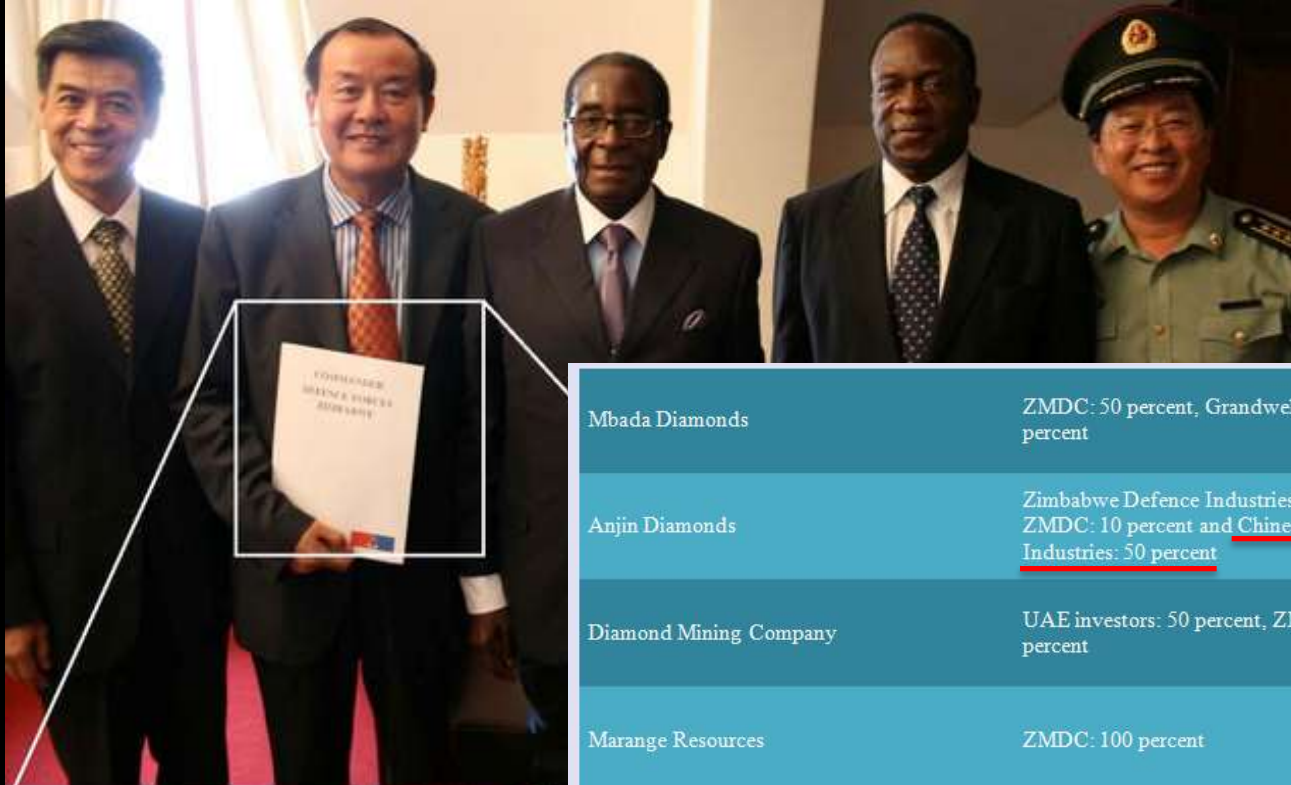
The rise and fall of François Bozizé 5

'Prisoners', casualties and contradictions 7

(denied by African National Congress)

Didier Pereira, a special adviser to ousted Central African Republic President Francois Bozize, partnered with 'ANC hard man' Joshua Nxumalo and the ANC's funding arm, **Chancellor House**, to secure a **diamond export monopoly** in the CAR.

**Pereira is currently partnered to the ANC security supremo and fundraiser, Paul Langa, and former spy chief Billy Masetlha.**



Mbada Diamonds	ZMDC: 50 percent, Grandwell Holdings: 50 percent
Anjin Diamonds	Zimbabwe Defence Industries: 40 percent, ZMDC: 10 percent and <u>Chinese Defence Industries: 50 percent</u>
Diamond Mining Company	UAE investors: 50 percent, ZMDC: 50 percent
Marange Resources	ZMDC: 100 percent



**Chinese army  
at Marange**

## Journal of Peacebuilding & Development

Publication details, including instructions for subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rjpd20>



## Marange Diamonds and Zimbabwe's Political Transition

Farai Maguwu

Published online: 18 Jul 2013.



Russians and  
Zimbabwe's  
platinum

NEWS

## Russian fixer handed rich platinum concession

02/06/2013 00:00:00

by Staff Reporter

# New Zimbabwe

A RUSSIAN fixer handed an "exclusive licence" to develop the Darwendale platinum deposits in 2006 has said he will not bail-out and sell his shares in the market if the multi-million dollar deal fails to get off the ground.

. Last

Chepik's Center for Business Cooperation with Foreign Countries owns the Zimbabwean venture which was set up to develop the country's largest platinum mine at

years after Ruschrome was founded by defence ministry secretary, Martin Chuprov. As formed, Chepik says it is looking for investors to raise the \$350 million needed to get the project off the ground.



**Partnership ... Alexander Chepik with President Robert Mugabe**

# The Moscow Times

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## Rostec, VEB Buying Into World's Second Largest Platinum Field

12 August 2013 | Issue 5188

The Moscow Times

A group of companies that includes state-owned Rostec and Vneshekonombank is buying a 40 percent stake in a project to develop Zimbabwe's Darwendale, the world's second largest platinum field.

The consortium will invest in Ruschrome Mining, a Russian-African joint venture licensed to mine the field, Kommersant reported Friday, citing sources close to the deal and at the Russian Foreign Ministry.

The talks on the deal, which also includes the Netherlands-based aluminum company Vimetco, ended in mid-July, when Ruschrome's board of directors approved attracting a strategic investor to the project.

The Zimbabwean government and Zimbabwe's Center for Business Cooperation with Foreign Countries, an association of machinery producers and defense companies, each hold 50 percent in Ruschrome. The center will retain a 10 percent stake in the project.

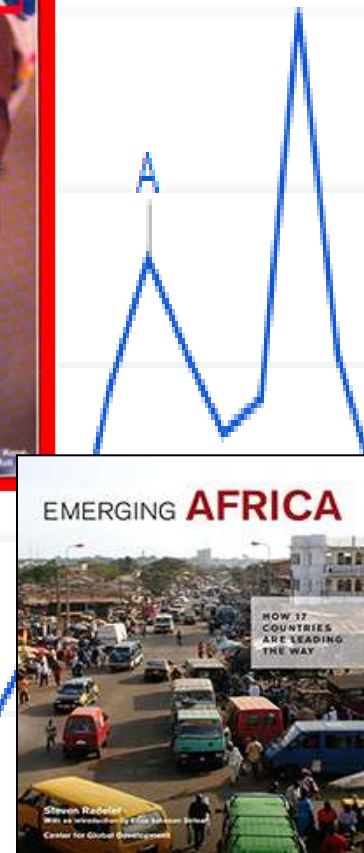
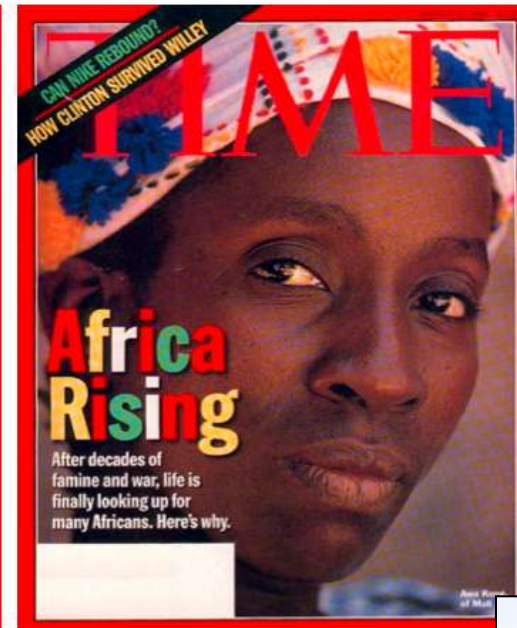
Kommersant's source estimated the deal's value at \$300 million.

The Darwendale platinum project in Zimbabwe has 19 tons in proven reserves and 775 total tons of metals including palladium, gold, nickel and copper.

# “Africa Rising”! (# of citations)

The number 100 represents the peak search interest

☒ News headlines ☐ Forecast (?)



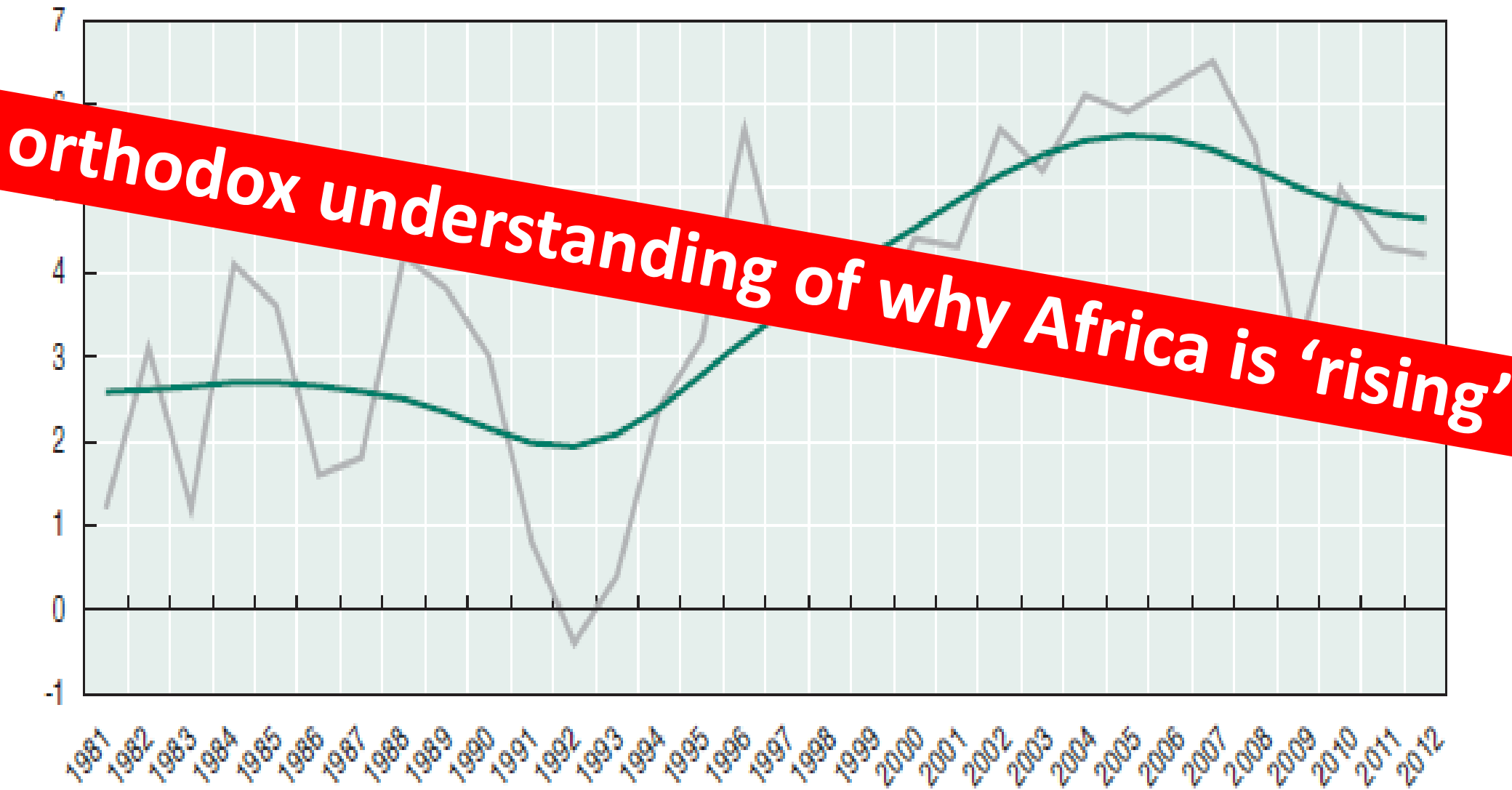
Jan 2010

Jan 2011

Jan 2012

Jan 2013

# “Africa Rising” : GDP percentage increases, 1981-2012



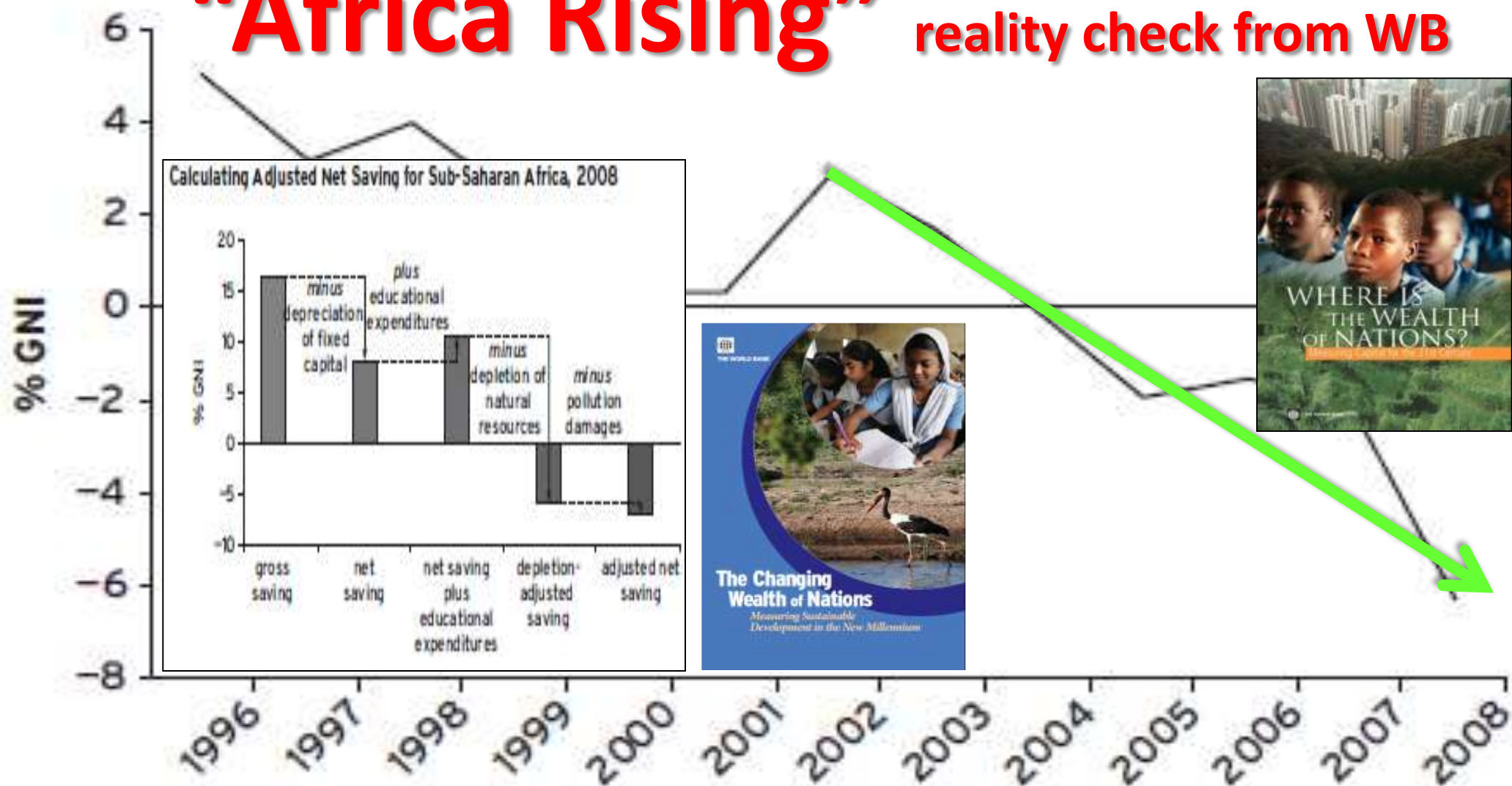
Note: 2011 and 2012 excluding Libya.

Source: Leibfritz and Flaig (2013).



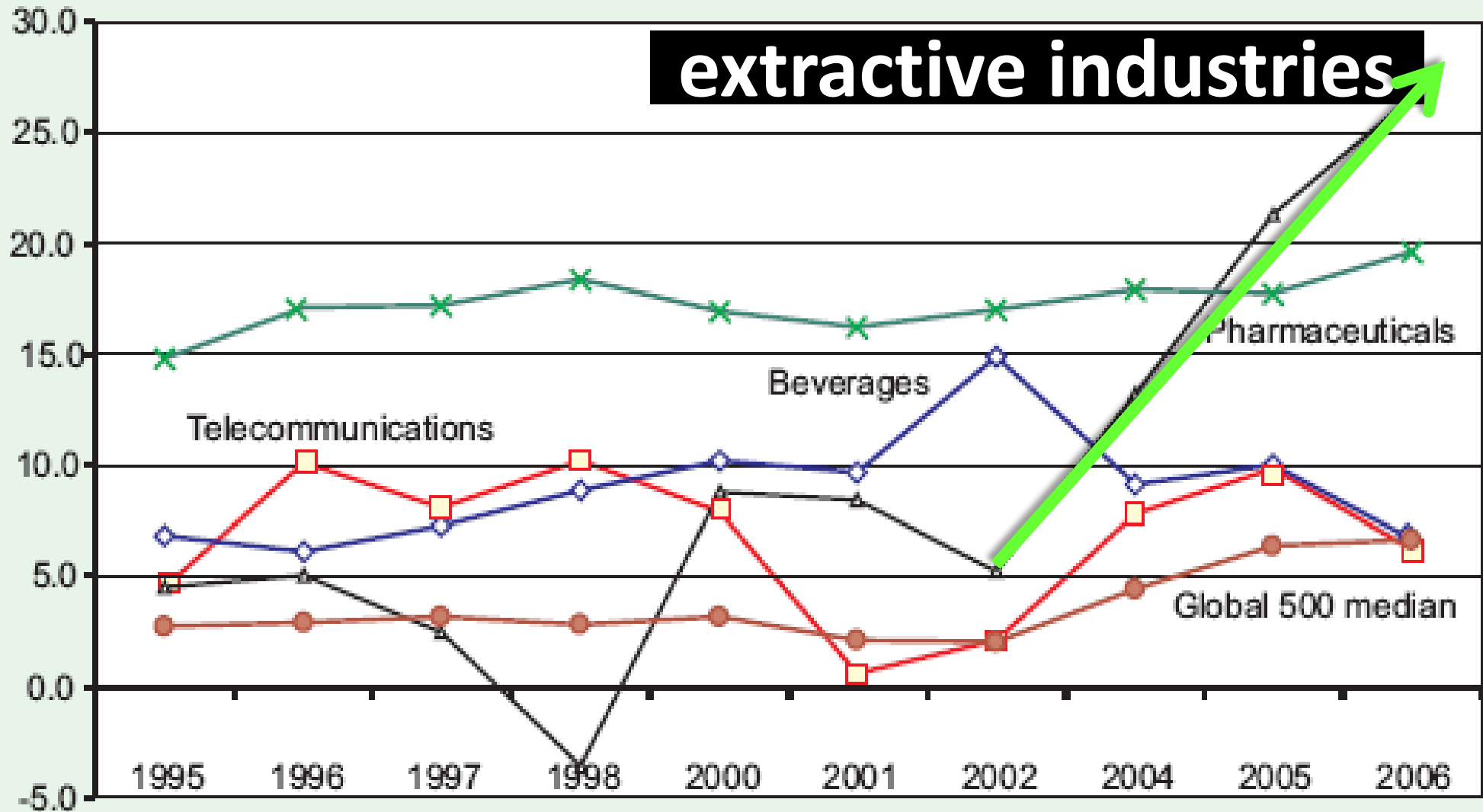
# Adjusted Net Saving in Sub-Saharan Africa as a Percentage of Gross National Income

**“Africa Rising”** reality check from WB



Source: Authors' calculations based on World Bank data.

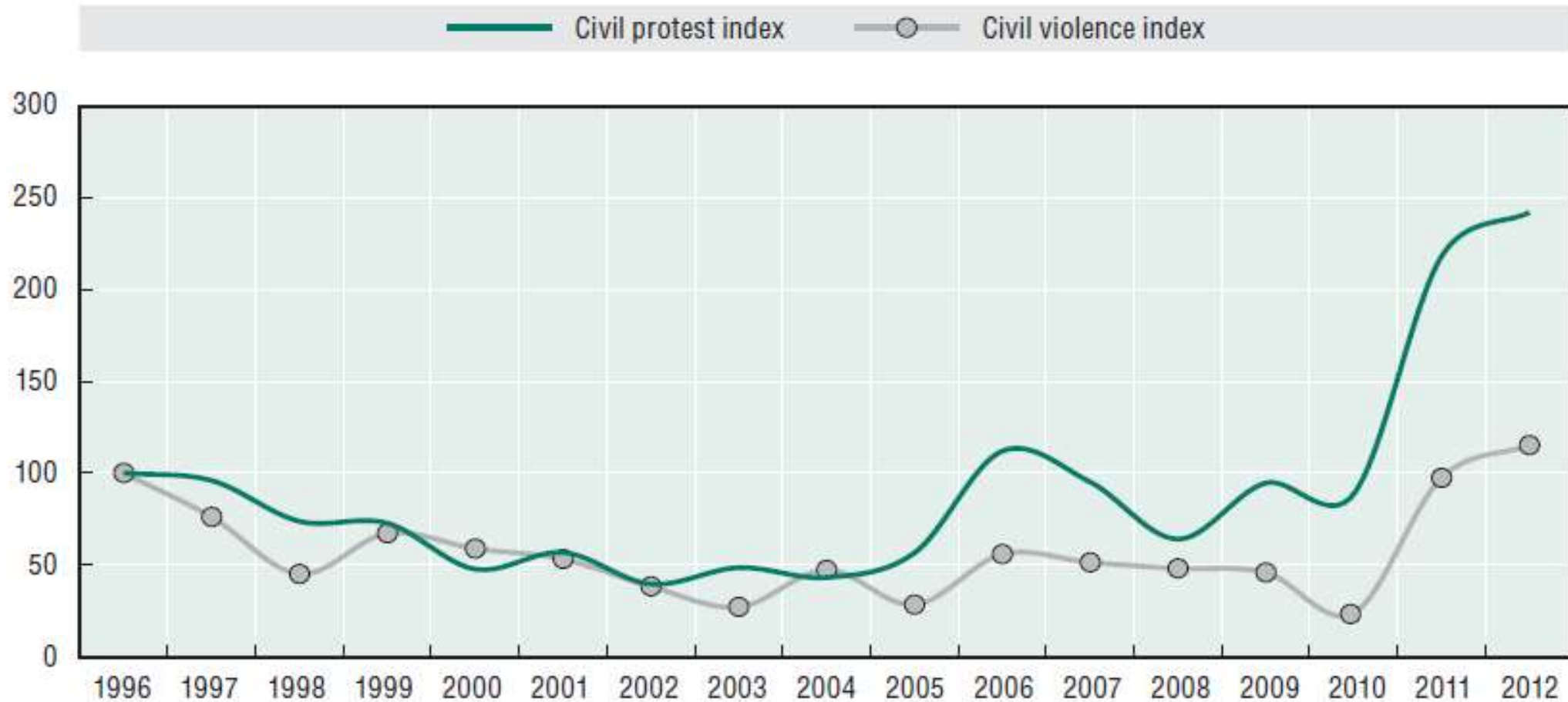
# *what's rising? multinational corporate profits* as a percentage of firm equity




Source: UN Conference on Trade and Development (2007), World Investment Report 2007, Geneva.

# and Africa *protests* Rising

**Agence France Press:** Public protests and civil violence, 1996-2012  
(base year: 1996 = 100)



Source: Authors' calculations based on AFP information.

StatLink  <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932807474>

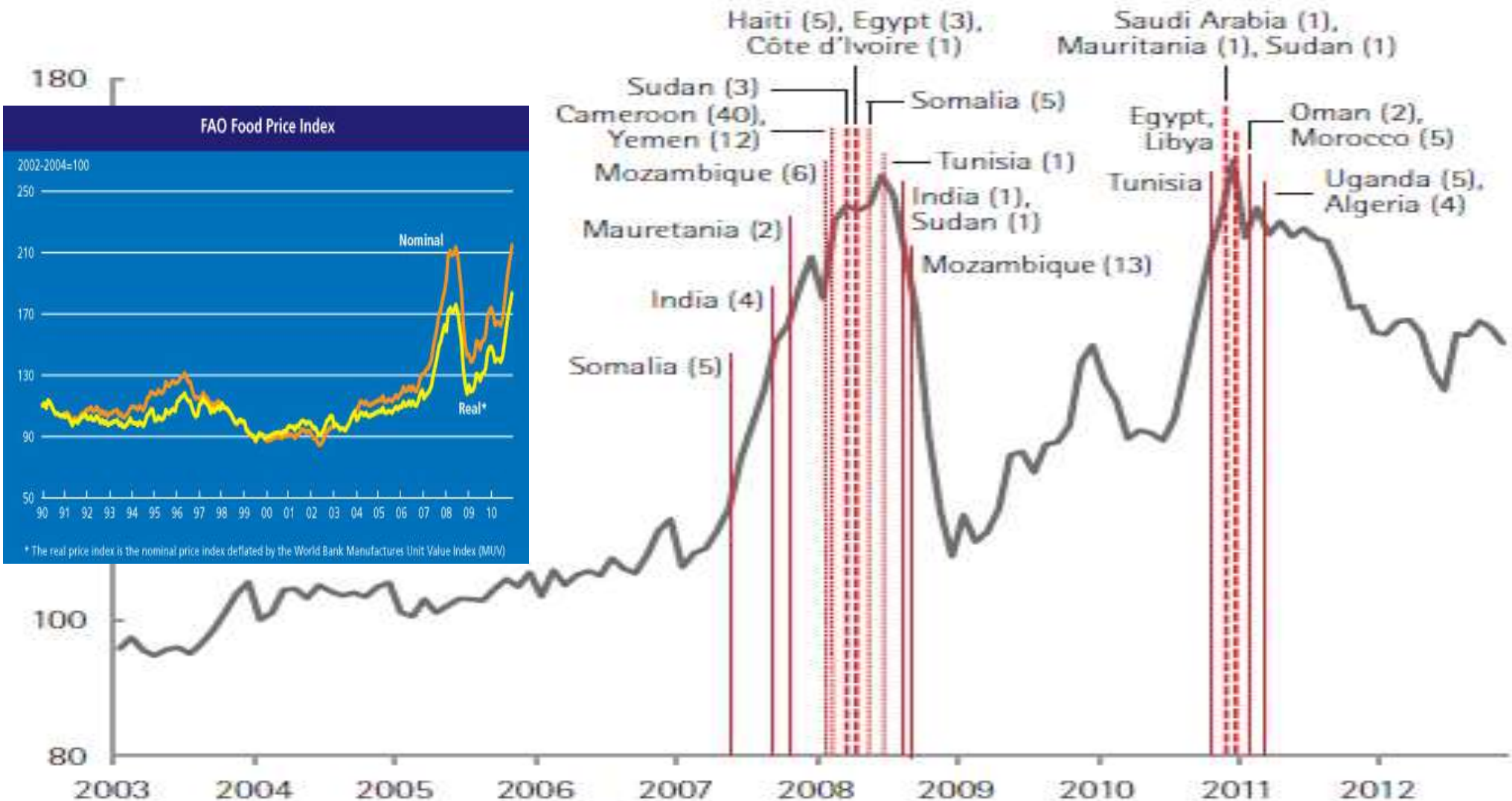
[www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/outlook/governance](http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/outlook/governance)





# Africa protests (and food prices) rising

(number of food riot deaths in parenthesis)



Source: Adapted from New England Complex Systems Institute, USA



DIÁLOGO DOS POVOS  
PEOPLE'S DIALOGUE  
DIALOGO DE LOS PUEBLOS

South Durban Community Environmental Alliance



**SDCEA**



Institute of Globalisation Studies, Moscow



**aglob**

Глобальная аналитика



**GLOBAL SOUTH**



**BRICS** from-below 2013

INSTITUTO **MAIS** DEMOCRACIA  
Transparência e controle cidadão de governos e empresas



**brics-from-below at  
Durban church  
25 March 2013**





**keynote by former  
Ecuadoran economics  
minister Pedro Paez**





**halt violence against women**



**climate  
skype-in  
with Bill  
McKibben**



**350.org meets Pan-African  
Climate Justice Alliance &  
SA anti-coal activists**



**panel on Chinese contradictions**



**poli-econ seminar with Paez**





watchdogging of  
BRICS Development Bank









**brics-from-below march:  
outside US consulate, 27/3**





# Luxemburg: *the necessity of revolt*

The more ruthlessly capital sets about the destruction of noncapitalist strata at home and in the outside world, the more it lowers the standard of living for the workers as a whole, the greater also is the change in the day-to-day history of capital. It becomes a string of political and social disasters and convulsions, and under these conditions, punctuated by periodical economic catastrophes or crises, accumulation can go on no longer. But even before this natural economic impasse of capital's own creating is properly reached it becomes a necessity for the international working class to revolt against the rule of capital. (p.447)

# **Luxemburg: *the necessity of North-South solidarity***

**Capital increasingly employs militarism for implementing a foreign and colonial policy to get hold of the means of production and labour power of non-capitalist countries and societies. This same militarism works in a like manner in the capitalist countries to divert purchasing power away from the noncapitalist strata. The representatives of simple commodity production and the working class are affected alike in this way. At their expense, the accumulation of capital is raised to the highest power, by robbing the one of their productive forces and by depressing the other's standard of living. Needless to say, after a certain stage the conditions for the accumulation of capital both at home and abroad turn into their very opposite — they become conditions for the decline of capitalism. (p.447)**

# Luxemburg: *the necessity of revolt*

The break-up of communal property was primarily intended to smash the **social power of the Arab family associations** and to quell their **stubborn resistance against the French yoke**, in the course of which there were **innumerable risings** so that, in spite of France's military superiority, the country was in a continual state of war. (p.360) ...

In 1825, the Congress of the Union under Monroe had decided to transplant the Red Indians from the East to the West of the Mississippi. The redskins put up a **desperate resistance**... (p.383)

The ultimate purpose of the British government was clear: long in advance it was preparing for land robbery on a grand scale, using the native chieftains themselves as tools. But in the beginning it was content with the 'pacification' of the Negroes by extensive military actions. Up to 1879 were fought **nine bloody Kaffir wars to break the resistance of the Bantus**. (p.394)



*economic resistance from below?*



***since 2011: Arab Spring, 'Indignados' of Spain, Greeks and Italians, Occupy in the US and Europe, Nigeria Occupy, Senegal, Bulgaria, Turkey, Brazil, etc***





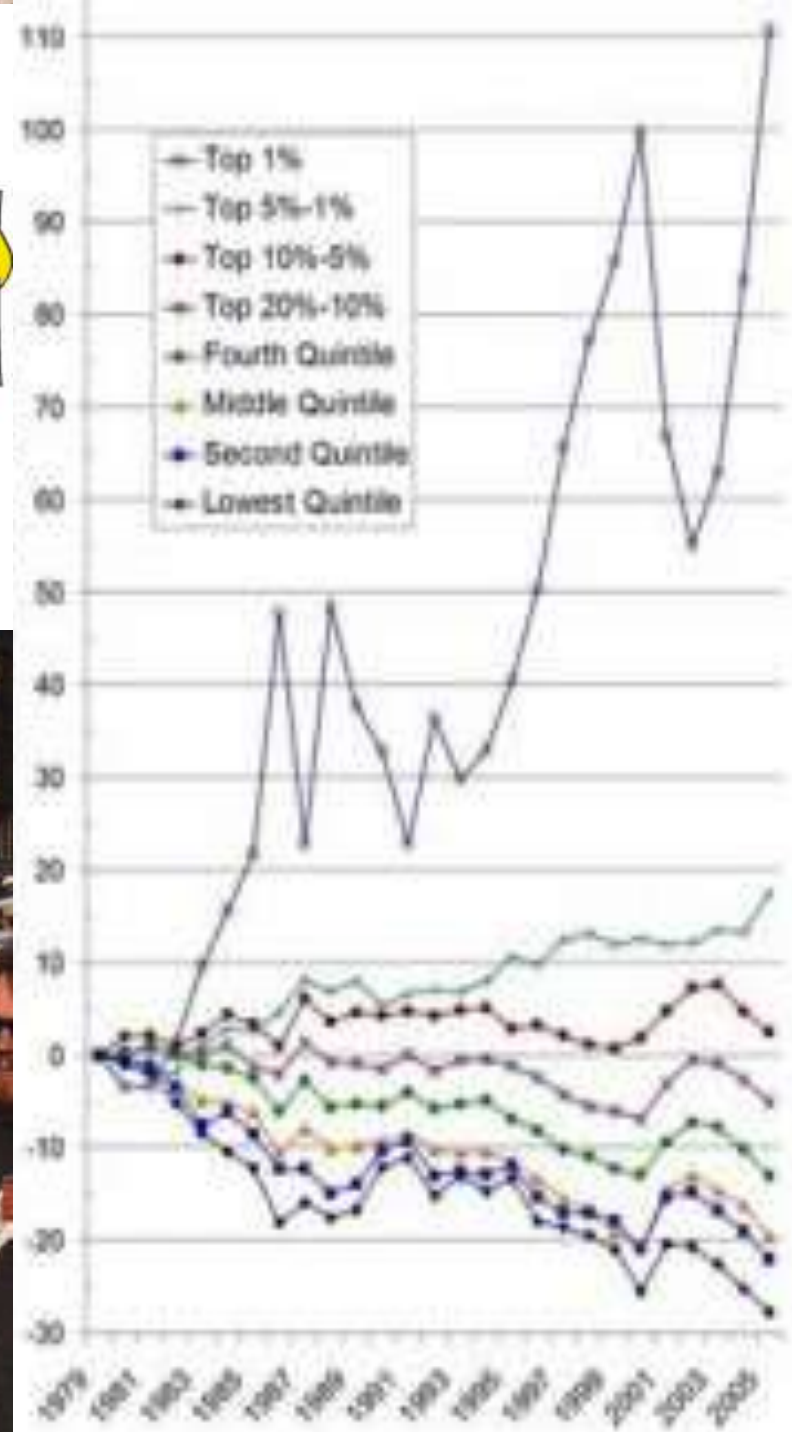
# AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME before taxes



2007 dollars. Source: Congressional Budget Office



I am the 1%.  
Smithers,  
release the hounds.

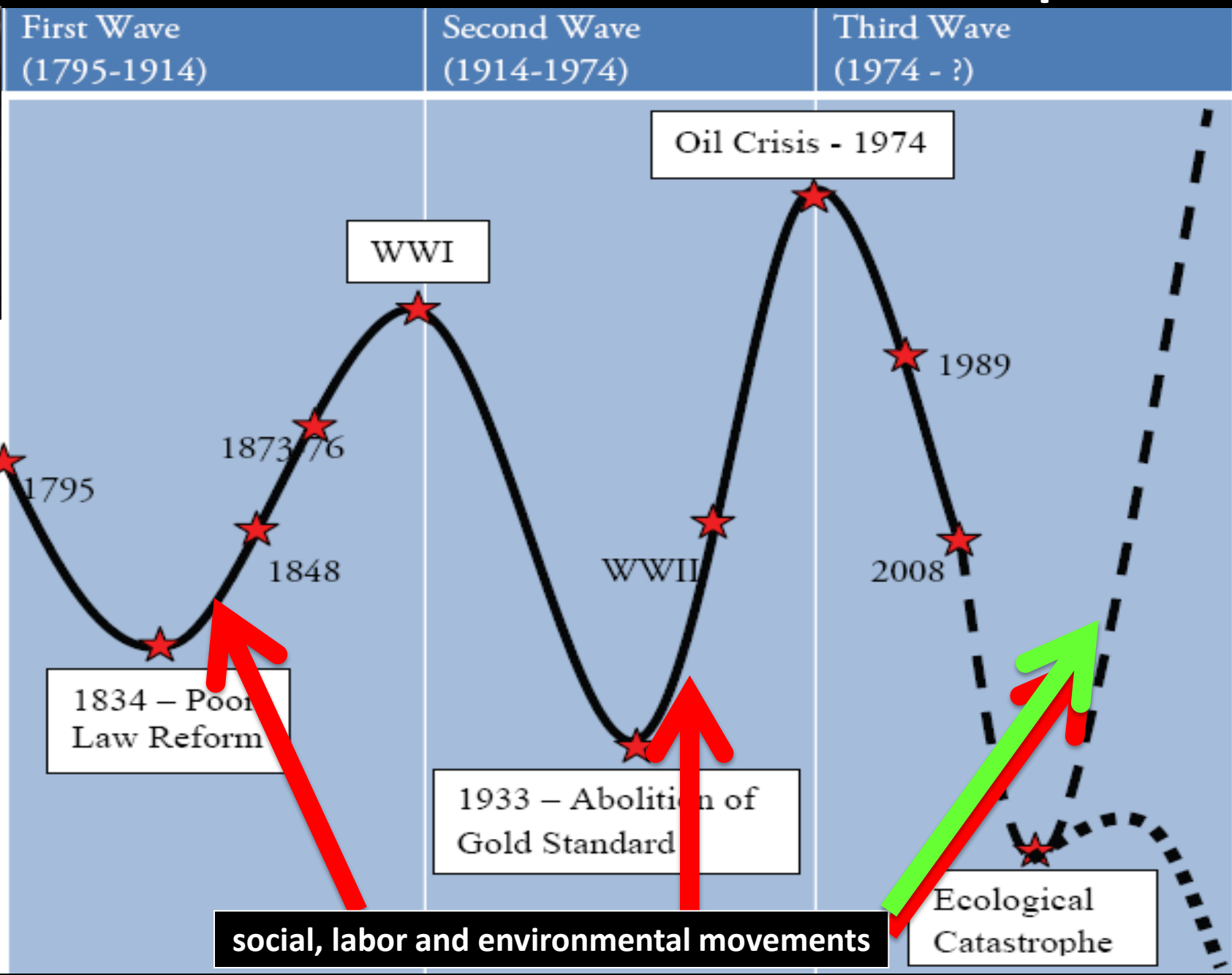




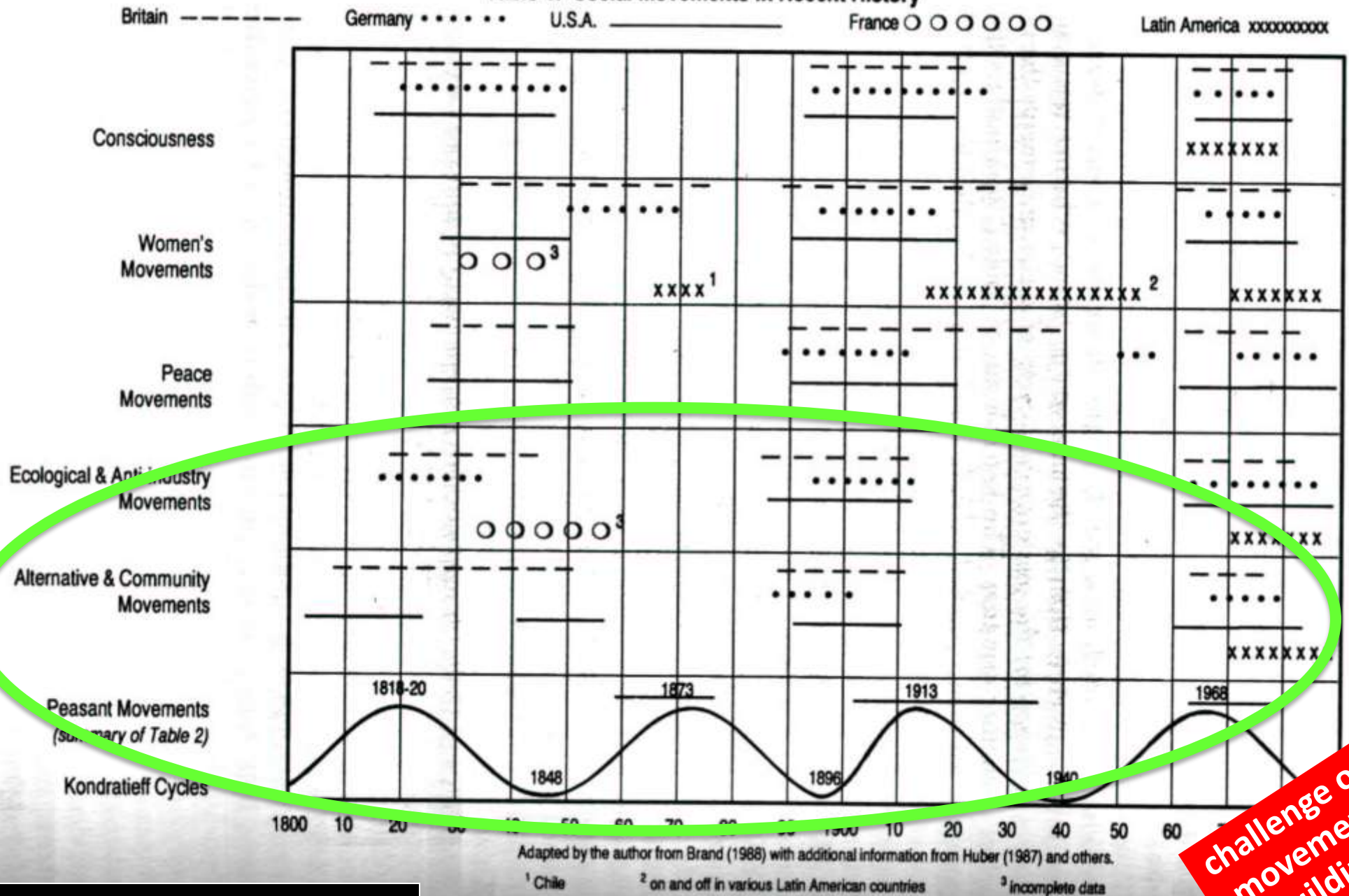
# Polanyi's double movement: waves of market power



# Polanyi's double movement: waves of market power



# social movements in 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> century history





# The Global Competitiveness Report 2013–2014

Full Data Edition

Klaus Schwab, World Economic Forum



World's most militant  
working class

South Africa is ranked 53rd this year, overtaking Brazil to place second among the BRICS. South Africa does well on measures of the quality of its institutions (41st), including intellectual property protection (18th), property rights (20th), and in the efficiency of the legal framework in challenging and settling disputes (13th and 12th, respectively). The high accountability of its private institutions (2nd) further supports the institutional framework. Furthermore, South Africa's financial market development remains impressive at 3rd place. The country also has an efficient market for goods and services (28th), and it does reasonably well in more complex areas such as business sophistication (35th) and innovation (39th). But the country's strong ties to advanced economies, notably the euro area, make it more vulnerable to their economic slowdown and likely have contributed to the deterioration of fiscal indicators: its performance in the macroeconomic environment has dropped sharply (from 69th to 95th). Low scores for the diversion of public funds (99th), the perceived wastefulness of government spending (79th), and a more general lack of public trust in politicians (98th) remain worrisome, and security continues to be a major area of concern for doing business (at 109th). Building a skilled labor force and creating sufficient employment also present considerable challenges. The health of the workforce is ranked 133rd out of 148 economies—the result of high rates of communicable diseases and poor health indicators more generally. The quality of the educational system is very poor (146th), with low primary and tertiary enrollment rates. Labor market efficiency is poor (116th), hiring and firing practices are extremely rigid (147th), companies cannot set wages flexibly (144th), and significant tensions in labor-employer relations exist (148th). Raising educational standards and making the labor market more efficient will thus be critical in view of the country's high unemployment rate of over 20 percent, with the rate of youth unemployment estimated at close to 50 percent.

	MEAN 4.3	7
1 Switzerland	6.0	
2 Denmark	5.9	
3 Norway	5.8	
4 Netherlands	5.7	
5 Sweden	5.7	
6 Qatar	5.6	
7 Hong Kong SAR	5.6	
8 Japan	5.6	
9 Austria	5.5	
10 New Zealand	5.5	
11 Iceland	5.5	
12 Ireland	5.4	
13 Costa Rica	5.3	
14 Lao PDR	5.3	
15 Oman	5.3	
16 Germany	5.2	
17 Malaysia	5.2	
18 Finland	5.2	
19 Luxembourg	5.1	
20 Guatemala	5.1	
21 Brunei Darussalam	5.1	
22 Taiwan, China	5.1	
23 United Kingdom	5.0	
24 Malta	5.0	
25 Gambia, The	5.0	
26 Estonia	4.9	
27 Bahrain	4.9	
28 Canada	4.9	
29 Rwanda	4.9	
30 Puerto Rico	4.8	
31 Philippines	4.8	
32 America	4.8	
33 Côte d'Ivoire	4.8	
34 Thailand	4.8	
35 Mauritius	4.8	
36 Albania	4.7	
37 Cyprus	4.7	
38 United States	4.7	
39 Mexico	4.6	
40 Seychelles	4.6	
41 Bosnia and Herzegovina	4.6	
42 Jordan	4.6	
43 Azerbaijan	4.6	
44 Indonesia	4.6	
45 Dominican Republic	4.5	
46 Latvia	4.5	
47 Saudi Arabia	4.5	
48 Sri Lanka	4.5	
49 Mali	4.5	
50 Guyana	4.5	
51 Colombia	4.5	
52 Senegal	4.5	
53 Panama	4.4	
54 China	4.4	
55 India	4.4	
56 Kuwait	4.4	
57 Vietnam	4.4	
58 Honduras	4.4	
59 Madagascar	4.4	
60 Zambia	4.3	
61 Cambodia	4.3	
62 Ghana	4.3	
63 Ecuador	4.3	
64 Paraguay	4.3	
65 Lithuania	4.3	
66 Kenya	4.2	
67 Czech Republic	4.2	

RANK	COUNTRY/ECONOMY	VALUE	MEAN 4.3	7
75	Bhutan	4.2		
76	El Salvador	4.2		
77	Moldova	4.2		
78	Liberia	4.2		
79	Belgium	4.2		
80	Georgia	4.2		
81	Peru	4.2		
82	Turkey	4.2		
83	Hungary	4.2		
84	Lebanon	4.2		
85	Libya	4.2		
86	Yemen	4.2		
87	Brazil	4.1		
88	Poland	4.1		
89	Kyrgyz Republic	4.1		
90	Nicaragua	4.1		
91	Morocco	4.1		
92	Jamaica	4.1		
93	Uganda	4.1		
94	Montenegro	4.1		
95	Malawi	4.1		
96	Bangladesh	4.1		
97	Portugal	4.1		
98	Macedonia, FYR	4.1		
99	Bulgaria	4.1		
100	Nigeria	4.1		
101	Swaziland	4.1		
102	Guinea	4.0		
103	Australia	4.0		
104	Namibia	4.0		
105	Pakistan	4.0		
106	Slovak Republic	4.0		
107	Spain	4.0		
108	Botswana	4.0		
109	Mongolia	4.0		
110	Burkina Faso	4.0		
111	Timor-Leste	3.9		
112	Russian Federation	3.9		
113	Suriname	3.9		
114	Gabon	3.9		
115	Bolivia	3.9		
116	Tanzania	3.9		
117	Egypt	3.8		
118	Cape Verde	3.8		
119	Tunisia	3.8		
120	Slovenia	3.8		
121	Ethiopia	3.8		
122	Lesotho	3.8		
123	Greece	3.7		
124	Ukraine	3.7		
125	Senegal	3.7		
126	Benin	3.7		
127	Iran, Islamic Rep.	3.7		
128	Haiti	3.7		
129	Mozambique	3.6		
130	Myanmar	3.6		
131	Korea, Rep.	3.5		
132	Croatia	3.5		
133	Trinidad and Tobago	3.5		
134	France	3.4		
135	Italy	3.4		
136	Algeria	3.4		
137	Uruguay	3.3		
138	Romania	3.3		
139	Argentina	3.3		
140	Chad	3.3		
141	Mauritania	3.3		
142	Burundi	3.2		
143	Serbia	3.2		
144	Angola	3.1		
145	Nepal	3.0		
146	Venezuela	3.0		
147	South Africa	2.6		

class struggle gold medal

In your country, how would you characterize labor-employer relations?

1 = generally confrontational; 7 = generally cooperative

139	Romania	3.3
140	Argentina	3.3
141	Chad	3.3
142	Mauritania	3.3
143	Burundi	3.2
144	Serbia	3.2
145	Angola	3.1
146	Nepal	3.0
147	Venezuela	3.0
148	South Africa	2.6



# SA's high social protest rate

**3000 violent (thousands more non-violent) from 2009-12**

On 19 March the Minister of Police, Mr. Nathi Mthetwa, informed parliament about the number of 'crowd management incidents' that occurred during the three years from 1 April 2009.<sup>1</sup> Table 1, compares the new data with similar statistics for the preceding five years.

Table 1. Crowd management incidents<sup>2</sup>

	Peaceful	Unrest	Total
2004/05	7,382	622	8,004
2005/06	9,809	954	10,763
2006/07	8,703	743	9,446
2007/08	6,431	705	7,136
2008/09	6,125	718	6,843
2009/10	7,897	1,008	8,905
2010/11	11,681	973	12,654
2011/12 <sup>3</sup>	9,942	1,091	11,033



# Cops managed 12 000 protests - Mthethwa

2013-09-19 14:17

Pretoria - Police handled more than 12 000 public protests during the 2012/2013 financial year, Police Minister **Nathi Mthethwa** said on Thursday.

"Over the past four years, a total of 46 180 incidents were attended to and all were successfully stabilised with 14 843 arrests effected," he said at the release of the 2012/2013 crime statistics in Pretoria.

These were made up of 41 104 peaceful and 5 076 violent protests by the SA Municipal Workers Union (Samwu), the SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (Saccawu), protests in De Doorns in the Western Cape, Marikana in the North West, and Zamdela in the Free State.

"During 2012/13 alone, police managed 12 399 public incidents. Of these 10 517 were peaceful and 1 882 were violent public protests with a total of 693 various criminal cases reported," Mthethwa said.

"Most of the cases were reported in the Western Cape and North West provinces. Currently, stability has been restored."

- SAPA

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14



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Social protest rate  
probably world's  
highest





*platinum  
under  
Marikana*

# Mgcineni Noki, Lonmin rock drill operator 16 August 2012









# South Africa's Multiple Resource Curses, the Metalworkers' Break and Community Uprisings

PATRICK BOND

The African National Congress (ANC), led during the 1990s by the late Nelson Mandela, is projected to be reelected in South Africa's May 7, 2014 national election by a wide margin, probably with between 50 and 60 percent of the vote. But underneath the ruling party's apparent popularity, the society is seething with fury, partly at the mismanagement of vast mineral wealth. The political and economic rulers' increasingly venal policies and practices are so bad that not only did ANC elites play a direct role in massacring striking mineworkers in August 2012, but corporate South Africa was soon rated by PriceWaterhouseCoopers as "world leader in money-laundering, bribery and corruption, procurement fraud, asset misappropriation and cybercrime," with internal management responsible for more than three quarters of what was termed "mind-boggling" levels of theft.<sup>1</sup>

With such degeneration from above, the country's impotent socialist left was pleasantly surprised last December when the largest union in Africa, the 342,000-strong National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa ("Numsa") split away from the ANC. Numsa pledged to organize mineworkers and any other disgruntled workers, and to steadily reconstruct a new South African left from below, including radical social movements once derided as "ultraleft" (because from the early 2000s they had already broken with the ANC). The "Numsa Moment"—which I think can be contrasted to some local trade unionists' "Lula Moment" advocacy, akin to Brazilian labor corporatism—is of enormous importance, especially if it leads to a "united front approach" and the "movement towards socialism" as promised in Numsa's "Breaking New Ground" congress of 1,300 shop

PATRICK BOND teaches at University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, where he directs the Centre for Civil Society. His latest book, with John S. Saul, is *South Africa – Present as History* and soon to be published is a third edition of his *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*. He last *Monthly Review* article was June 2010's "South Africa's Bubble Meets Boiling Urban Social Protest."



**Numsa/other trade unions, communities and youth organisations**

call on **YOU** to support

**PROTEST ACTION** for jobs for youth on **February 26 2014** and

**NATIONAL STRIKE** on **March 19 2014**

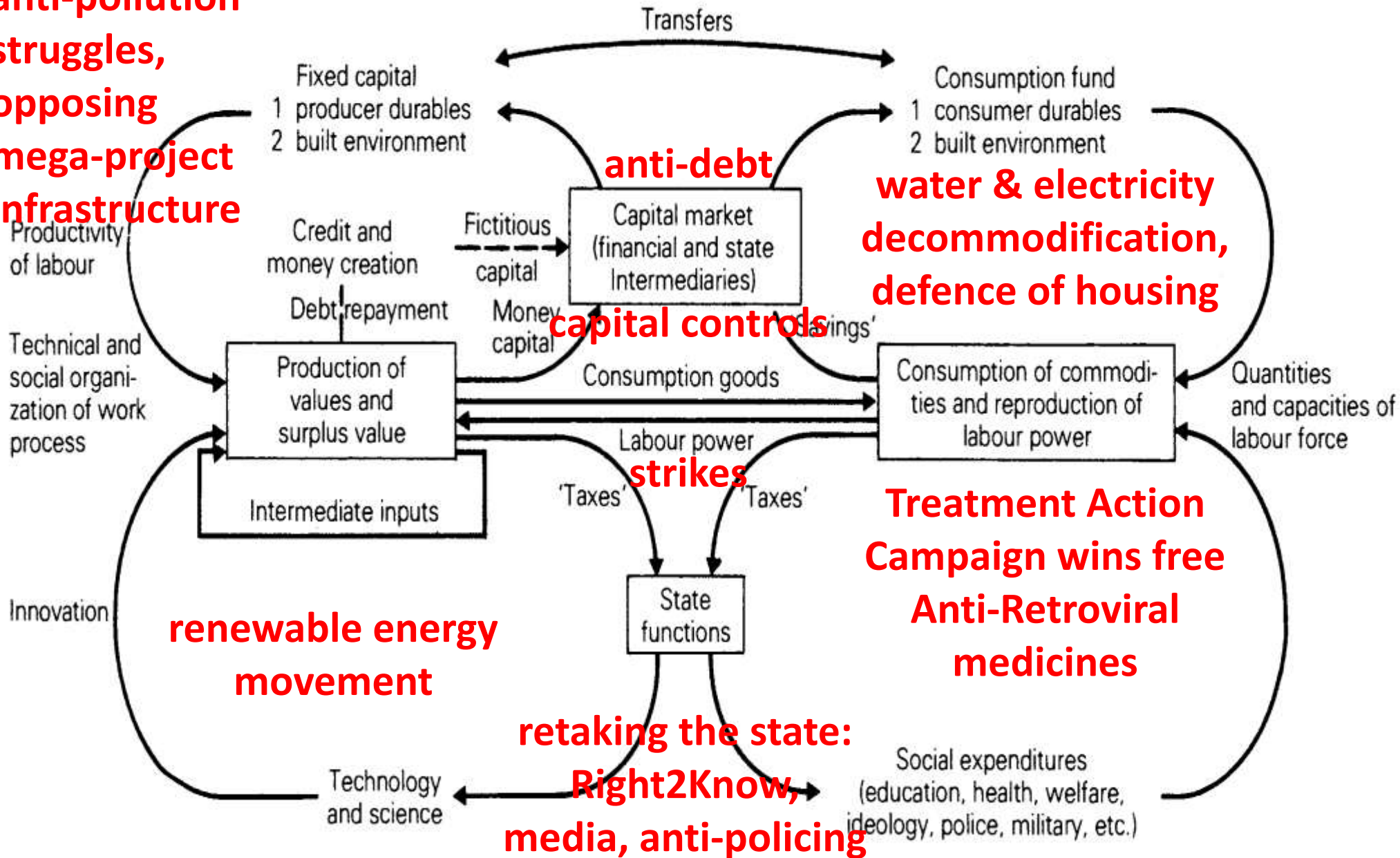


**March 19 2014**



# SA radical politics: *linking the fragments*

**anti-pollution  
struggles,  
opposing  
mega-project  
infrastructure**





# Luxemburg: *the necessity of socialism*

At a certain stage of development there will be no other way out than the application of socialist principles. The aim of socialism is not accumulation but the satisfaction of toiling humanity's wants by developing the productive forces of the entire globe. And so we find that socialism is by its very nature a harmonious and universal system of economy. (p.447)