

International Workers Organizer

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*Under the banners of the revolutionary Third and Fourth Internationals...
Stand with the Black working class*

MARXISM AND THE BLACK QUESTION



SOUTH AFRICA:

With general strikes and struggles in the streets, huge layers of the working class break with the bureaucracy of COSATU and confront ANC government, the Anglo American and the "reconciliation" regime

*NUMSA calls for the construction of a
"Revolutionary Workers' Party": Trotskyists' position*

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ZIMBABWE:

**WORKERS FIGHT AGAINST MNANGAGWA
GOVERNMENT AND THE MILITARY JUNTA,
AGENTS OF IMPERIALIST TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES AND
IMF, AND THEIR LACKEYS OF THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE**



**Heroic struggle of
the Hwange miners
and their Women
Committee**

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**LONG LIVE THE CRY OF
"FREEDOM TO OUR SIBLINGS"
of Black workers in USA and
Europe, against the slave-traders
Khadafist bourgeoisie and the
imperialist pirates!**

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**Resolutions on the
Black Question of the
First and Second
Congresses of the
FLTl of 2009 and
2015**

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Leon Trotsky On the South African Theses of 1935 *(See page 25)*

Introduction



This special edition of the "International Worker Organizer" is dedicated to the Black working class everywhere and particularly in the African continent, where the Black proletariat plays a central role -as well as at a global level. The uprisings of African-American workers fighting for their lives in the heart of the US imperialist beast, is an example of this. The attention paid by the world working class to their Black brothers is essential. They constitute an important sector of the European working class; they are taken to work as slaves in the old continent in ways that outperform those used by the slave traders of times past.

We publish this special edition of the IWO at a time when South Africa is **shaken** by the expansive waves of the crack of the capitalist world economy. These waves have now hit the BRICS, as in Brazil, suffering already a huge bankruptcy, and particularly South Africa, where unemployment is around 23% and the exploited have been plunged into misery after the transnationals and the IMF extracted huge super-profits from the theft of their natural resources.

The South African working class have not stayed passively face this crisis; they engaged in a hard struggle against its tormentors: the regime of "reconciliation" imposed by Mandela, the African National Congress (ANC), Stalinism and the bureaucracy of the unions together with the Anglo-Boer fascist bourgeoisie. This infamous

Reconciliation regime kept South Africa subjected to imperialism and the voracity of the exploiters. A new Black bourgeoisie emerged from within thoroughly associated with the transnationals: a millionaire Black bourgeoisie surrounded by a sea of hungry Black workers.

Enormous struggle processes are also developing right now in Zimbabwe, where the working class systematically engage in struggles in that country, the poorest in the world, plundered by the IMF, with a spurious external debt and now under the command of a military dictatorship that is the faithful continuation of Mugabe's dictatorial regime and government. There the bourgeoisie anticipated a violent explosion of the masses and removed Mugabe, replacing him with a military junta.

Also in South Africa, cornered by the successive struggles and general strikes of the masses, the bourgeoisie handed over the head of Zuma and in its place placed his vice president, Ramaphosa, the murderer of Marikana, hated by the exploited.

Here and there, the trade union bureaucracy and Stalinism as the fundamental counterrevolutionary force of the region, begin to be overwhelmed by the tough African masses. Stalinism has tied its fate to the regime "of agreement and reconciliation"; since the 2WW postwar period and then along the revolutionary uprisings of the African continent in the late 1970s and 80s capitulated all the anti-imperialist battles for land and for independ-

ence that the workers and peasants of the continent fought for.

The Black question, then, has now an outstanding contemporariness. In this edition of the IWO we are publishing the resolutions of the 2009 and 2015 congresses of the **FLTI (International Trotskyist Leninist Fraction)**. In them, the reader will be able to see the updating of the program of revolutionary Marxism on the Black working class question and the fight in defense of the theory-program of the Permanent Revolution.

Only from the strategy of revolutionary Marxism the masses can be guided towards their true liberation, which is no other than the triumph of the socialist revolution.

As the theory-program of the Permanent Revolution states: *"Under the conditions of the imperialist epoch the national democratic revolution can be carried through to a victorious end only when the social and political relationships of the country are mature for putting the proletariat in power as the leader of the masses of the people. And what if this is not yet the case? Then the struggle for national liberation will produce only very partial results, results directed entirely against the working masses."* This is what has happened with all acuity in the semicolonial world and in Black Africa in particular. At the end of the Second World War and in the midst of the inter-imperialist crisis that it had opened, the African masses sought a path for their liberation. Because of the treachery of Stalinism, these enormous combats did not impose the proletariat as the "leadership of the popular masses". Actually Stalinism sustained the native bourgeoisies that ended up aborting the struggle for the nations' independence from imperialism and associating themselves to the latter as a minor partner in the plundering of Black nations.

In the hands of the bourgeoisie, the struggle for national independence after the Second World War and as we said, in the 70s and 80s, was not the victory of the "democratic revolution", as the LIT still claims, but its abortion.

The fight against imperialism and for the land sets on the agenda the need to working class to break definitively with the Black bourgeoisie. There are dozens and dozens of gangs of exploiters and thugs in the service of the imperialist masters, which constitute the servile governments of the entire region. It is a cowardly and cynical Black bourgeoisie, intimately linked to the economy and world politics of imperialism.

The martyred Africa has been one of the places on the planet where the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism as agents of capital was most accomplished. Even as in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, the Stalinist parties and their "national liberation move-

ments", after militarily defeating English or Portuguese imperialism, themselves gave birth to bourgeois-workers' governments that guaranteed the imperialist banks and mining and oil companies their property and super-profits.

The native bourgeoisies used here and there the heroic battles of the masses to negotiate some more coins than the small portion of surplus value left over from imperialist plunder, but they have always ended up openly attacking the working class and the poor peasants. They are much more afraid of the armed masses than of imperialism, to which they are associated. The exploiters have a class instinct; they know that the proletarian revolution would not distinguish between the native bourgeoisie or imperialists.

The question is clear: in the African continent, two strategies and two programs face each other for the struggle of the exploited masses. One, the treacherous class collaboration policy imposed by Stalinism and the renegades of Trotskyism, supporting here or there the national bourgeoisies, whether they pose as "anti-imperialist" or "democratic". The result is in sight. The most affected working class on the planet lie on that continent, which in Europe and the US are used as slave labor.

On the other hand, the theory-program of Permanent Revolution, says: *"With respect to the countries of delayed bourgeois development, and in particular the colonial and semicolonial ones, the theory of permanent revolution means that the integral and effective resolution of their democratic aims and their national emancipation can only be conceived through the dictatorship of the proletariat, where the latter is wielding power as the leader of the oppressed nation and, above all, of its peasant masses."*

The reader will be able to see that the 2009 theses of the foundation of the FLTI on the question of the Black working class are based on this theory, strategy and program to put on foot the revolutionary internationalist and combatant parties that the African proletariat needs. In them we unmask that the "triumphant democratic revolutions" are nothing more than a parody, the abortion and defeat of the proletarian revolution.

All democratic tasks such as the rupture with imperialism and the agrarian question can only be resolved with the proletariat as the leader of the nation.

The great allies of the African working class are the US and European working class, of which the African proletariat is a constituent and advanced part in their struggles. The internationalist character of the Black proletariat, as a key sector of the world working class, marks

and paves the way to recover the militant internationalism in the ranks of the world working class, which the treacherous leaderships have broken by subjecting the proletariat to its own bourgeoisie country by country. Unleashing the hands and breaking the subjugation of African workers to their own bourgeoisie is what will allow the African-American proletariat to really stand up, seeing that their brothers are the workers of Africa and not the cynical Black bourgeoisies like Mandela, the Stalinists, and even less the Castroites, which sold out the liberation struggles of Africa as they have done now with Cuba, handing it over to imperialism.

As a complement to this part about the revolutionary strategy and program for Southern Africa's exploited, we also publish here **"On the South African Theses" by Leon Trotsky (written in 1935)**, which are a historical material of the highest political value to address the current situation against that school of charlatans and liquidators of Marxism taking flight with the emergence of the New Left and the renegades of Trotskyism that have long ago abandoned the theory and program of revolutionary Marxism.

The reader will also find in this issue **an article from the WIL of Zimbabwe that came to light in November 2017, about the military coup in that country and marking a revolutionary course of action to face this military junta with mass actions**, while currents like the ISO of the English SWP prostrated before the pseudo "democrats" of the MDC that supported the onslaughts of the military against the government of the dictator Mugabe. As part of the same elaboration, we are publishing a controversy with the LIT, which begged the military junta for a call to the "Constituent Assembly" while refusing to promote the establishment of the dual power bodies of the masses in struggle to sweep the coup perpetrators, through a revolutionary action that open the way to the socialist revolution in Zimbabwe and all of South Africa.

Therefore, in this IWO we also present to the revolutionary workers and youth, **a statement written by the comrades of the WIL of Zimbabwe (03-01-2018) which deals with the current storage and trafficking of Black slaves promoted by the new Khadafist bourgeoisie from Libya to the great imperialist metropolises**. In it the FLTI, in addition to stripping the role of the national bourgeoisie as smaller partners of the imperialist bandits states an immediate action program beginning by insisting on the need for the workers of the United States, Europe and Japan to assume their responsibilities and internationalist obligations to free their class siblings in Black Africa.

The labor aristocracies and bureaucracies and the so-

cial-imperialist parties, while tying the working class of the colonies and semi-colonies to their own bourgeoisie, they do nothing in the imperialist countries but defend each their own transnationals and regimes that dispute the spheres of influence in the semicolonial world.

The complicity of Stalinism, social democracy and renegades of Trotskyism in the imperialist plunder in the oppressed nations is seen in broad daylight. These currents are advisers of their imperialist bankers.

Some of them, like the French NPA, warn the imperialist bourgeoisie of France that their military invasions, like those they have carried out in Mali, are not the way to sustain their rule, but that they must deceive the oppressed peoples with more flags of "democracy" and "freedom" so that the riches of the countries they plunder can be taken away freely. This is how they advise this sinister French imperialism of the Foreign Legion. It is enough to also see Lambertites and their "Peoples International" occupying parliamentary positions in Algeria of the ferocious military dictatorship of Bouteflika, while the Islamic Front of National Salvation continues banned.

We must also mention the British SWP, which has become a "Trojan horse" of the transnationals within the workers' organizations. In Zimbabwe, they have supported and entered the MDC, a bourgeois party with which the government of Mugabe (Zanu-PF) had from 2008 a governance agreement and cleaned his blood-stained clothes to stop the worker's ascent that threatened him. The MDC is the big administrator of AngloAmerican businesses in Zimbabwe, together with the "socialists of the Queen" inside. Or, as they do in South Africa, calling for the "New Left" to be set up, they seek to create a new obstacle preventing the breakup of the masses with the bourgeoisie, wanting to impose a "left ANC", supported by the trade unions, Stalinism and "democratic" personalities of the Black bourgeoisie. They are the spokespersons of the English Labor Party, where they have a huge agreement around Corbyn. No doubt, that if the Labor Party wins the next elections in UK, with this "anti-imperialist, anti-militarist and anti-capitalist" candidate (as the British SWP campaigns Corbyn), these socialists of the queen will be his ministers, with or without portfolio in all Black Africa plundered by Anglo-US imperialism.

In this sense, fighting for class independence and for putting our forces at the service of a new revolutionary regrouping of the Black working class, **we present an article by WIL and FLTI making our contributions and our political collaboration to the debate opened throughout the left of Southern Africa, and in South Africa in particular, around the call of the NUMSA (National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa) leaders to build a**

"Revolutionary Workers Party".

The fact is a crisis of COSATU (South Africa's Trade Union Federation), the ANC and Stalinism is already open. The rank and file workers look for a path to the struggle and the general strike and fight to make way for class independence. The return of the proletariat of South Africa to the road that was hindered and diverted by the betrayal of Stalinism in the '80s is in the making. Certainly the South African labor movement needs to treat this cowardly and servant Black bourgeoisie, supported by Stalinism and its pact with the Anglo-Boers, even more forcefully than they confronted the Apartheid regime, which has survived in the regime of "national reconciliation" that Mandela imposed together with the Boers.

This call to set up a "Revolutionary Workers' Party" cannot be just an issue for South Africa, but must be called upon to conform throughout Africa. The program of the metal workers of South Africa must reach all corners of this continent.

This effort started by a sector of workers in South Africa cannot be subjugated to the native bourgeoisie or the European so-called "New Left". Undoubtedly, the latter will seek to limit the leftward turn of the workers' vanguard trying to submit it to the policy of "more democracy," as if this were possible without expropriating imperialism and the transnationals and leaving no stone on stone of every policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

In South Africa, the NUMSA and the SAFTU have just performed a general strike against the government of the pro-imperialist Ramaphosa, a struggle in which the COSATU bureaucracy acted as scabs. In this issue we publish some first notes on this fact of the class struggle in this country, stating that it is a question of life and death to defeat the COSATU bureaucracy so that the workers can conquer the unity of their ranks and sweep away the Ramaphosa government as a way to get the demands.

In our opinion, the leadership of NUMSA must dispute every inch of the leadership of all trade unions and



"Black Lives Matter" protest

the whole labor movement against the Stalinist trade union bureaucracy and all those bureaucrats that have arisen in the heat of the different bourgeois gangs moving away from the ANC as this sinks; this is the case of Malema, who with demagogy and alms tries to contain and expropriate the struggle of the heroic miners of Marikana, who still claim justice for their 34 murdered companions.

The masses have broken into political struggle in South Africa. With 23% unemployment, the working class knows that with such an economic crisis, they can no longer get even their minimum demands in the field of economic and trade union struggle. The masses have become aware that in order to get their demands, the government and the union bureaucracy must be defeated in the streets, with general political strikes like the ones we are experiencing. This situation puts on the agenda the need to build up, together with the combative trade unions of South Africa, ad hoc bodies that embody all the masses that are fighting for water, wages, housing, education, etc., that is, committees for free water, factory committees, consumer committees, housing committees. We must unite all the masses in struggle. A bold appeal from the NUMSA to set up a great National Congress of the exploited, which includes calling the rank and file soldiers - which yesterday Stalinism put at the feet of the Black bourgeoisie - to set up their base committees and to fight together with the workers and the poor people.

We are witnessing decisive struggles of the masses and the exploited. South Africa, together with Zimbabwe, are today the outpost of these combats in Southern Africa. In this regard, we also present different statements and articles about the **struggle of the miners and the Women's Committee of Hwange** that are fighting against the imperialist transnational company (Anglo

American) in **Zimbabwe** and have resisted more than 100 days of isolation, pressure from the bosses and the oblivion from "socialist" currents. This struggle continues thanks to the struggle of teachers, state workers, nurses, street sellers and hundreds of thousands of the exploited who face the pro-imperialist attack of the Mnangagwa government of the Zanu-PF supported by the military and the MDC "opposition". The miners and the brave Women's Committee of Hwange also have the support of internationalist workers who have contributed to and called for crowd-funding an international struggle-and-strike fund, pushing this motion within workers organizations, thus demonstrating that the way to win does not go through the traitorous policy of allying with one or another bourgeois sector, as the trade union bureaucrats of the ZTUC intend to do. It is only by the working class' fighting as one fist over the borders, facing the same enemies that exploit us all, that the workers will find the strength to achieve victory.

It is precisely to be put at the service of the struggle for the militant internationalism of the working class, against any policy that ties the interests of the workers to that of the bosses and their governments, that we have selected this series of documents, articles, debates and statements seeking to defend the continuity of revolutionary Marxism and make a contribution to the exploited of the world, by presenting this program which we consider a revolutionary action guide for workers to take their struggles to victory.

That is why this Special Edition IWO on the class struggle in Africa is a tool to strip the fabrications of the fraudsters of "socialism", which speak about it only on holidays, though hide it every day to subordinate themselves to the "progressive bourgeoisies" and bureaucrats on duty in the big unions. As stated by each of the different texts that make this publication about the struggle of the Black working class and the program of the revolutionary Marxists, the Trotskyists call on the workers and the youth to regroup under the banners of the Fourth International and its foundation congress of 1938, and against all those who liquidate its program and revolutionary vigor and betray in its name while embracing the old recipes of Stalinism and social democracy that so many years of martyrdom have brought to the workers and poor people of the world; that is, against all those that have been supporting -with a policy of class collab-



2012: Lonmin miners in struggle

oration and / or struggles for "more democracy"- a rotten system that upholds a handful of parasites that live on the sweat, blood and tears of 99% of the exploited in the world.

The struggle for the workers' and socialist revolution is more valid than ever. At the service of this fight we present this International Worker Organizer on Africa and on Marxism and the Black question as a document for debate and formation, and above all, a tool for the working class and the vanguard in the class war against the capitalists, their governments, states, regimes and their supporters.

The fight for the socialist Black republics of the African continent is on the agenda. In them the martyred masses of North Africa and the Middle East will have their greatest allies.

Following the route of the slaves of yesterday, the Black proletariat will be a fundamental element to reconstitute the internationalist unity of the world working class.

Step to militant internationalism!

From South Africa to Bronx, from Zimbabwe to Lampedusa: a single class, the same struggle

Imperialism must die!

For the Federation of the Black Socialist Republic of martyred Africa!

Second Congress of the Collective for the Re-foundation of the Fourth International- FLTI (2015)

September 18th, 2015

RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS

On Africa and USA

We revolutionary Marxists endorse the resolutions and historical positions of revolutionary Marxism, the Revolutionary Third International and the Fourth International on the Black question. They are a principled starting point, one that is theoretically and programmatically correct to address the issue of the Black working class today at the international level.

Together with this work there are the resolutions of the First Congress of the FLTI of 2009. During that Congress there was a debate on the Black question, which was opened, essentially, by differences with the WIVL of South Africa, which at that time was part of the FLTI. Finally, in the recent Congress that we have just closed, we have approved the following resolution on the Black question, after a fruitful debate.

The documents that reflect the rich experience of the Third and Fourth Internationals on the Black question, which were consulted to elaborate this work, will also be published as an adjunct to this resolution.

We reaffirm the Theses of the Third International on the Black question, which we consider decisive to develop a revolutionary program for this huge and warlike fraction of the world working class, the Black workers, who today are playing a very important role in the USA in the fight against the murderous police commanded by Obama and the "Republican" regime as well as in the tough struggles of Africa,



Slaves working the land in USA

where new revolutionary actions of the exploited are simmering, under conditions of unprecedented misery.

The revolutionary Third International defined the Black question, giving much importance to the role of Blacks snatched from Africa and brought to the United States as slaves.

"History has reserved for the Blacks in the USA an important role in the liberation of the entire African race. Three hundred years ago, Black Americans were ripped out of their native country, Africa and transported to America where they have been subjected to the worst treatments and sold as slaves. For 250 years, they have worked under the whip of the American owners. They are the ones who dismantled the forests, built roads, planted the cotton, laid railroad rails and supported the southern aristocracy. His reward was mis-

ery, ignorance, degradation. The Black was not a docile slave; he resorted to rebellion, to insurrection, to flight to recover his freedom. But their uprisings were suppressed in blood. Through torture, he was forced to submit. The bourgeois press and religion partnered to justify their slavery. When slavery began to compete with wage labor and became an obstacle to the development of capitalist America, it had to disappear. The War of Secession, undertaken not to free the Blacks but to maintain the industrial supremacy of the northern capitalists, placed the Negro before the obligation to choose between southern slavery and wage labor in the north. The muscles, the blood, the tears of the "liberated" Black contributed to the establishment of American capitalism and when, turned into a world power, the US was dragged into the world war, the Black American was declared on equal terms with the Whites to kill and be killed for democracy. Four hundred thousand workers of color were enrolled in the American troops, where they formed the regiments of "Jim Crow". Fresh out of the bonfire of war, the Black soldiers, once in their homeland, were persecuted, lynched, murdered, deprived of all freedom or put in the pillory. They fought, but to assert their personality they had to pay dearly. They were persecuted even more than during the war to teach them to "keep their position". **The great participation of the Blacks in the post-war industry, the spirit of rebellion that the brutalities of which they are victims arouse in them, places the Blacks of America, and especially those of North America, at the forefront of the struggle of Africa against oppression.** "(Theses on the Black Question - Third International, 1922)

This was exacerbated during the Vietnam War in the early and mid-1970s. The Black worker was used as cannon fodder in the colonial wars of US imperialism, but he was also the outpost on the battle front and throughout the USA

against the Vietnam War, playing a vanguard role in the enormous mass mobilizations that developed inside the imperialist beast against that war. With these great actions the withdrawal of the US troops from Vietnam was imposed. It was during this period that the most sweeping processes of radicalization of the Black workers' movement took place, which were then diverted, corrupted and brutally repressed by the USA regime.

From this point of view, as proposed by the Thesis of the Third International of 1922, the American Black workers always held aloft their "spirit of rebellion aroused in them by the brutalities of which they are victims" that has put "the Blacks of America, and especially those of North America, at the forefront of Africa's struggle against oppression."

In the revolutionary general rise of '68 -'74 and in the current battles of the US colored working class, this is increasingly reaffirmed.

THE ROUTES OF THE BLACK SLAVES FROM AFRICA TO THE USA ...

In the beginnings of capitalism, England and France attained part of their original accumulation based on the trafficking and sale of slaves. The bourgeoisie in the US administered a very rich land. In the north, in the east and west, there was an immigration of European workers and superexploited Chinese to build American capitalism. As the workers movement was transplanted, the Africans were taken there as slaves. They were separated from their families, took out of their villages and nations, not for a salary, not as migrant workers, but to enslave them in the plantations of southern United States.

The American bourgeoisie brought slaves from Africa to produce cotton, to be able to export it to the British looms. So the African workers were separated with shackles on the boats; they took them to unknown lands and sold them. That's why for African-American workers, between Africa and the US there is a shackle and a trip over the sea, so they never break their roots with Africa. Therefore, in the USA the Black workers, proudly, call themselves "African-Americans." It's that their nation is Black Africa. They do not recognize as their place of origin any of the nations that were artifi-



Slaves from Africa

cially and fictitiously developed by imperialism to restrain, control or divert the enormous anti-colonial revolutions that took place throughout the 20th century on the African continent.

Black workers in the US call themselves, in a simple way, "African-Americans" because Africa is his national identity and his life is in America.

ENORMOUS ANTI-COLONIAL AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES SPARKED IN BLACK AFRICA AFTER WORLD WAR II

While England first dominated world trade and then, as an imperialist power, the planet, there was no national independence of Black Africa; to mention some of the cases: the Congo was Belgian; Sub-Saharan Africa was French, Portuguese or German; South Africa was Dutch or English. Under the imperialist capitalist system African Black peoples were drawn "pseudo-nations" as colonies of the empires that conquered and dominated them.

But it was at the end of the Second World War, when the anti-colonial struggle of the different regions of Black Africa was organized and developed to expel the colonialist occupation troops from the different imperialist powers. The Belgian army had to be expelled from Congo; France and Portugal, from sub-Saharan Africa; Great Britain, from much of southern and eastern Africa, etc.

The route of national liberation struggles, which lasted until almost the end of the 20th century, followed the path of imperialist domination of the entire Black Africa. Imperialism and its Stalinist supporters acted on it, to divert and contain these battles with the aim of them not advancing to victory as workers and socialist revolutions, which were on the agenda throughout the second post-war.

Imperialism contained this revolutionary anti-imperialist rise, with the key and essential collaboration of Stalinism, which subjected the workers' movement and the poor peasants to national liberation movements, on which the different regional and zonal bourgeoisies that manipulated them were mounted. And when they did not, they were directly petty bourgeois army-parties, led by different fractions of Stalinism, those that controlled the masses and submitted them to the bourgeoisie. They were the ZANU and the ZAPU in Zimbabwe, the ANC in South Africa, the FRELIMO in



Fidel Castro in Angola

Mozambique, the MPL in Angola, etc.

For the bourgeoisie the great danger was that the struggle to the end by the expulsion of imperialism throughout enslaved Africa would inevitably lead to the working class and the poor peasants leading that fight, expropriating the imperialists that plundered their nation and recovering the land, which also raised the need to expropriate the different fractions of the native bourgeoisie.

Precisely, and especially since the Second World War, this anti-colonial and anti-imperialist revolutionary process was aborted by the subjugation of the working class to the native bourgeoisie and, on the other hand, by the policy of imperialism, which before the great worker and peasant revolutions that shook the whole continent starting at the aftermath of the 2WW, realized that its dominion and looting of Black Africa could no longer subsist under colonial forms.

These processes of revolutions were aborted, then, by governments manipulated by a new Black bourgeoisie that emerged sustained by Stalinism, to prevent that with working class and socialist revolutions, with the working class in power, the democratic demands of interrupting the imperialist looting were achieved and the land recovered.

And when these containment dams failed, even Stalinism deployed international forces, as Castroism did in Angola and Mozambique, to prevent the bourgeoisie from being expropriated. There in the '70s were the Castroite "militias" guarding Rockefeller's oil wells of, so that the masses would not expropriate them.

THROUGH THE BETRAYAL OF STALINISM AND THE
SUBMISSION TO FRONTS WITH THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE,
THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL
AND SOCIAL LIBERATION OF THE AFRICAN WORKING CLASS
AND POOR PEASANTRY WAS EXPROPRIATED
THE RESULT: IMPERIALISM-SUBJECTED SEMI-COLONIES

Behind the screen of the so-called "**Pan-Africanism**", Stalinism promoted the class collaboration policy of support for the petty bourgeoisie and the native bourgeoisies.

This was the main ideological base that Stalinism used from the leadership of the national liberation struggles to neutralize and sabotage the development of independent struggles of the working class. Stalinist politics took the form of armed parties posing as the left wing of the national liberation movements, with their program of putting a native bourgeoisie in power, to prevent the national liberation movements from defeating or expelling imperialism and breaking with it. Thus they prevented the struggle of the working class and the masses from triumphing with the imposition of workers and peasants governments, the only way to advance towards an authentic national independence, expropriating the expropriators and plunderers of the African peoples.

The result of this sinister class collaboration policy of Stalinism **was not the national independence of Black Africa, but the subjection and plundering of imperialism developed from the emergence of semi-colonial nations**, where imperialism withdrew its direct governments and allowed-imposed bourgeois national domination institutions which it controlled through strong economic, political and military pacts of subjugation.

Thus the nations that we see today in all Black Africa arose, which are nothing but semi-colonies subject to imperialism. That is, true abortions of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Black masses along the second post-war.

The weak native Black bourgeoisie, supported by union bureaucracies, Stalinist armies or quasi-fascist forces to develop fratricidal wars, guaranteed the installation of semi-colonial nations completely submitted to the different imperialist powers that are fighting over Black Africa.

The extreme weakness of this native Black bourgeoisie, along with the power of the workers' movement and a peasantry under miserable conditions of subsistence, has led to the fact that almost all of these nascent semi-colonial nations that emerged in the second post-war era ended up

being real Bonapartist, openly counterrevolutionary governments and regimes that followed, as the shadow to the body, the process of "decolonization" of Black Africa.

As it has already become clear, since the worker and peasant revolutions did not triumph, but were aborted, the national problem was not solved, much less the liberation of imperialism and the land problem, which in most cases was left in the hands of the white owners, or else, of a new Black bourgeoisie that by not expropriating imperialism, its mining and oil companies, etc., could not guarantee investments that sustain a high agricultural productivity, capable of feeding the hungry peoples. Likewise, the creation of fictitious nations prevented a "division of national labor" that included the extraction of minerals and petroleum and agricultural production to feed the population.

Thus, the abortion of the anticolonial revolutionary processes only deepened the decline of the productive forces, the famines, the genocides and the massacres of fratricidal wars promoted by the imperialist military bases, with which imperialism populates and crowns its dominion in the whole Africa now semicolonized.

Imperialism is reaction along the whole line. In Africa today, after genocides like those in the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, apartheid regimes, etc., the Black working class is in the worst prostration and in conditions of slavery equal or similar to those of its previous generations, the slaves.

Just to be alive, millions of Black workers must continue treading, now without shackles, but living the same martyrdom and risking their lives as in the past, the route of former slaves, crossing the Mediterranean to end up as prisoners in concentration camps or as slaves of the transnationals, doing the worst tasks in imperialist Europe. Meanwhile, the UN maintains its troops in eastern Congo (in the province of Goma), where the coltan is. This is its most strongly manned "peace mission" in the world. From there he orders the distribution of business among the bourgeoisies of neighboring states such as Kenya, Burundi and Rwanda, which in turn sell it to the imperialism, which is doing the biggest business. Obviously, the massacres in the Congo continue, as do the clashes between the different party-armies.

With Black bourgeois governments and artificially constituted nations, Africa did not solve at all the national question of Black Africa, which today continues being sacked a thousand times more by imperialism and with native bourgeoisies that are true jailers and slavers of the oppressed.

Where imperialism could not prevent the masses from

taking justice in their own hands over the puppet governments and the imperialist troops (as happened in Somalia), it promoted balkanization, the re-imposition of "warlords" and the emergence of "fundamentalists", armed and financed by the Arab states that are its allies. What came was an infinite decadence of those nations.

Due to the delay of the victory of the socialist revolutions in the African continent, processes of barbarism have been intensified, driven by the imperialist counterrevolution, as we see today in the Maghreb and the Middle East.

This was also the case in Nigeria. In 2013-2014 there were huge revolutionary uprisings of the Nigerian workers, with very hard oil strikes. There the workers marched against the president under the banners of: "Jonathan go or Khadafy's fate will happen to you". The response of Yankee imperialism did not wait: he sent one of his minions (as he does today with ISIS in Syria and Iraq) to decompose and massacre the revolution. Boko Haram appeared, who was given autonomy in northern Nigeria's Muslim provinces. They are engaged in the trafficking of arms, slaves, and women/girls for sex. We are before counterrevolutionary fascist forces organized by imperialism, which even split Nigeria.

The alternative "socialism or barbarism" is sharpened throughout the African continent. Today the workers' movement must boldly take up the national question in order to wrest it from the demagogy of the Black bourgeoisie and Stalinism.

We Trotskyists reaffirm and take up the struggle of the Fourth International for the liberation of Black Africa, as a problem of national liberation: *"In these conditions, the South African republic will emerge above all as a 'Black republic'. Of course this does not exclude total equality for whites or fraternal relations between both races; it will depend fundamentally on the behavior adopted by whites. But it is obvious that the predominant majority of the population, freed from its slaving dependence, will make its mark on the state.*

Since a victorious revolution will radically change not only the relationship between the classes but also the relationship between the races, and will guarantee the Negroes their rightful place in the state according to their number, the So-



Demonstration in Washington, 1968

cial revolution will also have a national character in South Africa.

We have no reason to close our eyes to this aspect of the question or to diminish its importance. On the contrary, the proletarian party, openly and audaciously, in words and deeds, must take into its hands the solution of the national (radial) problem.

Nevertheless, the proletarian party can and must solve the national problem with its own methods.

The historical weapon for national liberation can only be class struggle."(Theses on the Black question 1932)

An independent of imperialism Black republic, as such, has not been achieved in the hands of a corrupt and murderous native bourgeoisie, sellout of its own people. Moreover, under the skin color of a Black bourgeoisie, lies the whip of the white masters who are in command of the imperialist powers of the Bourbons, the French Fifth Republic, the Queen of England, the regime of the US "Republicrats", etc.

It is clearer than ever -and this is the experience of all the revolutionary processes of the second post-war- that a Black republic -independent of imperialist plundering and recovering land to feed its hungry people- can only be guaranteed and conquered by a victorious socialist and workers revolution, which imposes worker and peasant governments on the basis of the destruction of these semi-colonial states, the expulsion of the imperialist military bases, the agrarian collectivization and the expropriation without payment of all the assets of the transnational companies.

THE VALIDITY OF THE THEORY-PROGRAM OF THE PERMANENT
REVOLUTION WAS REAFFIRMED MORE THAN EVER IN
THE HARD BATTLES OF REVOLUTION AND
COUNTERREVOLUTION IN BLOODIED AFRICA

It is Africa where the laws that govern the theory of revolution, that is, the permanent nature of the revolution, have been fulfilled more precisely, since, as the Trotskyists put it, the national tasks of conquering, in this case, independent Black republics, that assure their independence from imperialism and solve the agrarian question, can only be guaranteed integrally and effectively by revolutionary worker and peasant governments.

It is in Africa where the theory, program and action of Stalinism led the working class and the oppressed to the cruelest defeats, since Stalinism subjected the proletariat to its executioners, to its own bourgeoisie. It passed the Black bourgeoisies as allies of the working class and prevented the Black workers of martyred Africa from uniting the struggle for their liberation with the millions of Black slaves, who are exploited as workers in the worst conditions in the United States and Europe. Thus Stalinism closed the way to the unified coming out of the Black workers, who throughout the world are in the outpost of the struggle for the international socialist revolution.

The theory of the Permanent Revolution re-considers, seeing the experience of the revolutions in Africa, how Stalinism and treacherous leaders aborted the anti-colonial struggle and the struggle for the national independence of that continent, dividing it from the struggle for the triumph of the socialist revolution of the whole of the working class in the central countries.

This was the tragedy of the heroic Algerian revolution, which was blocked by the betrayals of the Communist Party and the social democracy in France.

The same happened with the national liberation battles that defeated the Portuguese army in Angola in '75. What did Stalinism do when the African masses expelled the Portuguese army and it arrived to Lisbon with its soldiers in rebellion? First, it strangled from within that heroic Portuguese revolution. It dissolved the councils of workers and soldiers, so that later the social democracy would take them to the trap of the Constituent Assembly and the elections. And in the colonies, what did Stalinism do? It installed bourgeois governments. This is what happened with all the national liberation struggles in Africa, in different forms.

So we see that to this day the presidents of Angola and

Mozambique come from the old national liberation parties like the MPL and the FRELIMO. The division was: while the Maoists (A wing of Stalinism, NT) supported a fraction of the national liberation movements, the Stalinists of the USSR supported others. This happened throughout Africa.

In Zimbabwe, to give another example, the ZAPU and the ZANU, supported by the Stalinist gangs of the USSR or Beijing, gave rise to Black bourgeois governments, which allow the looting of the country by the imperialist mining companies, as much or more as when Zimbabwe was a direct British colony, which was called Rhodesia.

It was Stalinism that transformed the bourgeois government of Mandela into a hero of the labor movement in the USA and Europe, which saved the murderous regime of the South African Boers and its apartheid to continue enslaving the colored working class under the new conditions of that regime of "national reconciliation". Regarding the degree of slavery of the working class, these conditions were found to be similar to those suffered by the proletariat under the white domination.

In Francophone Africa, the deviation and betrayal of the Algerian revolution ensured governments totally dependent on French imperialism, as puppets of the military bases of the French Fifth Republic, where the centurions of the Foreign Legion rule and local governments comply.

The French invasion of Mali today is an example of how the Fifth Republic treats its colonies and semi-colonies in martyred Africa.

A small Stalinist labor aristocracy and bureaucracy or some linked to the old nationalist movements, tightly controls manu-militari the workers movement and subordinates it to the states, as with Zimbabwean ZCTU, South African COSATU or directly with the bourgeois army-parties.

We could say that historically, due to the betrayal of the leadership of the working class, far from resolving the Black question, imperialism sharpened it, as we see today, to extreme degrees. That is why Lenin said that imperialism is "reaction along the whole line". And where the mass movement cannot be controlled, or the different imperialist gangs fight over the spoils of oil or minerals, they organize fascist pogroms, "tribal struggles" and real fratricidal wars between the exploited, so that the transnationals are able to take the riches, negotiating with this or that bourgeois fraction, on the blood of the oppressed.

What Africa produces is oil, diamonds, uranium, platinum, copper, gold, coltan, zinc ... stained with blood.

Given this, the hypocrisy of imperialism and its agents has no limits. Sectors of the same, like the NGOs, and some currents of left, boast of calling "not to buy bloody diamonds" and announce "boycotts" to the companies that do not give decent conditions of work to their workers. That is, they propose an "elegant" robbery of African wealth. Miserable.

BLACK AFRICA WILL ONLY BE LIBERATED FROM SLAVERY AND IMPERIALIST PLUNDERING THROUGH THE VICTORY OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS THAT WILL SETTLE WITH THE UPRISING OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS OF THE IMPERIALIST POWERS AND THE WORLD WORKING CLASS

Historical experience has already shown that the transnationals and the different imperialist powers have divided Africa to better plunder it. The working class of the continent must unite to liberate it. The contours of the nations of today are those set by the imperialist gangs that divided Africa. The borders of the independent Black republics will follow the routes of the revolution and will respect the ethnic groups and the different cultures of the workers, of the entire working class and of the colored peoples.

The most immediate task and the war cry to break the slavery of Black Africa, is the nationalization and expropriation without compensation and under workers' control of all the imperialist mining, oil, etc., transnational companies and their banks that plunder martyred Africa.

The native labor movement must break all subjection to the governments of the Black bourgeoisies, direct agents of the imperialist powers, imposed by the trade union bureaucracies and the Stalinist parties of Black Africa.



Black Panthers: women protest in USA streets

No current can speak on behalf of the working class in the African continent if it does not openly break with all lackeys bourgeois governments, to whom imperialism has deepened its looting and massacre in the African nation.

We revolutionary socialists in Africa call to fight for independent Black republics, which will be conquered by the revolutions of the workers and peasants, according to the routes of the revolution that they develop and demarcate for their own benefit and not of that of the imperialist transnationals and their military bases, and on the basis of breaking all the economic, political and military treaties that submit the nations to imperialism.

Our war cry is: **For independent Black republics without transnationals, without their counterrevolutionary generals, without imperialist military bases, without Black bourgeoisies that work as surveyors, and without traitorous union bureaucrats! For independent Black republics with worker and peasant revolutionary governments that expropriate the expropriators of the people; that settle in the organisms of self-determination, direct democracy and armament of the masses!** Only then, Black Africa will be independent.

Our fight is for **the Socialist United States of the Black Republics in Central and South Africa!**

The working class in Africa must not allow the lackey bourgeoisies, junior partners of imperialism and bloody jailers and repressors of their own peoples, to take away their right to conquer true independent Black republics.

Here and there, the Black bourgeoisies use the Black question demagogically to subdue the proletariat of color.

Yesterday Mandela did it to end up imposing the regime of opprobrium of the "national reconciliation" in South Africa, under the command of the AngloAmerican. Today we see Malema talking about a "leftist nationalist movement" with demagogic slogans of "Black power" and "nationalizations of the transnational companies", but strictly maintaining the same forms of the regime of the pact with the imperialist white bourgeoisie of AngloAmerican. Their real project is that the Black bourgeoisie will keep a sector of the mines, compensating the transnationals very well, especially today, when the price of minerals is falling.

The working class cannot leave the struggle for the independent Black republics in the

hands of the native Black bourgeoisies, because that is the national identity of the enslaved peoples of Africa, sold out by the native bourgeoisies for decades expropriating revolutions and betraying the National struggles of the Black people.

That is why our demand is: **for Independent Black Republics, for worker and peasant revolutionary governments, for the destruction of the imperialist military bases and their puppet armies of occupation throughout Africa.**

Our struggle is for independent Black republics, where the transnational companies and imperialist bankers are expropriated without compensation and under workers' control, for all the gold, platinum and oil that they plundered from the peoples.

Only the proletariat, boldly taking into its hands the democratic-revolutionary tasks of national independence and agrarian reform, can transform itself, conquering the socialist revolution, into the leader of the whole oppressed nation, of all its impoverished and plundered strata, and only then the independent Black republics will emerge, which are the identity of the oppressed peoples of Africa.

THE BLACK WORKING CLASS FOLLOWING THE SLAVES' ROUTE WITH THE LATIN AMERICAN SLAVES HAS THE HONOR OF BEING THE ADVANCE PATROL OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE USA

As part of this struggle, this program is expressed in the USA with the revolutionary democratic slogan raising the right of African Americans to national self-determination if they so desire. It must be taken by the American working class as part of their task of liberating the oppressed peoples of Africa.

Today, with the bankruptcy of US imperialism, African-American workers, along with Latino workers, suffer equal or worse living conditions than in the '30s, '50s or '60s, when fighting in the United States against the regime of segregation. Like a true apartheid regime, US imperialist bourgeoisie has subjected Latino immigrant workers and Black workers in particular to real open-air ghettos in the largest cities in the United States and it has filled its prisons with Blacks, which being 10% of the US population, are more than 80% of the prison population in that country. This is the apartheid of US imperialism, which treats Black and Latinos workers in the United States, as their multinationals and lackey government treat them throughout Africa and Latin America.

US imperialism and its regime have been particularly cruel and cynic to the Black working class. In USA, Being young and Black deserves a shot in the head. Its white xenophobic police is nothing more than the instrument of persecution and repression against Black workers, who are the most exploited sector of the American working class, along with Latino immigrants, who are brought to the United States and remain without papers to do the worst jobs in harvesting crops and construction.

This offensive against the Black working class in the US is tried to be concealed by generating illusions, as the US regime does, that the Black can ascend socially in that country. Obama, the Black president, is part of that vile deception not only against the Black workers, but also against the entire American working class.

Trotsky argued that in the USA the Black workers had the right to ask for their nation, and if they wanted it, even to choose a portion of land, because the national oppression felt by the African-American worker is a by-product of yesterday's enslavement and segregation and the double attack that the Black working class suffers in the USA today.

The struggle of African-American workers has become a battle flag of the entire world working class. Today, more than ever, the program of the Trotskyists, which in the 1930s raised the Fourth International on African-American workers in the USA, is essential.

Trotsky, debating with a leader of the American SWP in 1939, stated the following: *"Comrade Johnson used three verbs: 'support', 'defend' and 'inject' the idea of self-determination. I do not propose that the party defend, I do not propose to inject, but **only to proclaim our obligation to support the struggle for self-determination if the Blacks themselves want it.** It is not a matter of our Black comrades only. It's a question of 13 or 14 million Blacks. Most are very backward. They are not very clear about what they want now and we should give them a credit for the future. They will decide."* (Trotsky, *Self-Determination for Black Americans*, 1939).

It is a central task to unify the ranks of the American working class, that white workers raise this right for workers of color. Only in this way will the white working class join its ranks with the Black workers and together they will embrace their Latin class brothers, an issue that will very much strengthen the working class of the United States that today begins to stand up.

The equal pay for Black and Latino workers and white workers is decisive. But this are just words, unless all rights

are given to the Black workers, to live in the first place, and their children are not killed by the murderous white police. It is a task and obligation of all unions, workers and mass organizations to claim, on the one hand, the right for Black workers to have their own security guard, if they wish. But it is an obligation of all workers' organizations to set up self-defense committees to defend the Black working youth and the workers of color from the brutal repression of the US imperialist regime and its police.



Virginia, USA, 1836

The demand for the "right to self-determination" of the Black workers, if they decide to carry it out, is fundamental, since it has been the US imperialist bourgeoisie that has segregated them into ghettos, like yesterday in apartheid. That is why today the demand for the "democratic right to self-determination of the Black nation in the United States, if the Black workers want it," is the war cry of *"Down with the apartheid regime of Obama and the 'Republicrats' against the Black people in the US!"*

This demand, together with the struggle for wage unification, which has already begun to unite the entire American working class around the struggle for a \$ 15/hour wage, are the engine that can make the awakening of this true colossus of the world proletariat that is the American working class, take huge steps forward.

That's because the central enemy of all the oppressed peoples of the world, the pirates and bandits of the financial oligarchy of Wall Street, are there in the USA. To defeat them, as well as the US war machine that massacres the oppressed peoples, the unity within the American working class and of this with the working class of the semi-colonial world that their own imperialist bourgeoisie oppresses become decisive.

The USA, as a dominant power, far from keeping its working class co-opted, has thrown in its bankruptcy its entire crisis to the world and has taken the American workers to the worst catastrophes, only comparable with those of the US crisis in the '30s.

To the loss of employment and health plans and to misery wages, the massive loss of housing for American workers has now been added. There is no doubt that the Black working class is the one which suffers most from this catastrophe. That is why the demand to *"stop the war against*

Black America" is the same struggle to stop the war against the American and world working class!

The struggle to expropriate the 1% of parasites must find the Black workers with the Latin workers in the forefront to resume the fight for Occupy Wall Street and, united with the white working class, will put in the international class struggle the forces to paralyze the war machine of the imperialist beast and move forward to liberate the American working class from oppression, with the banner of the socialist revolution.

This fight is inseparable from lowering and burning that US flag that today flames in Havana. Because she is the symbol of the new slavery of the Cuban workers and of an imperialist victory that will throw double and triple chains to the American working class and to the workers of color in particular.

The fate of the American working class is tied to unity with its class brothers from America and Africa. They and their battles are already on the streets of the USA.

The Fourth International is the only one that has a program and a flag to unite the American and world working class. The struggle for its re-foundation with the 1938 program is inseparable from the struggle for the international socialist revolution.

This resolution adjusts and specifies the program of the FLTI before the Black question, elaborated in its founding Congress of year 2009.

Resolutions of the Foundational Congress of FLTI - July 2009

THESIS ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION WITH RESPECT TO AFRICA (FLTI)



Demonstration in USA in the '60s

1 Our starting point is the Thesis on the national and colonial question as adopted by the second congress of the Third International in 1920, which in essence is still valid today. Thus our basis is *'Under the pretence of the equality of the human person in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal legal equality of the proprietor and the proletarian, of the exploiter and the exploited, and thus deceives the oppressed classes in the highest degree. The idea of equality, which is itself a reflection of the relations of commodity production, is transformed by the bourgeoisie, under the pretext of the absolute equality of the human person, into a tool in the struggle against the abolition of classes. The true significance of the demand of equality lies only in the demand for the abolition of classes.'* Further, *'the national and colonial question must be based mainly on the union of the workers and toiling masses of all nations and countries in the common revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landlords and of the bourgeoisie. For only such a union can secure victory over capitalism, without which the destruction of national oppression and inequality is impossible.'*

This means that in the first instance that the process of 'decolonisation' in Africa, as it was not carried out by the working class in power, maintained slave capitalist relations. This is why the 'neo-colonial' regimes were bonapartist regimes and at times fascist dictatorships. As Marx said, the new relations are choked by the old; this is especially true of the 'decolonisation' process in the period of imperialist decay. In other words, in the epoch of imperialist decay, it is impossible to install 'free capitalist' relations in the colonial world, and what is possible, under capitalism, is only the continuation of slave capitalist relations in another form .

We acknowledge that today our programmatic method involves re-establishing continuity among the Trotskyists around the world, the thread which has been broken by Stalinism and imperialism. We re-affirm that a revolutionary International centre cannot form its programme on Africa without the involvement of the African Trotskyists and the Trotskyists in Africa cannot conquer its programme without a revolutionary international centre.

Trotsky's writings on the 'black' republic in the 1930's cannot be directly applied today, as conditions have changed, although his method is still valid. In the 1930's all the countries in Africa were direct colonies. The call for a **'Black workers' republic** is not only to dispute/contest slave capitalist relations but to give direction as to which social force (the working class), is the leader of the revolution.

The working class was mature enough in the 1930's to seize power. Even at the end of the second world imperialist war, this was the case, when Stalinism and imperialism formed a partnership to defeat/contain the national liberation struggles. The slogan for a 'black' republic needs to be adjusted to be a **'black' workers and poor peasants republics, socialist**, to counter the bourgeois black republic that Stalinism proposed as a first stage towards a workers republic, and their methods of popular fronts and guerillaism (applied in Africa and South America). The conditions were ripe in the post 1945 period in Southern Africa and the Middle East for the working class to take power. The imperialist deal with Stalinism was to impose a fascistic regime, creating the artificial state of Israel as well as the National Party regime in South Africa in 1948. This was to contain and defeat the working class revolution in the Middle east and Southern Africa respectively.

In Israel and South Africa, the creation of a labour aristocracy was necessary to act as imperialism's shock troops in the region. Out of this arises our slogan for the Socialist, United states of the Middle East and the Socialist United states of Southern Africa. In the case of Africa, this is part of our perspective for a Soviet Africa. We still maintain that the working class is mature enough to lead the revolution for Socialism.

We stand not only for the defeat of the Israeli and SA army, but also the defeat of the imperialist armies in the Middle East and Africa. Today the Israeli army acts as the bastion of imperialism in the Middle East while the SA army acts as the proxy force of US imperialism (one could say, as one of the military wings of JP Morgan Chase in Africa). The revolution in Africa and the Middle east is thus inseparably linked to the struggle of the working class in the imperialist centres to overthrow their own regimes to set up the dictatorship of the working class.

Our conception is for the setting up of sections in

Africa, the Middle east, in Latin America, in Australasia, in the imperialist centres, as part of a single revolutionary International. Our conception of a Soviet Africa thus fundamentally different from the Pan-Africanists, who propose national 'socialist' regimes in Africa, separated from the struggle against world imperialism. A strategy that does not fight world imperialism, is one that seeks to become the local bourgeois agent for imperialism, under the rhetoric of African socialism.

2) The development of capitalism came to Africa relatively later than elsewhere in the world. Capitalism developed in the destructive period of imperialist decay, destroying the developing nations and instituting slave capitalist relations which were much worse than in the pre-capitalist period. The massive destruction wrought on the African masses through the slave trade impacted on the development of Africa. Before the slave trade by the colonial powers in Africa, hunger and starvation was virtually unknown except for naturally occurring droughts and famines. Today in the epoch of imperialist decay, in Africa we have the highest advances of technology side by side with structural mass starvation and hunger. Imperialism in Africa today has grown out of slave relations, basing itself on this super-exploitation and is thus incapable of ending the remnants of slavery in Africa and around the world. The world capitalist imperialist system is thus the main factor which maintains slave capitalist (super-exploitative) relations in Africa. Further, imperialism actively perpetuates various forms of pre-capitalist society, such as tribal and ethnic divisions, as supporting mechanisms of domination. Imperialism in Africa, suppresses the development of an indigenous bourgeoisie and middle classes and has need of only a small section to implement its domination of the masses. This local bourgeoisie has no independent existence from imperialism, acts as its administrator of imperialist private property and acts against the masses' striving for their democratic demands. The task of fighting for the fulfilment of the democratic programme thus cannot be placed in the hands of the local bourgeoisie or even the petty bourgeoisie. Imperialism is incapable of granting or allowing even any independent national capitalist states. The struggle for real national independence in Africa can only take the form of an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle to end once and for all the world capitalist system; this means that the right of nations to self-determination in Africa, the

restoration of the productive forces destroyed by imperialism, the restoration of truly independent nations in Africa, can only be achieved through the leadership of the working class and thus of the working class taking power. This struggle for the working class to take power on national terrain cannot stop at this stage but has to continue, as part of an uninterrupted process, of expanding the revolution beyond national boundaries, beyond Africa, and into the imperialist heartlands.

3) The 1885 Berlin conference divided up Africa among the most advanced capitalist powers, using the creation of a white bureaucracy and aristocracy to act as a social force of domination. Artificial 'nations' such as 'zulu', 'xhosa' were created by imperialism as a means to divide the working class, thereby facilitating its domination. We do not recognise any single border in Africa as these have been imposed by imperialism; The 1899-1902 Anglo Boer war was described by Lenin (in his work on imperialism- the final stage of capitalism) as one of the signs that imperialism has divided up the entire world among themselves and that the period of definitive decay, war, revolutions and counter-revolutions had started (capitalism could only expand from then on, by inter-imperialist clashes). Lenin spoke in general of a revolutionary bourgeois democratic dictatorship carried out by an independent class policy of the proletariat. In Lenin's April thesis in 1917, he clarified that the democratic tasks such as peace and land could only be achieved by the working class taking power. Lenin later clarified further, that whoever placed the tasks of completing the democratic tasks in the hands of the middle class or native bourgeoisie (the so called 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'), has gone over to the side of the counter-revolution. The April thesis thus coincided in essence with the view of Trotsky as expressed in his Permanent Revolution, which explained that in this period of imperialist decay, in the colonies, the only way for the democratic tasks to be fulfilled was through the working class taking power. This meant that only the independent organization of the working class could lead the struggle for national independence and agrarian revolution to its conclusion. Trotsky links the struggle to free the colonial slaves with the fight for a Soviet England, that the anti-colonial struggle for a soviet South Africa and that for Soviet England are processes that are dependent on each other, which

would open up a period of proletarian mutual co-operation. Generalizing this, the struggle to freedom from colonial and now remnants of slave capitalist relations, is linked to the fight for Soviet USA, Soviet France, Soviet England, Soviet Germany and Soviet Japan. These processes for a Soviet Africa is thus dependent on the struggle for the Soviet federation of the Americas, the European soviet federation, the soviet federation in Australasia.

4) The rise of Stalinism (then Castrism, Maoism, Titoism) usurping the authority of the October Russian revolution and the workers' state, before the second imperialist world war, during and after, with its policy of co-existence with imperialism, meant the direct betrayal of all national struggles for liberation. The result of this treacherous policy has directly led to conditions in Africa that is worse today than before capitalism set foot there. Various factors combined to imperialism deciding to keep Africa mainly as a base for exporting unprocessed, raw materials (these included that imperialism and Stalinism drew the lessons from the Russian 1917 revolution and the second imperialist world war, that industrialization increases the prospects of revolution against them; there was also the need to buy off the European, Japanese and North American working class, which forced maintaining high levels of industrialization, at the expense of being subsidized by brutal super-exploitation in Africa- also it is not for nothing that Cuba was maintained by the Russian bureaucracy, primarily as an exporter of sugar; The masses in Africa were still resisting colonization up to the last moments of the 1800's; imperialism realised that if such a combative mass were greatly industrialised, the existence of imperialism-capitalism itself would be placed in jeopardy; indeed also the life of the Soviet bureaucracy, and later the castrist bureaucracy, would also be placed in danger by the existence of a workers' state in any part of Africa)

By 1928, the policy of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, ECCI, on their discussion on South Africa was for '*independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white*'. They conclude that the '*black peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution*'; further, the ECCI, argued that '*The Party should pay particular attention to the em-*

bryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress. The Party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in these organisations... Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists.' Thus by 1928 stalinism was placing the leadership of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle in the hands of the local petti bourgeoisie and sacrificing working class independence for the building of multi-class national liberation movements. The task of the fight against imperialism was also separated from the international terrain onto national terrain through a national 'native republic' led by the local petti-bourgeoisie, as a stage towards a workers and peasants republic. Separation of the struggle for national liberation from the international terrain meant curtailing the fight against imperialism and prepared the way for a local petti bourgeoisie to act as the local agent of imperialism.

Trotsky's response to the Workers Party Thesis on South Africa was to counterpose the permanent revolution to the Stalinist 2-stage revolution: In other words he posed the 'black' republic as a form centred on the seizing of the land from the rich white landowners and the expropriation of imperialist assets, as a stage that would grow in an uninterrupted manner to a Soviet South Africa. While there is no longer a peasantry in South Africa, this thesis still argues that trotsky's conception of the permanent revolution in SA is still relevant: Today the essence of slave capitalist relations still exist a) the land is still in the hands of the rich white capitalist farmers, while the majority of the population is starving; b) slave-like conditions still exist for the majority of black people, such as low wages, living in separate ghettos, massively high unemployment, widespread homelessness and lack of adequate services, black women suffer the highest unemployment, the lowest wages ; c) imperialism imposed conditions of safeguarding private property (the rule of the imperialist monopolies) as a pre-condition of any negotiated settlement); d) the provinces are largely along the lines of the Bantus-



Demonstration of students in South Africa

tans/reserves of cheap labour; e) in the countries surrounding South Africa (and across Africa) there is still a sizeable peasantry. The thesis does not force or promote a separation of nations but guarantees that right to any groups of workers and poor peasants (not the bourgeois or petti bourgeoisie) who feel themselves a nation. The SA revolution cannot be seen as separate from the revolution in the rest of Africa, and even less as being separate from the revolution in the imperialist centres.

After the second world imperialist war, this policy of support for the native petti-bourgeoisie continued and formed the basis of Pan Africanism, which Stalinism actively promoted across Africa. This was the chief ideological basis which Stalinism used to neutralise and sabotage the development of independent working class struggles from the leadership of the struggle for national liberation. Stalinism's policy took the form of armed parties posing as the left wing of the national liberation movements, on their programme of setting into power an indigenous bourgeoisie, to prevent the national liberation movements from overthrowing or expelling imperialism.

Imperialism's policy at Yalta and Potsdam led to in 1948 the creation of the 'apartheid' government in SA and the state of Israel, which was part of their strategy to contain and smash the rising anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist sentiment in the working class in the Middle east and in Southern Africa.

Castrism, through 'Che' Guevara and later the Cuban army, continued this Stalinist policy in Africa,

as a proxy force, in exchange for oil and other support from Moscow. Che Guevara was in the DRC at the time of there being 3 million mineworkers but instead of fighting for another Cuba in Africa, he gave support to the nationalist movements, on the programme of putting into power an indigenous bourgeoisie, and failed to build or promote an independent working class movement. When 40 000 Cuban troops, together with the Angolan army defeated the SA army at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola by March 1988 they failed to advance beyond the Namibian border. This was at a time of the height of the uprising of the working class in South Africa against the state. The Stalinist policy promoted the bourgeois nationalist Swapo to accept a negotiated settlement in Namibia that kept imperialist interests intact.

On an international scale the fake Trotskyist left capitulated to Stalinism by supporting the Stalinist and Maoist regimes of Zanu-PF, Frelimo, MPLA, Swapo, which were local agencies of imperialist control in Africa

The unprincipled re-unification of the Fourth International in 1963, around only the defence of Cuba, opened that way for the fake trotskyists, on a world scale, usurping the revolutionary programmatic gains of the Fourth International, to provide a left cover to Castrism, as it betrayed and contained the revolutionary uprisings in Latin America and in Africa. The revolutionary uprisings in the imperialist centres in 1968-74 directly impacted in spurring the masses in Africa, once more to the path of revolution. The revolution in Portugal in 1975, strangled by Stalinism, was also followed by strangling of the revolution in Angola and Mozambique by Stalinism. Side by side with the Stalinist MPLA regime in Angola, the oil enclave was left in the hands of US imperialism, while independent communist groups were slaughtered by Stalinism in Angola.

In Southern Africa, the fake trotskyist left (Marxist Workers Tendency, Socialist Group, Comrades for workers government, Workers International league-SA, International socialists) all capitulated to stalinism by entering or supporting the ANC in the 1994 elections. The IS tendency entered and supported a bourgeois popular front in Zimbabwe, and failed to maintain an independent working class policy and ca-

pitulated to the Stalinist national vision of the socialist revolution.

Thus, on a world scale and in Africa, the fake trotskyists played a major role in containing the revolutionary masses and in holding back the masses from overthrowing capitalism-imperialism in Africa.

5) Trotsky, in his letter of 20 April 1935 to the South African Workers' Party, described South Africa, after 1910, as being a slave colony of British imperialism. The establishment of Anglo American in the 1920's reflected the rise to world dominance of US imperialism. JP Morgan Chase, through Anglo American, today controls a massive part of the SA and African economy and maintains what is essentially slave capitalist relations there.

The 1968-74 uprisings in the imperialist centres once more impelled the independent workers movement to rise in South Africa; uprisings increased in depth from the 1973 Durban strikes, general strikes in 1976, student and worker uprisings in 1976 and 1980, the starting of independent worker formations from the start of the 1980's to the mass uprising from 1985 to 1989, where capitalist imperialist relations were shaken to their foundation and a pre-revolutionary situation existed. Slave capitalist relations were being shaken to their foundation and imperialism was at risk of losing everything.

Under these conditions Stalinism promoted a negotiated settlement between the petty bourgeois nationalists of the ANC and the (bourgeois and petty bourgeois) Afrikaner nationalists of the NP, from as far back as 1985, in order to defeat the revolution. Leading up to 1994, the SACP through Joe Slovo promoted the 'sunset' clauses which agreed to keep the state apparatus intact for 5 years after 1994, as part of the negotiated settlement. Imperialism imposed 14 conditions, including the protection of private property (imperialist assets) as a precondition to negotiations. The popular front regime set up in 1994 thus had a bonapartist character, to continue slave capitalist relations in another form. Under the guise of a democratic regime, and a bourgeois black republic, the ANC popular front became the agency for maintaining super-exploitative relations on the working class, not only in South Africa but across all of sub-Saharan Africa. SA troops are stationed across sub-

Saharan Africa as a primary means to protect imperialist operations. The attacks on the working class and poor peasants in Africa all follow from the Stalinist policy of placing the leadership of the struggle for democratic demands in the hands of a section of the black petty bourgeoisie. In 1995 the LIT-CI had the conception of support for a revolution led by the ANC popular front. Thus they and other fake trotskyists provided a left cover for capitulation to Stalinism and their policy of containing the masses from overthrowing imperialism.

South Africa became a laboratory for imperialism and they exported this counter-revolutionary regime of the bonapartist popular front to South America, to Bolivia, to Venezuela and now it takes shape in the form of the Obama figurehead. All along the fake trotskyists continued to provide a left cover for the new policy of imperialism, supporting Mandela, Morales, Chavez and now, Obama.

6) While US imperialism has set up Africom as a means to advance direct military control over the masses in Africa, setbacks such as their military defeat in Somalia and their invasion of Iraq, makes it difficult for them to advance their plans of direct military control, despite having military bases in Botswana and elsewhere in Africa. It is equally difficult for French imperialism to once again maintain direct military control, despite the presence of several military bases across Africa. The direct agent of military control by imperialism is the African Union. The

comprador bourgeoisie in Africa are the direct agents of imperialism in Africa, of holding back the right of nations to self-determination, and thus they are direct agents of keeping the African masses in permanent hunger and starvation. The DRC has enough hydro-electricity to power the entire African continent, yet the power station is kept in shambles, a war is waged on the people since 1996 (killing over 4 million people); Angola has soil so fertile, they can produce enough food for all of Africa; yet hunger, starvation, death, disease, unemployment, stalks most of Africa. Zimbabwe used to be able to feed millions across Africa, before their food production was destroyed by imperialism, thanks to their puppet Mugabe, and ably assisted by North Korean troops (1983-1984). The comprador bourgeoisie are the agents of keeping Africa as a primary exporter of minerals, cheap labour and raw materials (gold, diamonds and coltan for manufacturing the highest advances of modern technology like laptops, mp3 etc) for the imperialist centres and for its great maquila in China. This continuation of slave-like relations is the direct result of the Stalinist policy on Africa. The depth of imperialism's crisis, however forces them to establish the headquarters of Africom in Ghana, as a precursor to more direct military control over the masses in Africa.

7) To end imperialist domination and the slave-like capitalist relations in Africa, we call for a Federation of Black Workers and Poor Peasants, socialist, republics, ('black' in that the proportion in the new state will reflect the predominant majority of the population and has nothing in common with the Stalinist policy of 'black economic empowerment' which is a means for the black petty bourgeois to be bought off by becoming part of the capitalist system and becoming the new agents to ensure the continuation of slave-like capitalist relations), that has as its centre to seizing of all commercial farms (of the rich, white farmers and the new black middle class), the expropriation of all imperialist assets, including all the mines and banks, and for them to be placed under working class control; (if the entire working class, irrespective of skin colour, is to eat, to have clothes,



Teachers of Zimbabwe fighting

housing, water, this is the first task- it is in the interest of the entire working class ('black', 'white', 'coloured', 'indian') to unite for the working class to take power, setting up joint armed workers' and poor peasant councils of delegates to lead this fight); all the land is to be nationalised and model workers' collectives set up as a means to, over time, persuade poor peasantry, such as are still remaining and want to continue farming on their own, to join such collectives; to any group of workers and poor peasants that feel themselves a nation there must be the guarantee to separate into their own workers' and poor peasants socialist republic- this means that any new border, if any, that is set up in Africa is on the basis of mutual agreement by the central of workers and poor peasants councils- this is important to undercut and decisively end the fratricidal and inter-ethnic wars that imperialism encourages up to today- this does not mean that we will recognise any artificial tribal or ethnic group deliberately created by imperialism for the purpose of domination, such as in South Africa ; at the same time we call on our working class brothers and sisters in the imperialist centres to organise themselves to seize power to establish Soviet USA, Soviet England, Soviet France, Soviet Germany, Soviet Japan. Thus will open up an uninterrupted process from the Federation of workers' and poor peasants' republics of Africa to advance to a Soviet Africa.

8) The civil war in the United States between the north and south freed the black masses from one form of slavery, only to be chained to capitalist slavery. American capitalism was already in decay in that they could not even grant the land

to the freed slaves that had been promised to them as this would have meant coming into direct competition with the existing white capitalist farms. At the same time the form of capitalist imperialist relations developing in Africa was also on the basis of changing from direct slavery to slave capitalist relations. The numerous struggles of the black workers over the years did not resolve the question of slave capitalist relations: the black workers participated in the 2 world imperialist wars and when they came back they were still subject to lynchings, oppression and super-exploitation; the 'civil right' struggles of the 1950's and 1960's resulted in some gains, but with the co-option of the middle class leaders, and the policy of Stalinism to place the anti-imperialist struggle in the hands of the black petty bourgeoisie, slave-like relations remained. The rise of a significant black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie did not end the capitalist slave-like conditions of the black workers. Slave-like capitalist relations in the United States exist as part of imperialist capitalist relations within the country. These slave-like capitalist relations are maintained by brute force by the state. This is why Mumia, an innocent ex-black Panther member, can be kept on death row for many years, falsely accused of killing a policeman; is it why Oscar Grant and many like him have been killed by the state; it is why 1 in 3 black males in the USA have been imprisoned at least once in their lives. The election of Obama does not represent the ending or weakening of slave-like capitalist relations for the US black worker- it provides a cover for the maintaining of such exploitative relations.

We would not actively promote any divisions in the working class in the US; we would actively campaign for working class unity, but if a situation arises that a section of the black workers wanted to separate and form their own state within the United States we would support this as it would be a fight against imperialism. From our current understanding of the working class struggle in the United States today, the majority, if not all black workers in the United States would not be in favour of separation, but of a united struggle with other sections of the working class



The Black Panthers

against the capitalist-imperialist class. The way to end slave-like relations in the United States is for the working class to unite to fight for a Soviet USA. This fight would assist the fight of the working class in Africa to end slave-like capitalism on the continent. Liberia represents a caricature of a 'black' republic as it is ruled by black petty bourgeoisie, who are themselves tied hand and foot to imperialism.



Miners of Marikana (South Africa) in honor of their 34 fallen comrades

9) The restorationist bureaucracy are the direct agents of importing slave-like capitalist relations into Cuba. Workers only earn \$18 per month and hunger and starvation rise as capitalist relations become entrenched. We call for a political revolution in Cuba against the restorationist castrist bureaucracy; a political revolution in Cuba is directly linked to the US working class breaking with Obama, as this regime is leading the capitalist restoration in Cuba; a Soviet Cuba is interdependent on the fight for a Soviet USA and a Soviet Latin America. (the reformist left are the main agents of supporting Obama, Castro and the 'Bolivarian' regimes in Latin America as a means to contain the revolution of the working class-the exposure of the real role of these reformists opens the path once again to Socialist revolution)

10) Slave-like capitalist relations still exist in Brazil and the Caribbean for the black working class. We would not promote separation or encourage it, especially as imperialism would want to divide the working class on ethnic and colour lines. Within a semi-colony, the separation of a section of workers and poor peasants into their own state would weaken the anti-imperialist fight and any call for such separation would play into the hands of imperialism. The reformist left in Brazil contains the anger of the masses against the slave relations by channelling it into policies of positive affirmation (or Black economic empowerment), which opens the way for a section of the black middle

class to become part of the capitalist system. Slave-like capitalist relations exist in the whole of Latin America. To end slave-like capitalist relations means seizing the commercial farms of the rich white farmers; it would mean expropriating all imperialist assets and placing them under working class control; the fight for a federation of workers' and poor peasants republics of Latin America is directly linked to the fight for Soviet USA and Soviet France. In this way the workers and poor peasants republics of Latin America grows directly, in an uninterrupted fashion to a United Soviet States of the American Continent.

11) In each country where slave-like capitalist relations exist, as well as in the imperialist centres it is our immediate task to set up sections of a revolutionary International, rebuilding/refounding on the basis of the 1938 programme of the Fourth International. For this to occur, means a political combat and exposure of the reformist left, who bow down to Castrism, Stalinism, the Bolivarian bourgeoisie, and the Obama mask. This is the task of the FLTI and we call all working class fighters to answer our call.

First Congress of FLTI

Resolutions of the Foundational Congress of FLTI - July 2009

The differences between the position of WIVL (Workers International Vanguard League) of South Africa and that of the rest of the FLTI

What is the essential difference between the FLTI draft thesis and the WIVL extended political committee position: the draft FLTI thesis poses the demand for a 'black' workers and poor peasants' socialist republic as a means to get the masses into motion to break from the Popular front and to expose its collaboration with imperialism.

The WIVL position is as follows:

1) The word 'black' is used by the black bourgeois and middle class as a cover for their incorporation into the capitalist system, gaining privileges as part of the elite and their collaboration with the capitalists; the word 'black' is used to blur the class lines to cover the betrayal by the bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists of the working class struggle against capitalism-imperialism. The class divisions among the indigenous masses in Africa has become much greatly entrenched today- there is a significant black bourgeoisie in all countries in Africa, as oppose to the time of Trotsky. The same is true of the United States.

2) The sub-division of the tribes in Africa are not based on colour but are remnants of pre-capitalist forms that are de-

liberately maintained and perpetuated by imperialism. Thus a call for a right to separate opens the path for imperialism to divide the working class on ethnic and tribal grounds and thereby weaken the struggle against it; it is not a question as in Russia of a chauvinist white Russia oppressing and subjugating other nations but of imperialism using various means including the army from South Africa to protect its interests. Thus it is not a question of the South African 'nation' being an oppressor nation in Africa. Thus our propaganda should include the slogan: down with tribal divisions!

3) The description 'black' raises further potential for divisions as is currently happening as some workers feel they are not 'black' enough and feel alienated from their class brothers and sisters. Indian workers came to Africa as slaves; so the slogan 'black' divides workers from each other as the former Indian slaves, many of them are also living in ghettos, in shacks, on pavements, etc.

There is also the history of the Stalinist 4 nation thesis in South Africa (white, black, coloured, Indian) that has been used to detrimental effect in dividing the working class; the use of the term 'black' would undermine the

years of work to counter this slogan and to unite the working class. The slogan 'black ' workers republic would be a death blow to workers' unity in Africa.

4) The call, for example, for a 'black' workers and peasants republic of Zimbabwe, pushes its struggle onto the national terrain, instead of opening up the struggle on the international terrain.

5) Our method should be starting from what the current reality in Africa is, from the concrete conditions and then developing a slogan from there, not just using slogans formalistically. It might not always be able to capture the programme in one slogan but in several. WIVL believes that industrialization has already broken down tribal barriers to the unification of the urban and rural working class in South Africa, and that continued direct exposure of the Popular front and call for united mass action around democratic demands, such as land, slave-like wage conditions, is sufficient. Thus our proposed slogans are: for a workers republic of South Africa; for a federation of Workers and poor peasants republics of Africa; for a United Socialist states of Africa.

ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN THESES

by Leon Trotsky

To the South African section

The theses are written without doubt on the basis of a serious study of both the economic and political conditions of South Africa as well as of the literature of Marxism and Leninism, particularly that of the Bolshevik-Leninists. A serious scientific approach to all questions is one of the most important conditions for the success of a revolutionary organisation. The example of our South African friends again confirms the fact that in the present epoch only the Bolshevik-Leninists, i.e., the consistent proletarian revolutionaries, take a serious attitude to theory, analyse the realities, and are learning themselves before they teach others. The Stalinist bureaucracy has long ago substituted a combination of ignorance and impudence for Marxism.

In the following lines I wish to make certain remarks with regard to the draft theses which will serve as a programme for the Workers Party of South Africa. Under no circumstances do I bring forward these remarks in opposition to the text of the theses. I am too insufficiently acquainted with the conditions in South Africa to pretend to a full conclusive opinion on a series of practical questions. Only in certain places I am obliged to express my disagreement with certain aspects of the draft theses. But here also, insofar as I can judge from afar, we have no differences in principles with the authors of the theses. It is rather a matter of certain polemical exaggerations arising from the struggle with the pernicious national policy of Stal-



South African workers with Trotskyist militants in 1934

inism. But it is in the interest of the cause not to smooth over even slight inaccuracies in presentation but, on the contrary, to expose them for open deliberations in order to arrive at the most clear and blameless text. Such is the aim of the following lines dictated by the desire to give some assistance to our South African Bolshevik-Leninists in this great and responsible work to which they have set themselves.

The South African possessions of Great Britain form a Dominion only from the point of view of the white minority. From the point of view of the black majority South Africa is a Slave Colony.

No social upheaval (in the first instance, an agrarian revolution) is thinkable with the retention of British Imperialism in the South African Dominion. The overthrow of British Imperialism in South Africa is just as indispensable for the triumph of Socialism in South Africa as it is for Great Britain itself.

If, as it is possible to assume, the revolution will start first in Great Britain, the less support the British bourgeoisie will find in the Colonies and Dominions, including so important a possession as South Africa, the quicker will be their defeat at home. The struggle for the expulsion of British Imperialism, its tools and agents, thus enters as an indispensable part of the programme of the South African proletarian party.

The overthrow of the hegemony of British Imperialism in South Africa can come about as the result of a military defeat of Great Britain and the disintegration of the Empire; in this case the South African whites can still for a certain period, hardly a considerable one, retain their domination over the blacks. Another possibility, which in practice could be connected with the first, is a revolution in Great Britain and her possessions. Three-quarters of the population of South Africa (almost six million of almost eight million) is composed of non-Europeans. A vic-

torious revolution is unthinkable without the awakening of the Native masses; in its turn it will give them what they are so lacking today, confidence in their strength, a heightened personal consciousness, a cultural growth. Under these conditions the South African Republic will emerge first of 'all as a "black Republic"; this does not exclude, of course, either full equality for whites or brotherly relations between the two races (which depends mainly upon the conduct of the whites). But it is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the State.

Insofar as a victorious revolution will radically change not only the relation between the classes, but also between the races, and will assure to the blacks that place in the State which corresponds to their numbers, insofar will the Social Revolution in South Africa also have a national character. We have not the slightest reason to close our eyes to this side of the question or to diminish its significance. On the contrary the proletarian party should in words and in deeds openly and boldly take the solution of the national (racial) problem in its hands.

Nevertheless the proletarian party can and must solve the national problem by its own methods.

The historical weapon of national liberation can be only the Class Struggle. The Comintern, beginning from 1924, transformed the programme of national liberation of colonial people into an empty democratic abstraction which is elevated above the reality of the class relations. In the struggle against national oppression different classes liberate themselves (temporarily!) from material interests and become simple "anti-imperialist" forces. In order that these spiritual "forces" bravely fulfill the task assigned to

them by the Comintern, they are promised, as a reward, a spiritual "national-democratic" state (with the unavoidable reference to Lenin's formula, "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry").

The thesis points out that in 1917 Lenin openly and once and for all discarded the slogan of "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" as if it were a necessary condition for the solution of the agrarian question. This is entirely correct. But to avoid misunderstanding it should be added (a) Lenin always spoke of a revolutionary bourgeois democratic dictatorship and not about a spiritual "peoples" State, (b) in the struggle for a bourgeois democratic dictatorship he offered not a bloc of all "anti-tsarist forces" but carried out an independent class policy of the proletariat. An "anti-tsarist" bloc was the idea of the Russian Social-Revolutionaries and the Left Cadets i.e., the parties of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. Against these parties the Bolsheviks always waged an irreconcilable struggle.

When the thesis says that the slogan of a "Black Republic" is equally harmful for the revolutionary cause as is the slogan of a "South Africa for the whites", then we cannot agree with the form of this statement: whereas in the latter there is the case of supporting complete oppression, in the former, there is the case of taking the first steps towards liberation. We must accept with all decisiveness and without any reservations the complete and unconditional right of the blacks to independence. Only on the basis of a mutual struggle against the domination of the white exploiters can be cultivated and strengthened the solidarity of the black and white toilers. It is possible that the blacks will after victory find it unnecessary to form a separate black State in South Africa; certainly we will not force them to establish a separate State; but let them

make this admission freely, on the basis of their own experience, and not forced by the sjambok of the white oppressors. The proletarian revolutionaries must never forget the fight of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination, including a full separation, and of the duty of the proletariat of the oppressing nation to defend this right with arms in hand when necessary!

The thesis quite correctly underlines the fact that the solution of the national question in Russia was brought about by the October Revolution. National democratic movements by themselves were powerless to cope with the national oppression of Tsarism. Only because of the fact that the movement of the oppressed nationalities, as well as the agrarian movement of the peasantry gave the proletariat the possibility of seizing power and establishing its dictatorship, the national question as well as the agrarian found a bold and decisive solution. But the very conjunction of the national movements with the struggle of the proletariat for power was made politically possible only thanks to the fact that the Bolsheviks during the whole of their history carried on an irreconcilable struggle with the Great Russian oppressors, supporting always and without reservations the right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination including separation from Russia.

The policy of Lenin in regard to the oppressed nations did not, however, have anything in common with the policy of the epigones. The Bolshevik Party defended the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination, with methods of proletarian class struggle, entirely rejecting the charlatan "anti-imperialist" blocs with the numerous petty-bourgeois "national" parties of Tsarist Russia (P.P.S., the party of Pilsudski in Tsarist Poland, Dashnaki in Armenia, the Ukrainian nationalist, the Jewish

Zionists, etc., etc. The Bolsheviks have always mercilessly unmasked these parties, as well as the Russian Social-Revolutionaries, their vacillations and adventurism, but especially their ideological lie of being above the class struggle. Lenin did not stop his intransigent criticism even when circumstances forced upon him this or that episodic, strictly practical agreement with them. There could be no question of any permanent alliance with them under the banner of “anti-Tsarism”. Only thanks to its irreconcilable class policy was Bolshevism able to succeed in the time of the Revolution to throw aside the Mensheviks, the Social-Revolutionaries, the national petty-bourgeois parties, and gather around the proletariat the masses of the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities.

“We must not”, says the thesis, “compete with the African National Congress in Nationalist slogans in order to win the Native masses”. The idea is in itself correct, but it requires concrete amplification. Being insufficiently acquainted with the activities of the National Congress, I can only on the basis of analogies outline our policy concerning it, stating beforehand my readiness to supplement my recommendations with all the necessary modifications.

1. The Bolshevik-Leninists put themselves in defence of the Congress as it is in all cases when it is being attacked by the white oppressors and their chauvinistic agents in the ranks of the workers’ organisations.

2. The Bolshevik-Leninists place the progressive over, against the reactionary tendencies in the programme of the Congress.

3. The Bolshevik-Leninists unmask before the Native masses the inability of the Congress to achieve the realisation of even its



“Colored waiting room”, USA, in the ‘40s

own demands, because of its superficial, conciliatory policy, and develop in contradistinction to the Congress a programme of Class Revolutionary Struggle.

4. Separate, episodic agreements with the Congress, if they are forced by circumstances, are permissible only within the framework of strictly defined practical tasks, with the retention of full and complete independence of our own organisation and freedom of political criticism.

The thesis brings out as the main political slogan not a “national democratic State”, but a South African “October”. The thesis proves, and proves convincingly, a) that the national and agrarian questions in South Africa coincide in their bases; b) that both these questions can be solved only in a revolutionary way; c) that the revolutionary solution of these questions leads inevitably to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which guides the Native peasant masses; d) that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will open an era of a Soviet regime and Soviet regime and Socialist construction.

This conclusion is the cornerstone of the whole structure of the programme. Here we are in complete agreement.

But the masses must be brought to this general “strategic” formula through the medium of a series of tactical slogans. It is possible to work out these slogans, at any given stage, only on the basis of an analysis of the concrete circumstances of life and struggle of the proletariat and peasantry and the whole internal and international situation. Without going deeply into this matter, I would like briefly to deal the mutual relations of the national and agrarian slogans.

The thesis several times underlines that the agrarian and not the national demands must be put in the first place. This is a very important question which deserves serious attention. To push aside or to weaken the national slogans with the object of not antagonising white chauvinists in the ranks of the working class would be, of course, criminal opportunism, which is absolutely alien to the authors and supporters of the thesis: this flows clearly from the text of the thesis, which is permeated with the spirit of revolutionary internationalism. The thesis admirably says of those “socialists” who are fighting privileges of the whites that “we must recognise them as the greatest enemies of the Revolution”. Thus we must seek for another ex-

planation, which is briefly indicated in the very text: the backward Native peasant in masses directly feel the agrarian oppression much more than they do the national oppression. It is quite possible: the majority of the Natives are peasants: the bulk of the land is in the hands of a white minority. The Russian PEASANTS during their struggle for land had for long put their faith in the Tsar and stubbornly refused to draw political conclusions. From the revolutionary intelligentsia's traditional slogan, "Land and Liberty", the peasant for a long time accepted only the first part. It requires decades of agrarian unrest and the influence and action of the town workers to enabling peasantry to connect both slogans.

The poor enslaved Bantu hardly entertains more hope in the British King or MacDonald. But his extreme political backwardness is also expressed in his lack of national self-consciousness. At the same time he feels very sharply the land and fiscal bondage. Given these conditions, propaganda can and must first of all flow from the slogans of the Agrarian Revolution, in order that, step by step, on the basis of experiences of the struggle, the peasantry may be brought to the necessary political and national conclusions. If these hypothetical considerations are correct, then we are not concerned here with the programme itself, but rather with the ways and MEANS OF carrying this programme to the consciousness of the Native masses.

Considering the small numbers of the revolutionary cadres and the extreme diffusion of the peasantry, it will be possible to influence the peasantry, at least in the immediate future, mainly if not exclusively, through the medium of the advanced workers.

Therefore it is of the utmost importance to train the advanced work-

ers in the spirit of a clear understanding of the significance of the Agrarian Revolution for the historical fate of South Africa.

The proletariat of the country consists of backward black pariahs and a privileged arrogant caste of whites. In this lies the greatest difficulty of the whole situation. As the thesis correctly states, the economic convulsions of rotting Capitalism must strongly shake the old barriers and facilitate the work of revolutionary coalescence. In any case, the worst crime on the part of the revolutionaries would be to give the smallest concessions to the privileges and prejudices of the whites. Whoever gives his little finger to the devil of chauvinism is lost. The revolutionary Party must put before every white worker the following alternative: either with British Imperialism and with the white bourgeoisie of South Africa, or, with the black workers and peasants against the white feudalists and slave-owners and their agents in the ranks of the working class itself.

The overthrow of the British domination over the black population of South Africa will not, of course, mean an economic and cultural break with the previous mother-country, if the latter will liberate itself from the oppression of its imperialist plunders.

A Soviet England will be able to exercise a political economic and cultural influence on South Africa through the medium of those whites who in deed, in actual struggle, will have bound up their fate with that of the present colonial slaves. This influence will be based, not on domination, but on proletarian mutual co-operation.

But more important in all probability will be the influence which a Soviet South African will exercise

over the whole black continent. To help the negroes to catch up to the white race, in order to ascend hand in hand with them to new cultural heights, this will be one of the grand and noble tasks of a victorious Socialism.

In conclusion, I want to say a few words on the question of a legal and illegal organisation (Concerning the Constitution of the Party).

The Thesis correctly underlines the inseparable connection between organisation, programme, and tactics of a Party. An organisation must assure the execution of all revolutionary tasks, supplementing the legal apparatus with an illegal one. Nobody, of course, is proposing to create an illegal apparatus for such functions as in the given conditions can be executed by legal organs. But in conditions of an approaching political crisis there must be created special illegal nuclei of the party apparatus, which will develop as need arises. A certain part, and by the way a very important part, of the work cannot under any circumstances be carried out openly, that is, before the eyes of the class enemies.

Nevertheless, for the given period, the most important form of the illegal or semi-legal work of revolutionaries is the work in mass organisations, particularly in the trade unions. The leaders of the trade unions are the unofficial police of Capitalism; they conduct a merciless struggle against revolutionaries. We must have the ability to work in mass organisations, not falling under the blows of the reactionary apparatus. This is a very important, for the given period most important, part of the illegal work.

A revolutionary group in a trade union which has learned in practice all the necessary rules of conspiracy, will be able to transform its work to an illegal status, when circumstances require this. •

Zimbabwe

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*NEITHER MUGABE NOR MNANGAGWA NOR THE GENERALS THAT MADE THE COUP D'ÉTAT!
THEY ARE ALL SERVANTS OF IMPERIALISM AND ENSLAVERS OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE!*

LET THE EXPLOITED ZIMBABWE RISE

Let's call right now to a congress of the workers and students organizations to prepare the struggle! Workers and rank and file soldiers committees to defend ourselves from the coup d'état members!

Dissolve the officers caste of the army!

For the people to have bread, work and freedom...

Break with imperialism! Disregard the foreign debt!

Expropriate the properties and land which belong of the black bourgeoisie and the transnational companies!

For a revolutionary workers and peasants government!

After 37 years under the rule of Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe has a new presiden: EmmersonMnangagwa, who reached office after the coup made by the army generals, a parliamentary impeachment and finally Mugabe's resignation. Let's remember the 75-year-old former spy chief is a Zanu-PF leader (Mugabe's party) and he was Zimbabwe's vice president during the recently deposed government.



The army on the streets of Zimbabwe

Mnangagwa has become the third president of Zimbabwe since the country gained independence in 1980. He took oath of office in front of 70,000 people in Harare's main sports stadium. In his speech, he praised Mugabe as a hero of the anti-colonial resistance, when for 37 years Mugabe just plunged the impoverished masses

of the farms and the cities into misery and starvation, bounding the country with double chains to imperialism as it has a 9 billion dollars foreign debt (in a nation where GDP is 16 billion dollars) used only to enrich the pockets of the low black bourgeoisie.

37 years in which the so-called

"hero" imposed by blood and fire under-human living conditions for the masses, turning Zimbabwe into one of the poorest countries of the world, with an obsolete industry and with one of the best arable lands of the world that is not producing. Furthermore, he put a huge army of reserve at the serv-

ice of Anglo American and the big transnational companies, which lowered the wages of all the workers of the Black Africa.

This accumulation mode of Zimbabwe, based in the plunder of gold, diamonds and lithium and on a slave labour force for the entire Southern Africa, has reached to an end. The wealthy land of Zimbabwe, in the hands of a black oligarchy that expropriated the anticolonial struggle, such as Mugabe and his gang, is nowadays without any production, without watering system, without fertilizing and without investments in technology. A bunch of parasites destroyed the land and now lives as millionaires as the old British colonialists and white slavers.

Now IMF and the transnational companies, the big creditors and the owners of the plundered Zimbabwe, who has now the economy in bankruptcy, want to take all the wealth of the nation for nothing. The coup of the direct agents of imperialism has assured that they will be the guarantors to give back the land that was expropriated in the anticolonial fight in late 70's. It is the movie played backwards. This is how the native bourgeoisie ends, as junior partner of imperialism, giving back the land to the plunderers of the nation.

That's why in his speech Mnangagwa affirmed that he will "pay the foreign and domestic debts". He also assured that his government "will compensate those farmers whose land was taken in a legal manner", which means that a broke

Zimbabwe will pay the white farmers and transnational companies with the same lands they lost in the anti-colonial war of liberation.

Mnangagwa continued saying "Our economic policy will be based on agriculture" and to promote it, he "welcomes mutually beneficial partnerships with our investors", i.e. joint ventures (mixed companies between the state and foreign capitals) so that Cargill, Monsanto and the big cereal companies take the land. In short, the black bourgeoisie will manage and the white and imperialism will take the farming income (including the derivatives emerging from it such as machinery, seeds and fertilizing) in moments when the prices of commodities are still rising in the world market.

At the same time, Mnangagwa said "AU is our natural home we will play our role fully". This means that now Zimbabwe will open the path for "relaxation of export procedures, and establishment of special economic zones to be accelerated", i.e. **free tax areas** for imperialist investors, with a totally enslaved labour force. Thus Mnangagwa offers the transnational companies the chance to relocate their companies or part of their production in Zimbabwe, to take advantage of the slave labour reservoir, as workers are getting paid less than a dollar a day for the tasks they do in infernal working conditions. They want to turn Zimbabwe into the new "Bangladesh" in Southern Africa.

The true plan of imperialism is

no other than to make Zimbabwe a maquila (sweat shop) country, thus plunging the wages of the workers around the region, particularly in South Africa. Today, this is done by taking there slave labour force from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, that they have the worst and less paid jobs.

Now imperialism wants to take more. It wants more free trade areas for its transnational companies, to install them as sweat shops in Zimbabwe.

Ultimately, if the workers of South Africa fight to topple president Zuma and for a 12500 rands wage for all (as Marikana miners demanded) and they rise against the bureaucracy of the unions, imperialism wants to respond to this offensive by relocating part of its production in Zimbabwe. It is a matter of life or death for the working class of South Africa and the entire region to defeat this government of the pact between Mnangagwa, the coup member generals and MDC, agent of imperialism. To conquer the unity of the workers for the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys from southern Africa is an urgent need. Otherwise, slavery will be deeper as well as plundering and barbarism on the exploited of the region.

Coup d'état in Zimbabwe: a true plot against the masses made by imperialism, transnational companies, Mugabe's generals, Zanu-PF and MDC

What rushed the IMF to make this change in the commands in

Zimbabwe, with a coup by the army's officers, supported by Zanu-PF and MDC? The fear that Mugabe may have the same fate of the dictators and autocrats of Maghreb and Middle East. That is to say, they wanted to prevent the Zimbabwean masses, after years of huge waves of struggle of workers, peasants, vendors who hated the murderous starvation regime so much, ended up defeating Mugabe with revolutionary actions. It would've been the power of the exploited and it would've put into question not only the IMF desires for a new economic plan but also the crumbs that today the black bourgeoisie receives as enslaver and junior partners of the imperialist pirates. They wanted to reassure the continuity of the dictatorial regime of Mugabe (who is 93 years old!) to a successor, saving him from the masses that over the last years have staged national struggles, strikes, picket lines, strikes by sector, fighting on the streets...

On the other hand, with the coup d'état in Zimbabwe and Mnangagwa taking office, they intended to stop the expansive waves caused by the general strike in South Africa against Zuma's government, which shows that the governments that expropriated the revolutionary struggles in Southern Africa for liberation have entered in crisis.

They want to make us believe that the officers by this coup d'état have put an end to Mugabe's dictatorship, since there will be a democratic opening calling for elections in 2018. Meanwhile with



Tanks of the army during the coup d'état

Mnangagwa they will establish a "national unity" government between Zanu-PF and MDC, which only prepares (with all the announced measures) bigger sufferings and torment for the people.

As for everything we exposed here, it is evident we are before a "resignation" that was agreed with the coup members, which is the same officers caste that supported Mugabe's dictatorship for 37 years. This shows that the true "power" in Zimbabwe is the officers caste of the army, which yesterday supported Mugabe against the people and now it is doing the same with Mnangagwa to safeguard the power and the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, starting for the imperialist gang. The trap ahead for the masses must be revealed. There is nothing to celebrate. After Mugabe's fall they prepare bigger torments against the poor in Zimbabwe. **WE CANNOT LET THAT HAPPEN.**

How can this working class and poor of Zimbabwe, which has fought against Mugabe for years,

couldn't take advantage the crisis of those on top in its favour, intervening as the leader of the oppressed classes of the nation, opening the road with the beginning of the revolution in the struggle for power and the solution of all its problems? The answer is simple. The unions and reformist left currents subordinated the energies and forces of the workers to MDC policy and to Mugabe's "opposition" inside Zanu-PF.

The task was to coordinate the struggles, set up dual power organs and fight for a workers program for a way out of the crisis, against the coup and the trap for the change in commands that imperialism and the black bourgeoisie made by conspiring behind the back of the workers. Instead, unfortunately, ISO kept the left wing of the workers movement entertained in impotent meetings, preventing them to encourage the exploited to take to the streets taking the solution of their problems in their own hands.

MDC, an imposture and a fraud to the most elementary democratic struggle for overthrowing the military regime in Zimbabwe

Out with Mnangagwa, the officers caste, the judges and the whole regime of Zanu (PF)-Mugabe!

**Recover the land and break with imperialism
Free sovereign national constituent assembly!**

Today, as Mnangagwa is settled as new government, the unions and the reformist left are joining the MDC voice in demanding elections with a new electoral law. This is a scam. They only want to put some "democratic" make up to this ferocious dictatorship of the generals. Furthermore, they want to be managers -as MDC was in 2008- of the business deals of imperialism and the coup member gangs in Zimbabwe.

Even from the point of view of the democratic liberties gains what MDC proposes is an imposture and a deception on the exploited, who don't stand Mugabe police regime anymore neither the brutal repression that every worker fight for the most minimum demands has to deal with. MDC asks the officers caste to hold elections, thus guaranteeing for it to manage all the state institution.

In this deception on the masses, MDC is joined by the bureaucracies of the unions and the ISO, which has renegaded from



Mnangagwa next to Mugabe

socialism long time ago. While the political crisis in Zimbabwe was being developed, ISO paid tribute to 100 years of Russian revolution in conferences where it guised as "rrred" only to end up at the feet of this pseudodemocratic mass policy deception.

Imperialism needs the most totalitarian government at hand it can have to plunder the nation. But it also needs from these pseudodemocratic counterrevolutionary agents to deceive the people- The revolutionary socialists claim that only the working class, by fighting and demonstrating, is the only one that can guarantee the democratic freedoms that these ferocious Zimbabwean dictatorship, yesterday with Mugabe and today with Mnanagwa, cannot give the people.

There are no democratic freedoms, not even free elections, if all the assets of the officers members of coup d'etat are not expropriated. There is not a single chance of marching to a free sovereign constituent assembly if the repressive forces and the judge caste (under the rule of the imperialist master and the murderous officers of Zimbabwean army) are not dissolved.

The MDC and its partners from

ISO are a huge lie and a scam to the fight for democratic freedoms to overthrow the dictatorship in Zimbabwe. A free and sovereign constituent assembly will only be established on the basis of the ruin and the overthrow of all the institutions of this infamous regime.

A national constituent assembly should guarantee, together with these elementary democratic measures, to break with imperialism and disregard the foreign debt (which contracted the black oligarchy) and return to the people the lands that it expropriated with the anti-colonial revolution, to be able to eat.

To this task, only the working class in arms will guarantee it, disarming these counterrevolutionary officers and upholding the power of the workers, the rank and file soldiers, the poor peasants.

The banners of the struggle for extreme democratic freedoms, along with the struggle for land and national independence, rely only on the hands of the working class and its allies.

Only a provisional worker and peasant government can guarantee

the struggle against imperialism and a free and sovereign constituent assembly that, over the ruin of the Mugabe regime, imposes a single chamber with one representative per 10,000 inhabitants, removable by their constituents at any time, and that collect the salary of a worker. If they do not collect their wages, then the representatives will not do it.

It is time to regroup the working class and its allies independently of their executioners and oppressors, whether they come with uniforms of generals or with the lie of pseudodemocrats that uphold their bayonets against the people.

Only the working class of Zimbabwe, united to the working class of all South Africa, is the one that can guarantee the bread, the land, the national independence and even the struggle for the most extreme democratic liberties.

The task of the moment is none other than demanding the unions and all the organizations that speak on behalf of the working class to break with the bourgeoisie. We must expel from our

ranks the union bureaucrats who collaborated for years with the Mugabe dictatorship and today they continue to do so with the coup leaders. And we must separate from our ranks those who want to submit to the pseudo-democratic guardians of the plundering of the nation, like the MDC.

The bourgeoisie prevented the mass irruption, but the masses haven't been defeated. The solution for the black workers movement is not with the black bourgeoisie.

The allies of the workers and exploited in Zimbabwe are not the MDC or Zanu-PF, but the workers of South Africa, the immigrant workers in Europe, the black workers in USA and Brazil, those who feel hatred as seeing class brothers sold as slaves in Libya by the Qadafyist bourgeoisie.

We have to put those forces in movement, in Zimbabwe and in the whole Southern Africa. For that reason, we have to call NUMSA, the workers of Marikana and all the workers organizations in Southern Africa to organize a unified fight against imperialism and its lackey governments.

*Imperialism and the capitalists are burdening their crisis on the masses
The catastrophe is already here: we need to fight it!*

For a workers and popular economic plan!

Let the crisis be paid by those on the top: the capitalists and the generals agents of imperialism!

Only a provisional revolutionary government of workers and poor peasants can get Zimbabwe out of barbarism

It is urgent to take immediate measures to put an end to the misery of the exploited. In the poorest country in the world, with a life expectancy of no more than 50 years, with the highest infant mortality rate in Africa, Zimbabwe shows the workers and oppressed peoples of the world at what level of barbarism they can lead capitalists exploited parasites and the global regime of imperialist plunder.

There is no more immediate task in Zimbabwe than to finish organizing a real revolutionary offensive, this time expelling and expropriating not only imperialism but also the black bourgeoisie, which for decades fought the anti-colonialist struggle of the masses of Africa and Zimbabwe. They call themselves "war veterans" when today they manage wealth and fortunes equivalent to or greater than those of the whites who plundered Rhodesia until the end of the 70's.



Mugabe and his wife

Preparing, organizing and ad-

vancing towards the socialist revolution, together with the working class of all Africa and international is the task of the moment. There is no other way out. Otherwise, the exit will be given by imperialism with a double looting of Zimbabwe in all the nations of South Africa.

The catastrophe is here. Hit the workers of Zimbabwe, South Africa and the entire region. The imperialist transnational companies take away all our riches. The time has come for the international unity of the working class. Expropriating those from above and organizing the rebellion of the slaves is the task of the moment!

The gold, diamonds, lithium and all the huge riches of Zimbabwe cannot be carried away by imperialism! We must expropriate without pay all the mines and deposits and put them to produce under the control of the workers!

In order to eat, conquer decent health and housing, we must break with imperialism and ignore the fraudulent external debt contracted by the oligarchy of Zimbabwe to the IMF, behind the backs of the people!

We must re-nationalize the land without any payment, and put it to

produce under the control of the workers' organizations, the poor peasants and popular organizations!

The banks must be expropriated without payment! For a single state bank that grants cheap credits to the ruined small producers!

Minimum salary of 12,500 rand, as the Marikana workers put forward in their struggle! Decent work assured for all, distributing work hours in all available hands!

For a public works plan under the control of workers' organizations!

With the recovery of the land and the rupture with the IMF and the expropriation of the banks, it would be possible to guide the surplus of the national wealth to conquer a public works plan, beginning with the construction of houses, roads, hospitals, schools, guarantee that the workers and the poor people eat.

The working class must erupt with its own program to provide a way out for the exploited and for the capitalists to pay for their bad businesses deals. The land in the hands of the working

class and the exploited, under production in collective farms, would guarantee cheap quality food for all Zimbabweans and for our class brothers and sisters of Southern Africa. Such a struggle will awaken solidarity from millions of workers around the region and will weld an unbreakable unity that would get us closer to victory in our struggle. For this, the workers organizations must break with the boss parties... with Zanu-PF and MDC. They fight for their business deals, we workers fight for bread and freedom. Open the road for the working class and the exploited of Zimbabwe!

For committees of workers, poor peasants, vendors, students and rank and file soldiers!

Set up the power of those of below, the broad majority of the subjugated nation, to disarm the bourgeoisie!

To take a first step forward, we need to conquer rank and file assemblies in all remaining factories, mines and workplaces! It is necessary to set up a coordination organ of all the workers in struggle, of the unemployed workers, militant youth, poor peasants, the vendors, civil servants and municipality workers and students to fight together!

Enough of collaborationist union bureaucracies! For a revolutionary leadership of the unions!

We need to set up self-defense committees and the workers' militia to impose a **revolutionary General Strike** that will shake Zimbabwe from its foundations



Assembly during the strike of Marikana

and put the fall of the infamous regime on the agenda!

The struggle of Zimbabwe is part of the struggle of our class brothers from all over South Africa. Outside Mugabe and Mnangagwa! Out Zuma! Enough of governments of the imperialist transnational companies!

For a South African congress of workers' organizations, to break with the bourgeoisie and fight to expel imperialism!

We have to fight like in Marikana, with stoppages, pickets, and with the method of workers' democracy!

Standing with our colour class brothers all over the planet! Black lives matter in Zimbabwe, in South Africa, and in the US, Brazil, Libya!

We are not indifferent to the genocide of our Syrian class brothers! Let's not allow the massacre to continue in Syria! Let's fight against the dog Bashar and the murderer Putin, who do dirty work for imperialism!

Expel Mugabe, Mnangagwa, the bourgeois politicians and all the corrupt generals, agents of the imperialist powers that have ruled Zimbabwe for years!

Enough with governments of representatives of black millionaires partners of the banks and the TNCs that rule in a sea of black slaves. For a government of the workers and the poor people!

For a provisional revolutionary government of workers, poor peasants, students and ruined

middle sectors, supported on rank and file soldier's committees, self defense committees and workers militias!

The liberation of the workers will be done by the workers themselves!

For the workers to live, imperialism must die! Zimbabwe will be socialist or Wall Street colony!

Open the road for the tormented Africa! For the Federation of Black Republic in Southern Africa!

**ISSUED BY WORKERS
INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF
ZIMBABWE (WIL)**

Mnangagwa, former vice president and Mugabe's friend

Mnangagwa is a stalwart of the ruling Zanu-PF party, and is widely known as "the Crocodile" – a liberation war nickname suggesting tenacity and ruthless cunning.

Critics have questioned his role in the Gukurahundi massacres in Matabeleland in 1983, when an estimated 20,000 people were killed in a crackdown on Mugabe opponents by the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade. Mnangagwa has denied any part in the atrocities.

Many Zimbabweans, especially the ethnic Ndebele who bore the brunt of the Gukurahundi slaughter, will see his appeal on Friday to "let bygones be bygones" as an attempt to gloss over his nation's darkest chapter.

Emmerson Mnangagwa who appealed for national unity and promised compensation for dispossessed white farmers as he sought to draw a line under the Robert Mugabe era in his inaugural speech as president of Zimbabwe.

Mnangagwa in his address, "free and fair" elections will go ahead as scheduled next year when the current five year presidential term, which Robert Mugabe began in 2013, ends.

What we have witnessed in Zimbabwe is a dispute among the different gangs of capitalists and imperialist bandits to split the loot of the inheritance of the business

deals that the dictator Mugabe leave.

The coup member generals, vicepresident Mnangagwa, Mugabe, his wife and people around them only defend their millionaire profits.

The coup did represented primarily a power struggle inside the ruling elite and its ZANU-PF party. The faction around former President Emmerson Mnangagwa had succeed in appropriating power.

After 37 years of Mugabe's regime which led to the killing, disappearance, imprisonment and torture of tens of thousands of opponents, the popular masses hope for "a new era" and Indeed Mnangagwa is trying to bring in hopes into support for his regime.

Mnangagwa called "the crocodile" because of his political shrewdness - his Zanu-PF faction was known as "Lacoste" had been Mugabe's chief lieutenant in all those 37 years of dictatorship, he was at his side during the fight against white minority rule, and during the post-liberation government. And his regime will represents the continuation of the Mugabe state apparatus without Mugabe.

Meanwhile, the people is starving, living in miserable conditions and the workers not even collect their wages.

Zimbabwe

December 1st, 2017

WHILE CONSIDERING THAT IN ZIMBABWE THE ARMY STAGED A COUP D'ETAT ...

The LIT demands “elections” and “democratic liberties” to a Bonapartist regime, supervised by the caste of army officers, servant of Anglo American and imperialism



Mnangagwa (president) and Chiwenga (chief of the armed forces)

Under the title of “Zimbabwe: Out with Mugabe; out with the military!”, on 20/11 the LIT has published a statement with its position on the current events that are happening in a vertiginous way in Zimbabwe.

In this article the LIT denounces that the “November 15, the Army of Zimbabwe staged a coup d’état” and states that “the political regime in Zimbabwe is a dictatorship of the ZANU-PF army-party, corrupt and bloodthirsty, at the service of maintaining the privileges of a black bourgeoisie (which was consolidated after the independence) and ensuring the handing over of national wealth (gold, diamonds, platinum) to imperialism”. Then they state that: “It is a dictatorship that keeps exercising a brutal repression in a country with 90% unemployment” and that “Mugabe governs

with an iron hand since 1980, with nothing to “envy” dictators such as Assad, Gaddafi, or Videla”. And they conclude: “None of this has changed - nor will it change - with the fall of Mugabe. What we are witnessing is a “palatial coup” (...) Neither Mugabe nor those who intend to succeed can guarantee a program in favor of the exploited and oppressed classes, not even democratic freedoms so that the people can organize. (...) From them only more hunger, misery, unemployment, repression, and handing over of the country’s resources to imperialism can be expected”.

But in the face of this situation that they denounce, what course of action does LIT take to the working class and the exploited masses of Zimbabwe? “It is necessary to organize independently and open the way

against all the capitalist and dictatorial factions. Out with Mugabe; Out with the military! Down with the military dictatorship in Zimbabwe! No trust in the military! Full democratic liberties for the workers and the people!". And how is this conquered according to the LIT? With "Free elections now! For a free and sovereign Constituent Assembly! "

But what "free elections" can be held in Zimbabwe while the caste of army officers, which by imperialism command defined with a palatial blow which bourgeois gang governs and administers business to the transnationals and the bourgeoisie? What "free and sovereign Constituent Assembly" can be done without defeating the pro-imperialist regime, armored by the Armed Forces?

As we quote extensively, the LIT itself denounces how crude the Bonapartist nature of the ruling institutions of the bourgeoisie and imperialism are in the poorest country in the world, and even so they argue that it is possible to conquer "full democratic liberties" for the masses in the framework of a regime that they themselves say is a "dictatorship"!

We are not going to stop here in the fact that for the LIT there can be "democracy" and "freedom" for the exploited people of Zimbabwe without them eating, without breaking and expropriating imperialism and without recovering the land, that is, the LIT is enemy of proposing the resolution of the structural democratic tasks of every semicolonial country like Zimbabwe that are the liberation of imperialist oppression and solving the agrarian problem.

Today in Zimbabwe, the LIT reaffirms its 180 ° position of fighting to set up soviets, workers 'and soldiers' committees and militias. With their claim to "organize themselves independently and open the way against all the capitalist and dictatorial factions" they refuse to raise the armed self-organization organisms of the exploited masses of Zimbabwe, which expropriate the transnationals and the bourgeoisie and break all the pacts with imperialism. Clearly it does not raise a single programmatic point for the socialist revolution.

But in this case, we are not even before consistent formal democrats, because if they were really for the "democracy against the coup", they would call to defeat the officer caste and conquer the generalized armament of the people, with the slogan "a man, a rifle". The LIT ends up proposing the "peaceful way to

democracy "without destroying the caste of army officers, commanded by the Anglo American.

The real way out, even to defend the democratic freedoms of the workers, can only be given by the working class, the poor peasants, the combative students, the soldiers and the hungry people, sunk in the worst of the miseries by the capitalists, from their organizations and their methods of struggle, defeating the now government of Mnangagwa, demolishing the regime and destroying the bourgeois state of Zimbabwe and its caste of officers. The truth is that only a workers' and peasants' government, based on the armed organizations of direct democracy of the exploited classes, will be the only one that can guarantee a truly democratic National Constituent Assembly, because this will only be possible on the ruin of the regime and the state of the killers and oppressors of the people.

The LIT, although it does not go so far as to claim that Mugabe was a "hero" of the national liberation of Zimbabwe, but declares Mugabe and his regime as that of Assad or Khadafy, this time they are again proposing an electoral bourgeois democratic exit and of Constituent Assembly, as they did in the face of the Maghreb and Middle East revolution in Egypt, Tunisia, etc., as the opposite of supporting the bourgeois "opposition" as a necessary ally for the first stage of the "democratic revolution" as was in Syria with the FSA or in Libya with the CNT-CNG. Due to this strategy that they raise, the LIT does not say a single word of complaint against the MDC - the opposition bourgeois party - which has supported the palatial coup of the caste of officers with the "condition" that they call for elections next year, in order to dress as "democratic" the military regime. With its "struggle" for "elections now", the LIT does nothing more than being a left-wing support of the policy of the MDC.

Thus, the LIT ends up being one more variant of the politics of the "New Left" currents, which have dedicated themselves to subjecting the working class and the masses of Zimbabwe to the feet of the bourgeois regime.

POI-CI FROM CHILE

Zimbabwe

April 16th, 2018

EVERYONE STANDING BY THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE HWANGE MINERS AND THEIR WOMEN'S COMMITTEE AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST TRANSNATIONALS!

If they win, all the workers will win!

The Hwange miners continue standing in their heroic struggle that has already been 3 months for the payment of wages owed and salary increase. The women of the miners have set up a committee and continue to camp and block the entrance to the mine facilities since February

This mine is part of the imperialist transnational Anglo American, the same that plunders all southern Africa and massacred the 34 miners of Marikana when they went out to fight for their salaries.

The Hwange miners cannot continue in isolation for another minute! Their demands are the same as those of the entire Zimbabwean labor movement: decent work and wages for all!

The fate of the working class and the oppressed of Zimbabwe is defined in the struggle of the Hwange miners. The miners of Hwange and their brave women cannot be left alone! If this is the case, the imperialist bosses of AngloAmerican and its military junta will try to repress them and crush their struggle, as they did yesterday in Marikana. We cannot allow it!

Let's surround with solidarity all the Hwange miners and their women's committee! **From all the trade unions and all workers and student's organizations in Zimbabwe, delegates with the mandate of the grassroots assemblies must vote to go to Hwange to collaborate with the strike fund and to fight together.**



Everyone to Hwange to set up a National Struggle Committee to vote for a unified struggle plan and conquer the General Strike!

For self-defense committees to defend ourselves against the repression of the state and the military junta!

For this: **all the organizations that speak in the name of the working class must break with the bourgeois parties that starve and fire us!**

Today the bureaucracy of the unions is dividing and betraying the heroic struggle of the workers. The leadership of the ZCTU, other currents and wings of the trade union bureaucracy and ISO, the British SWP party in Zimbabwe, have turned their backs on the Hwange miners, refusing to send delegates to establish a National Fight Committee there to advance in the General Strike. These directions, with a program of "Assembly of the people against austerity and neoliberalism", are forming a front with bosses'

parties that pose as "democratic" as the MDC to deceive the workers and subject them to the trap of the next elections. Enough of collaborationist union bureaucracy! Against the electoral trap, General Strike to defeat the imperialist transnationals and their lackey government of the military junta

Hwange's miners face transnationals that never reconnect hours when they explore the natural riches of colonial and semicolonial countries and explorers who extraminate them who use all the world's industries. These imperialist miners made huge profits with the sacking of lithium, or carbon, or copper, a tin, etc. from all South Africa, Latin America, etc. This is one of the three cartels that controlled the entire world economy from the city of London and Wall Street. They're part of is 1% of imperialist parasites. That's why the struggle from the Hwange miners is the same of the miners of Marikana and all South Africa and also the proletariat

of Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia and the whole world. Or what face or attack of transnational mines that plunder all the riches of the subjugated nations, submit the working class and kill like in Marikana!

Expropriation without compensation and under workers control of all

mines! Out the transnationals! Out the IMF! Out imperialism!

The working class of the central countries, in the United States and England, must rise with the workers of Zimbabwe, to confront the Anglo American, the owner of the mining company of Hwange, who plunders all southern Africa.

Out Mnangagwa! Down with the murderous military junta that governs for the imperialist transnationals!

Enough governments of representatives of black millionaires, partners of banks and the TNCs that govern in a sea of black slaves!

Workers International League

From Bolivia to Zimbabwe:

February 16th, 2018

**LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY
OF THE MINERS WHO FACE THE SAME ENEMIES:
THE IMPERIALIST TRANSNATIONALS AND
THEIR SERVANT GOVERNMENTS!**

The comrades of the WIL (Workers International League) of Zimbabwe were present in the struggle of the Hwange miners, who are fighting for the payment of the back wages, to deliver the funds collected in an international strike fund, promoted by the miners of Huanuni, Bolivia, who collected 60 dollars.

This fund of struggle in support of workers in Zimbabwe is already being carried out by different workers' organizations in the world.

Yesterday, the miners of Argentina who are fighting against 500 dismissals of the Río Turbio mine, in the south of the country, received the international solidarity from the Fight Committee of Marikana (South Africa), the Huanuni Joint Mineworkers Union (Bolivia) and the National Union of Workers of Artisan, Industrial and Large Scale Mining (Colombia). The statements of support of the miners of South Africa, Bolivia and Colombia were read in the assembly of the miners from Río Turbio, who applauded the solidarity that their class brothers send them.

On this way their begun to forge milestones of internationalist struggle. We must go deeper this way! We must forge a single international struggle, over the borders, of the mining proletariat and the entire working class, because we all have the same enemy! The imperialist transnationals do not recognize borders to super-exploit us and plunder the wealth of our oppressed nations. The workers must not recognize any border to fight! We only have chains to break! Open the road to proletarian internationalism!

One single class, one single Fight!



Comrades of WIL (Workers International League) of Zimbabwe were present at the struggle of Hwange miners, taking there the strike fund promoted by Huanuni (Bolivia) miners

From Latin America to Zimbabwe

May 11th, 2018



Today we spent our day in Hwange as part of our solidarity to Hwange miners spouses who are on strike for more than 3 months for their back wages.

Also as part of this fight, we call on all workers 'organizations to take the campaign of workers' and internationalist solidarity with the Hwange miners, who face the transnational mining companies like the AngloAmerican, which loot the workers and the riches of the oppressed nations, leaving us workers in misery, under repression and persecution, and especially the black working class, as they do in Zimbabwe and all of Africa, in Brazil and throughout Latin America, in the US and Europe, where the Black workers are once again enslaved, and around the world

Long live the struggle of the miners and the Hwange Women Committee!

THE STRUGGLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL STRIKE OF WOMEN ON MARCH 8th LIVES AND CONTINUES IN THE WOMEN COMMITTEE OF THE MINERS OF HWANGE

Let's take the internationalist example of the comrades of CONLUTAS in Brazil and the miners of Huanuni in Bolivia whom had made collections to support the comrades of Hwange and their strike. ¡Long livethemilitantinternacionalism!

The Women Committee of the Hwange miners and their children has been developing a heroic struggle against the Anglo American imperialist transnationals that owe their husbands' salaries and for salary increases. They continue the struggle for more than three months. They sing "200 rands is not enough." This happens in the midst of a fierce dictatorship in Zimbabwe.

They are camping and blocking the entrance to the mine shaft. Their husbands do not receive their salary since three months ago and their situation is desperate. Their children have nothing to eat. Their husbands are forced to work, the trade union bureaucracy of the ZCTU had leave them alone. Currents that speak in the name of the working class, such as the Zimbabwe ISO and the English SWP, left them isolated, refusing to coordinate them with other sectors in struggle.

The Anglo American, transnational that Hwange miners face, is the same transnational that led the massacre of the 34 miners of Marikana who carried out a huge strike for 12,500 rands of salary in August 2012. Todaytheirwidowscontinuetodemandjustice ...

ENOUGH! THEY CANNOT CONTINUE FIGHTING ALONE EVEN ONE MORE MINUTE! The fate of the working class of Zimbabwe and of all South Africa is defined in the Hwange miners' strike.



Tent of the Women Committees of Hwange miners

The working women of the world this March 8 made an international strike against all the oppressors and for all our rights more senses demonstrating that if the imperialists have no borders to attack us and oppress us, the workers do not have borders to fight against them either. Let's deepen this fight!

The strike, picket and international mobilization on March 8 lives and breathes in the women's committee of Hwange! Let's make every day a March 8 against the imperialist transnationals that plunder our nations and condemn us to misery.

Long live the struggle of the Hwange miners and their women!

We are all the 34 widows of the Marikana miners who continue to cry out for justice!

WE CALL THE WORKERS, STUDENTS, FEMINISTS AND FIGHTING WORKERS WOMEN ORGANIZATIONS TO TAKE IN THEIR HANDS THE FIGHT OF THE HEROIC WOMEN'S COMMITTEE OF THE MINERS OF HWANGE AND TO PROMOTE IN EACH ESTABLISHMENT, SCHOOL AND PLACE OF WORK AN INTERNATIONAL FUND OF FIGHT FOR SUSTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THE FIGHT OF THE COMPANIONS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

Let's take the example of the Huanuni miners who carried out a collect through the tunnels contributing to the strike fund of the Hwange miners. And the example of the workers of CONLUTAS from Brazil that in a meeting of more than 1500 women they make a collection for the women's committee of Hwange. Long live the militant internacionalism! Women have proved that we do not have borders to fight against our oppressors!

The miners of Rio Turbio (Argentina) are still fighting with their women's committee, the miners of Huanuni are making a vigil for their comrades massacred by the thirst for profit of the transnationals and the Morales government, the coal miners of Ukraine are still on the warpath ...

For a single international struggle of the miners against the transnationals, their governments and servant regimes!

From Huanuni, Bolivia

April 21st, 2018

TO THE MILITANT MINERS OF HWANGE (ZIMBABWE) AND THE WOMEN COMMITTEE, WHICH IS FIGHTING SINCE FEBRUARY THIS YEAR

From Bolivia, as miners, housewives, workers and students we let you know we are with your struggle. Your struggle is the spearhead of all the miners of the world and their families to confront the attack of the imperialist transnational companies. Since February your struggle shakes us and also strengthen us to keep organizing ourselves as proletarians above borders. That's why we think that if we unite our forces against the servile governments and the imperialist transnational companies, we will be invincible.

Dear comrades, we take this chance to let you know that in Huanuni mining district (located in Oruro department in Bolivia) it happened a true tragedy inside the tunnels. There was an explosion deep in the tunnels in level 240, with a sad result of 8 miners killed instantly and sadly, while many were seriously wounded, of which one also died. We consider this is entirely responsibility of the government, the state and the transnational companies, as if they don't kill us by starving us or with bullets in repression, these enemies of the working class kill us by over exploiting us without any funds by safety for the workers. The industrial safety in Huanuni is low. Last February –when you started your struggle- a miner also lost his life as a result of being crushed by a load of mineral. We see these facts as a thread of continuity where this is not by chance.

Today, with the support of the leaders who are sold to the government of Morales, the mine is under surveillance of the eyes of the police and the military, which is generating fear in the families. Under the excuse of investiga-



tion, they have militarized the entire town. We are still standing! Our 9 comrades were mourned and while being at their funeral miners, families and friends cried all together "*Glory to the fallen comrades in level 240!*" They are our class brothers, just as the comrades from Marikana-South Africa who were slaughtered by the murderous police of Zuma government and the imperialist transnational companies in 2012. **We do not forgive and we do not forget our 34 class brothers of Marikana and Huanuni!**

Please know that in spite of the distance between us, we are with you comrades of Zimbabwe. **One single class, one single struggle! Your struggle is an example and deserves to be generalized internationally in all the mines of the world!**

Endorsements:

NAME

Gladis Mitma
Rene Achacollo
Eduardo Soto
Gladis Condori A.
Ivan Quispe
A. Córdova
Juan Flores

ORGANIZATION -UNION

Former leader of housewives committee Huanuni Mining Company (E.M.H.)
Electric workshop - E.M.H.
Electric workshop - E.M.H.
E.M.H.
E.M.H.
E.M.H.
E.M.H.

Zimbabwe

May 2nd, 2018

**May Day
2018**

*FOR THIS MAY DAY TO BE AN INTERNATIONAL DAY TO UNIFY THE STRUGGLE OF ALL THE WORKERS OF
BLACK AFRICA AND THE BLACK SIBLINGS OF USA, EUROPE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD*

OUT WITH THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN ZIMBABWE!

**Out with all the governments servants of imperialism in black Africa!
Out with the IMF! Expropriate all the transnational companies that plunder the region without
compensation and place them under workers control!**

Black lives matter! Open the road for the Black working class!

HARARE - As Zimbabwe joined the rest of the world in commemorating Workers' Day there is nothing to celebrate as millions of people, the majority of them highly skilled are jobless with those few still employed being poorly remunerated. With 90 percent formal unemployment, there is little to celebrate today.

The Zimbabwean government has paid lip service to the small enterprises in terms of a review of business laws, safety, skills development, taxes among others. In essence, the Zimbabwe worker is no longer in big factories but on the street and small spaces where people are making a living. Zimbabwean labour and business laws are therefore archaic and not supporting the worker.

The labour force in the formal sector has greatly dwindled due to chronic industrial collapse, resulting in high levels of unemployment and meteoric rise in informal employment. Yet, it is disturbing to note that the shortage of job opportunities has been manipulated by employers, including the government, to abuse workers on the threat of arbitrary dismissal and to silence genuine calls for improved working conditions.

Zimbabwean workers, beginning with the civil servants are grossly underpaid and neglected, while the government is contemptuous of and politicise their fair ask for better working conditions.

The government of the military dictatorship of Zim-



The army patrols the streets of Harare

babwe keeps the workers in conditions of absolute misery. It has recently ordered summary dismissals against the nurses that were fighting for wages.

The laws are not to protect the workers rather they give an open cheque for the exploiters to overexploit the workers.

The farm workers are still earning \$75 each per month which is far below the minimum wage. Politicians, most of them former Cabinet ministers, are not paying the wages of the workers at farms. Some of them owe not less than seven months of wages.

Most of the civil servants are earning far below the Poverty Datum Line (PDL) which is currently estimated at around \$600.00.

In Hwange Colliery Company Limited (HCCL) and its workers, which has seen spouses protesting against management since January this year, has been locked in a long standing labour dispute with its workers who have not been paid for about three years. The Hwange mine workers has nothing to celebrate for this day.

Today, Mnangagwa offers the transnational companies the chance to relocate their companies or part of their production in Zimbabwe, to take advantage of the slave labour reservoir, as workers are getting paid less than a dollar a day for the tasks they do in infernal working conditions.

The workers' day in Zimbabwe must be for organizing the struggle against the unprecedented misery conditions that the workers are suffering. The teachers have threatened with a national strike. We need to organize the forces to overthrow the government of the military dictatorship in Zimbabwe!

Instead, the trade union bureaucracy of ZCTU wants to lead us to a rally with the leader of MDC, to take us to the feet of the boss parties. Unfortunately this bureaucracy doesn't represent the interest of the workers but of that the MDC T and Alliance an anti-worker of the bosses and western imperialism. MDC is joined by the bureaucracies of the unions and the ISO, which has renegaded from socialism long time ago.

The workers' day must be to organize the forces of the working class, independently from the bourgeoisie!

THE WORKING CLASS MUST GIVE A WAY OUT:

Only the working class of Zimbabwe, united to the working class of all Southern Africa, is the one that can guarantee the bread, the land, the national independence and even the struggle for the most extreme democratic liberties.

Imperialism and the capitalists are burdening their crisis on the masses. The catastrophe is already here: we need to fight it!

For a workers and popular economic plan!

Let the crisis be paid by those on the top: the capitalists and the generals agents of imperialism!

To get food, recover the land, collect our wages and for all to have decent work... The working class must give a way out for the crisis!

For committees of workers, poor peasants, vendors, students and rank and file soldiers!

Set up the power of those of below, the broad majority of the subjugated nation, to disarm the bourgeoisie!



Marikana miners' strike

To take a first step forward, we need to conquer rank and file assemblies in all remaining factories, mines and workplaces! It is necessary to set up a coordination organ of all the workers in struggle, of the unemployed workers, militant youth, poor peasants, the vendors, mine workers, civil servants and municipality workers and students to fight together!

Enough of collaborationist union bureaucracies! For a revolutionary leadership of the unions!

The struggle for better wages is won in the street not on negotiations and civil servants should unite with the vendors, private sector, mines and farm workers and make it a single fight.

We need to set up self-defense committees and the workers' militia to impose a revolutionary General Strike that will shake Zimbabwe from its foundations and put the fall of the infamous regime on the agenda!

Out with the military dictatorship of Zimbabwe, servant of the IMF! Let's kick out all the government who are servants of imperialism in the entire black Africa! Out with the IMF! Expropriation of all the transnational companies that plunder the black Africa, without compensation and place them under workers control!

Enough with governments of representatives of black millionaires partners of the banks and the TNCs that rule in a sea of black slavery. For a government of the workers and poor people!

For a provisional revolutionary government of workers, poor peasants, students and ruined middle sectors, supported on rank and file soldiers committees, self defense committees and workers militias!

Zimbabwe

May 5th, 2018

- ✓ The miners of Hwange and their heroic Women Committee
- ✓ The nurses and teachers
- ✓ The rural workers and civil servants
- ✓ The vendors against repression and the ban on their union

We are thousands confronting the attack of the capitalists!

Unite those in struggle!

National Struggle Committee now to prepare and organize the General Strike

Out with Mnangagwa and the military dictatorship! Out with imperialism!

To have food, recover the land, collect our wages and for all of us to have decent wages
**Out with the IMF! Expropriate the transnational companies, the bankers and the
 landowners, without compensation and place them under workers control!**

On Monday May 7th, the bandit cave of the Parliament called the management of Hwange Colliery to meet in order to account for the wages they owe to the workers. Cynical! The government itself is a shareholder of Hwange mining company, which is responsible that the miners didn't collect their wages for three months!

Facing this, the leadership of ZCTU called for a "massive demonstration" for that very day against the "wage theft, corruption and cronyism".

This can be a great chance to unify all the sectors of the workers movement that are confronting the attack carried out by the murderous military junta on behalf of imperialism.

For that reason: the leadership of ZCTU and all the organizations that speak on behalf of the working class must break with the bourgeois regime, the ZANU-PF and the military junta and with all the boss parties that starve us, dis-

miss us and are accomplices of this attack such as MDC! From ZCTU and all the unions and the workers and peoples' organizations we need to call for this National Struggle Committee and set it up that very Monday.

There are enough forces to defeat this illegitimate government, which was not elected by anyone and came up from a coup d'état.

The strike of Hwange miners, with its heroic spouses committee, has been on for more than three months, confronting Colliery Company Limited (HCCL) and other imperialist mining companies that plunder the wealth of the whole Southern Africa. The dismissed miners of Arcturus Mine, to whom wage arrears are still owed, were evicted from their homes by order of the bosses. The nurses managed to make the military government to give up and re-instate all the dismissed workers. The teachers are fighting for a raise while the agricul-

tural workers and civil servants are fighting against the attack of the military junta while the vendors confront repression and the ban on their union.

From all those sectors in struggle, from all the unions and the workers and students organizations of Zimbabwe, we need to vote delegates with mandates from rank and file assemblies to conquer this National Struggle Committee and self-defense Committees to defend ourselves from the state and the military junta.

There is no time to lose! It is time to unite ourselves and conquer the General Strike and set foot on the chest of those on top! For committees of workers, poor peasants, students and rank and file soldiers to set up the power of those from below, the one of the working class and the exploited! This is the way to get all our demands!

WIL

Africa

January 3rd, 2018

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Against the slave traders of the Khadafist bourgeoisie of Libya and European imperialisms...

***Long live the war cry of black workers
in Europe and the United States!***

***“Down with slavery!” “Freedom to our
siblings!” “We are not goods!”***

Thousands of black and immigrant workers marched on the streets in Europe against the slavery of their brothers in Libya. Through the streets of several states of the USA, London, Brussels, Paris, Berlin, the Spanish State... they mobilized to the embassies of Libya shouting: *“Down with slavery!” “Freedom to our siblings!” “We are not goods!”*

Everything started when CNN broadcasted a video of a slave market in Libya. These journalists of the imperialist bourgeoisie, who cynically were “overwhelmed” by “sensitive images”, did nothing but revealing the true face of this rotten system, which is plunging human civilization into barbarism. The video showed the merchants of the Khadafist bourgeoisie selling slave workers for €400 who were described as “big and strong men for agricultural work”. A market led by European imperialism that holds in concentration camps thousands of immigrant workers fleeing from famine and wars looking for a better life out of Africa, assuming the risk of dying in the Mediterranean Sea, or being

deported or treated as slaves if they manage to reach land.

While thousands of black workers marched on the streets of Europe and the US, the European and American trade unions did not call for a single action to free the workers in Libya. The currents that speak in the name of the working class have called to humanize this decadent system appealing to the “free trade of goods and people” (as the British SWP says), “end foreign debts of African countries” (as LIT affirms) and “end with Maastricht’s anti-immigration policies”, but they do not said that this situation is possible because the working class did not take power in Libya, due to the betrayal of the world proletariat’s leadership and this is why the “40 thieves” of the Khadafist bourgeoisie do what they always did, now without their “Ali Baba” Muamard, who was executed by the masses in their heroic revolution in 2011.

“How is it possible that from one of the richest continents in the world, slavery still exists today?”, asked the sinister



Libya: thousands of Africans are sold as slaves

“journalists” of imperialism. The black workers of Africa will answer you. We have oil, diamonds, uranium, platinum, copper, gold, coltan, zinc, productive land, but they were stolen at the point of cannons by imperialism and the black bourgeoisies, who as junior

partners gave our nations and our people as slaves in the XXI century. In today's Africa, after suffering the genocides like in the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, after regimes like Apartheid in South Africa, etc., the black bourgeoisie in power has imposed equal or worse conditions of slavery on us, those suffered by our previous generations. They turned us into new slaves, fleeing from the genocides like in the Congo that claimed five million dead, with whole countries turned into refugee camps, with millions forced into economic exile to be subjugated as in South Africa where immigrant black workers do the worst jobs, being victims of pogroms and endless daily abuses.

If the imperialist bandits keep treating us like this, it is because of the "liberation movements" like ZANU and ZAPU in Zimbabwe, like ANC in South Africa, like FRELIMO in Mozambique, MPL in Angola, among others; they -supported by the Communist Party, Stalinism, Maoism and Castroism- prevented the working class from taking power, expelling imperialism and setting up black workers and peasants republics expropriating the bourgeoisie. It was this that allowed the "balkanization" of our people, the emergence and enrichment of a billionaire black bourgeoisie associated with the imperialist looters and the scourge, pain, hunger, epidemics, massacres... and hell over the true owners of Africa: the workers, peasants and the exploited, who were kidnapped for centuries by the white invaders and taken as slaves to build the great cities that today everyone knows and that the bourgeoisie enjoy after



Demonstration in Europe against slavery in Libya

the martyrdom of our muscles and bones and the shedding of our blood.

We have to organize a decisive fight against the Kadafist bourgeoisie, dogs like Al Assad in Syria, assassins of their own people, and against these imperialist pirates who are making their workers pay for their crisis in the world. **Enough with Khadafist bourgeois in Libya and governments of the black bourgeoisie in Central and Southern Africa! Enough with Trump and other imperialist butchers! Down with the European Union of the imperialist powers, their euro, governments and monarchies! Down with the V French Republic, the monarchies of the Bourbons and the English pirates! Enough of assassins like Assad, Putin and the Hezbollah mercenaries! Down with the fascist state of Israel, massacrer of the Palestinian people!**

The world proletariat must stand up right now. It must fight against any anti-immigrant law. The European and North American working classes have in their hands the task of unifying the ranks of all the exploited. The

cowardly leaderships—submitted to capital- prevent a concentration of the forces of the exploited of the world. **Jobs for everyone! Equal pay for equal work, for native and immigrant workers! Sliding scale of wages and hours of work! All available hands to produce!**

This will only be possible with the expropriation without compensation and under workers' control of the imperialist companies!

Stop the persecution of immigrant workers! Freedom to imprisoned immigrant workers! Down with the imperialist butchers who repress and take thousands of immigrant workers to concentration camps!

A single class, a single fight against multinationals and parasitic financial capital!

For the working class to live, imperialism must die!

*WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
OF ZIMBABWE*

SOUTH AFRICA

April 19th, 2018

Continued from backpage

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKING CLASS CONFRONTS ANC AND THE REGIME OF ITS EXECUTIONERS

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE METAL WORKERS UNION (NUMSA) CALLS FOR THE
CONSTRUCTION OF A "SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY"...

a step forward to set up a new revolutionary leadership of the working class

NUMSA's leadership, in a new year's salutation of its general secretary Irvin Jin addressing the affiliated and the working class in general, called to build a "Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party". For this to happen, it proposed a course of action which included a denounce on Zuma (who was president back then) and on Ramaphosa (who at that time was preparing to be the future president and who later ended up taking up this place after ANC and the parliament removed Zuma after the fear of the ruling classes of a mass revolutionary uprising that overthrows him).



We are before a call of NUMSA which has enormous importance to the workers not only of South Africa; it is also one to be followed by all the class-conscious workers of the world. This call was made by this metal workers' union that confronted Zuma by fighting on the streets and refused to support the other bourgeois gang (led by Ramaphosa) with which the ANC tried to put an end to both its and the government's crises, after years of concentrating a fierce attack on the workers' movement and handing over the South African nation to imperialism. It is a union that broke away from COSATU (federation of trade unions). It has been fighting against ANC government and the infamous regime of reconciliation that saved the bourgeoisie and the South Africa semi-colonial state when the revolutionary masses crushed Apartheid, so that it is the same dog but with a different collar of the transnational companies, which continues to oppress and plunder the entire nation.

As the workers can see, NUMA's denounces Ramaphosa (the new president) as a "capitalist multimillionaire committed

to those whose hands are stained with the blood of the 34 miners of Marikana" killed by the state. This call is decidedly a brave cry of the working class because it not only takes as its task the struggle for "trial and punishment" of the killers of the 34 Marikana mine workers, but because it also denounces that the state and AngloAmerican were which killed them. And it also raises as its own the fight flag of the Marikana miners for wages of 12,500 rands per month for the entire working class, a necessary demand that must converge with the struggle for the "sliding scale of wages and hours of work", with the reduction of the working day hours and one more shift in all factories for all the unemployed to enter work.

NUMSA puts as a motion a program for immediate action, which raises a list of demands for the working class that openly attacks the exploiters and their regime and government; defends the right to strike and attacks the labor reform that actually amounts to slavery for the South African working class, as is everywhere for the entire world working class. Capitalists come to impose a direct wage

reduction and the declaration of the NUMSA calls to engage in battle against this attack.

Undoubtedly, the comrades propose a course of action that expresses the feeling and predisposition to fight of millions of workers in South Africa and throughout the region. NUMSA is fighting to obtain full rights to the temporary and contracted workers, not only through judicial presentations, but in the streets.

This call to put up a "Revolutionary Workers' Party" is a step forward, because it does not come from the blue, nor stays as empty words; on the contrary, it is a call from the workers' ranks to join the struggles with a list of demands to stop the attack of the capitalists and prepare a counter-offensive of the masses against it.

The revolutionary socialists cannot but make this proposal known to all the workers of the world. But it is also our obligation, based on the fact that we are united by this call of the workers of NUMSA to join in the struggle, to present our point of view, our program and our contributions to this appeal because the South African and international working class need this call **to be concreted in real life so a true instrument of revolutionary struggle of the workers of South Africa emerges, to advance along the road of socialist revolution, the only solution for the working class to solve all their needs and put an end to the imperialist looting.**

We will intervene in this debate because the internationalist socialists are part of the fight of the Marikana workers and their widows and their demand for justice. We intervene in this call because from black Africa, from Zimbabwe, we fight alongside the teachers, the railroads, the health workers and today also the Hwange miners, calling for the Marikana program of 12,500 rands and the fight against the union bureaucracies to be a combat of the entire working class of the region, who are punished, suffering and a thousand times enslaved by the white imperialist masters. We intervene in this debate with our contributions, to help this appeal to fulfill its objectives because **we actually believe that COSATU collaborationist Stalinist bureaucracy, which has sustained this infamous regime of the ANC of bourgeois black millionaires stockpiling their fortunes amidst a sea of black slaves, has not done anything more than to guard the same imperialist interests that the white bourgeoisie and the Boer defended with Apartheid.**

We also are to make this appeal known because –for sure, it is clear for the entire world working class that **with the treacherous leaderships that we have at our head, we can no longer fight. They divide our struggles; bleed them away leaving them isolated, while the bosses and their**

governments concentrate their forces to defeat them one by one. They are paid with the coins thrown at them by the capitalists, coins that trickle down from the fortunes created through the super-exploitation of the working class; the paid bureaucrats sell the exploited just like Judas. This happens in South Africa, in Zimbabwe with the ZCTU, in Latin America with the "Bolivarian" trade union bureaucracies, servants of the native bourgeoisies, in USA with the AFL-CIO, as also happens in imperialist Europe, where most of the trade union centrals are controlled and manipulated fiercely, under control of the state, by the communist parties that yesterday handed over the USSR, China, Cuba, Vietnam and other former workers states to imperialism and today surrender each of the workers' conquests, creating the workers the worst conditions for their struggle. They preach class collaboration, as they have done in South Africa with that infamous government of subjugation of the workers to their executioners, while the capitalists have launched a brutal class war. For this the latter have been concerned not only about having more than enough police and other repressive forces and the sabers of their generals, opening real massacres as we see today in Syria, Palestine, Tunisia and the whole Maghreb and the Middle East; they have also coopted the unions to the bosses' state and corrupted their leaders, with the help of a "left" completely sold out –"Socialist" in the words and traitor in the facts–; with their laws they regulate those unions, corrupting them, and creating and recreating traitorous bureaucracies permanently.

A revolutionary workers party is built though the struggle for the socialist revolution and fighting for it every day, fighting at every step to set up self-determination and self-organizing associations of the masses that coordinate their struggles and their demands; only thus the working class will be able to get rid of the leaderships that betray them and to really put in place the revolutionary leadership the workers deserve.

Millions of unemployed and underemployed workers, immigrants, treated as outcasts by the bourgeois society are not organized in the trade union centers or the trade unions. Any serious struggle, like the one already being waged by the working class of South Africa, needs to organize the millions who enter the fight. The idea is for the revolutionary unions to set up ad hoc organizations that are best adapted for the political struggle the masses have ahead, such as the factory committees, the unemployed committees, and committees of immigrants (who are attacked at every step by counter-revolutionary pogroms to tear down the workers' ranks).

Committees for water, for housing, of consumers against the high cost of living, are the organizations that the unions should call for to unite the vast majority of workers and poor people of South Africa.

At every step, as we saw in Marikana, the bourgeoisie organizes gangs to attack immigrants, and massacre workers with their murderous police. The struggle to set up **strike pickets, which are the embryo of the workers' militia, is essential to carry out any serious struggle that minimally attacks the interests of the capitalists and the government and the infamous regime of the Anglo-American and the transnationals.**

The traitorous bureaucracy of COSATU was the one that repressed and gave out the Marikana miners. Any serious fight against the union bureaucracy will put the fight for the self-defense committees and **a real working-class militia** on the order of the day, **which will be strengthened by integrating the rank and file soldiers, the children of the people within the class and revolutionary unions.**

This is the task of a revolutionary party and a revolutionary leadership of the trade unions... **to organize and set up the armed dual-power organizations of the working class, uniting their ranks, conquering their majority. Because that day, which we must prepare hour by hour**



The massacre of the Marikana miners

and minute by minute, will be the day of liberation, the day of the socialist revolution.

That is why we consider the call of the NUMSA is a step forward to set up a movement for the construction of a new revolutionary party so that the workers have at their head the leadership they need and deserve to succeed.

To deepen the process of rupture of the working class with the ANC and the bourgeoisie, the NUMSA should call COSATU and all organizations that speak on behalf of the working class to break with the government and the bosses' politicians In order to get rid of the union bureaucracies...

THE ONLY ROAD IS CONQUERING WORKER DEMOCRACY

OPEN THE WAY TO THOSE WHO FIGHT! GENERAL REVOLUTIONARY STRIKE!

DOWN WITH THE ANC GOVERNMENT AND THE REGIME OF THE CAPITALISTS AND THE IMPERIALIST TRANSNATIONALS

The NUMSA, which has just called to build a Revolutionary Workers' Party, together with the SAFTU and other unions opposed to the government and the regime, has called to a general strike for next April 25 against the labor reform and the ruthless attack of the capitalists on the poor people. It now has in its hands the possibility of fighting to unite the working class, beginning by **calling all workers' organizations to break with the bourgeoisie and its politicians**, including in this call even COSATU, **to conquer the workers' political independence** and confront the Ramaphosa government, the regime of Reconciliation and its Anglo-American leaders and other imperialist butchers.

As expected, the bureaucracy will oppose to any worker's movement or action that breaks the limits and

conservatism of the state-ized unions. But a courageous voice that summons the whole of the workers' base to conquer their assemblies, defend them with pickets and vote in it to their most representative rotating delegates for the current political struggle that the workers' movement needs, would break all barriers erected by those bureaucrats sold to Capital that keep us in isolated struggles and partial economic demands, putting us on our knees before the Ministry of Labor or the justice of those at the top. As if each of our particular demands could be obtained without breaking with the employers' institutions, and without elevating them to a unified political struggle of the entire labor movement against the government of the ANC and the infamous regime that act in a centralized manner to defeat us sector by sector!

The COSATU bureaucracy can no longer speak on be-

half of the working class. It only subordinates the working class to the bourgeoisie. The struggle to set up a revolutionary movement of the working class must wipe out the union bureaucracy, agent of the bourgeoisie.

Down with the collaborationist bureaucracy! Out with the Ministry of Labor, the state, the employers and their politicians from our organizations! Out with the

statutes and organic bodies of the bureaucracy and their state-ized unions! That the delegates go to collect the union fees in the working places of factories and establishments! For recallable leaders and factory delegates, whose mandate could be terminated by the grassroots assembly, when it so decides! Let the leaders, once their term is over, return to work!

We must conquer the road to the revolutionary general strike!

The NUMSA, which has enormous authority before the most courageous of the South African workers and youth vanguard, can become a lever for the workers to conquer **their organizations of direct democracy, self-determination and armament, for the mass political struggle** against the Black bourgeoisie and the imperialist plunderers who are the most important bourgeois fraction in every semicolonial country, since it handles the main springs of the economy and "national" politics.

The immediate task is none other than to set up a **congress of employed and unemployed workers, of combative students, to vote a unified plan of struggle and to conquer the general strike, which puts the fall of the government and the dismantling of the political and mil-**

itary apparatus of this infamous regime of transnationals and imperialist bankers on the order of the day.

Participation in this congress of the committees of the unemployed, immigrants and those who fight for water for the people, becomes decisive to raise a unified list of demands of the working class and the exploited.

It is urgent to unite the forces of all those who fight, because it is already clear that to get the slightest of demands, the government of Ramaphosa and the ANC must be ousted. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to organize a great fight so that the workers can once and for all put a foot in the chest to the capitalists and transnationals and make them kneel and not vice versa any more.

Out with Ramaphosa! Down with the regime of Reconciliation! For a unified list of demands of all the exploited!

**Down with the labour reform! For a wage of 12,500 Rands as demanded by Marikana miners!
Reduction of the working day! Decent work for all! Free water for all the poor people!
Expropriation of the AngloAmerican, the transnationals and the bankers without compensation!**

NATIONAL STRUGGLE COMMITTEE! SELF-DEFENCE COMMITTEE! GENERAL STRIKE!

Those on top come all the way.

WE HAVE TO GO FOR ALL OF THEM! CAPITALISTS SHOULD PAY FOR THE CRISIS!

The militant workers' vanguard, which seeks to regroup its forces under a revolutionary program, is fighting today in a South Africa convulsed by **the crisis of the BRICS** (those countries that the imperialist media presented to the world as the new "emerging markets" that would counteract the effects of the crack of the world economy), which forces the bourgeoisie, **as decided at the 2017 G20 meeting in Hamburg, to deepen its brutal attack on the working class and the great exploited masses**, taking away their conquests, freezing the wages, leaving public services such as health and education in ruins, with disinvestment in the mining sector, imposing a regime of labor exploitation that makes work-

ers work in subhuman conditions, equal to or worse than in the nineteenth century, where we cannot even have water due to the privatization offensive on this and other natural resources.

This recipe for labor flexibility is the same applied by Hollande, and today deepened by Macron to get the 36 hours workweek out of the French working class, and the one Temer imposed in Brazil by decree. It is one of the plans of the transnationals and the world oligarchy to make the workers pay for the former two's crisis, their theft from the people and their plundering the world.

The world working class has not surrendered. Today a general strike takes place in France, reminiscent of the combats of the 1968 "French May", where workers and students won the streets in barricade combats against the French imperialist republic and its hunger plans.

The workers of Spain, the USA, Germany, France... do not even allow imperialism to promote large-scale counter-revolutionary adventures in the semicolonial world. So Imperialism has sent, as in Syria, Putin and Al Assad to do the dirty work, as Zionism does by crushing the Palestinian nation.

The world capitalist system, in its crisis, plunges millions of the exploited in the world into catastrophe. This system, today bankrupt, will not fall by itself. You have to throw it away. The exploiters come for everything. The world working class fights, but it is time for our struggles to have a general staff that tells the workers that the victory will only come if we go for all of them. Because the exploiters will only grant even the least of the conquests if they foresee losing everything they have. We, workers already know that every conquest we have achieved - such as an increase in wages or better working conditions - we lose at every step if we do not fight.

The class war is here. The commercial war between the imperialist powers and the looting of the semi-colonial world by them includes, as a premise, that they have already begun a speed race to see which first defeats its own working class and thus is given a free hand for their adventures of world conquerors.

But bankrupt capitalism is sustained because it buys a minority composed of labor bureaucrats and aristocrats in all the countries, who act as a real police within the unions and the organizations of struggle of the masses. The traitorous trade union bureaucracy of COSATU is of the same ilk of and as traitorous and sellout as the union bureaucracy of the rest of the world.



Ramaphosa with Raúl Castro

This is the advantage the exploiters enjoy. The union leaderships and bureaucracies disorganize and surrender from the inside all the struggles of the workers.

In South Africa, the working class engaged in a battle against this plan. In October of 2017 the workers went to the General Strike trying to sweep away the hated Zuma government and all the institutions of the Reconciliation regime. But this struggle was diverted by the COSATU to a march of pressure on the parliament to sack the president. The parliament ignored this "request" from COSATU, whose only interest was to prevent the masses with their independent actions from overthrowing the government and opening the way with their battles towards the workers' and socialist revolution. At that time the NUMSA, unfortunately, did not call **the workers' rank and file to conquer assemblies in all the factories and other workplaces and vote a national struggle committee that organizes the fight because for the workers to defeat the government with their struggle. So NUMSA stayed thus powerless to dispute the leadership of the workers movement to the COSATU bureaucracy. This is a lesson we must draw in order to strengthen our struggle for the general strike on April 25th.**

NUMSA leadership has said a great truth: Ramaphosa is a murderer

Months later, already started 2018, before the hatred that continued to grow in the ranks of the exploited, Zuma was led to resign by his peers and instead the post was assumed by his then Vice President, Ramaphosa. Thus imperialism and the black bourgeoisie tried to patch up the regime of Reconciliation to advance their plans of hunger, misery and super exploitation. Irvin Jim (general secretary of NUMSA who called for a Revolutionary Workers Party) said that *"NUMSA shares SAFTU's view that*

Cyril Ramaphosa is a deeply committed capitalist multi-millionaire, with his hands stained with the blood of the 34 victims of Marikana who were murdered in cold blood by the state to protect white monopoly capital in general and Lonmin in particular." Then, the revolutionary socialists add to this, we have to prepare the working class so that they can defeat him along the revolutionary way with their organizations and actions of struggle.

The general strike called for April 25 is a great step for-

ward in that sense, which is why, in addition to the call for all workers' organizations to break with the bourgeoisie and constitute a **Committee of National Struggle**, it is necessary for the NUMSA to include in its convocation the imperative need that workers and exploited have to fight to put an end to the government of Ramaphosa in order to get their demands... a government that was voted for by no one but that puppet parliament where they conspire at the back and against the poor people and all the laws against the workers are voted, previously agreed in the embassies of the dominant powers between the CEOs of the AngloAmerican and other imperialist gangs, and their smaller partners of the local bourgeoisie.



For a program of revolutionary action to unify the workers ranks throughout South Africa

Against the power of those at the top, the power of the exploited must be upheld. The demands that unify us are those that are heard in the clamor of each of the mobilizations: **Down with the labor reform! Free water for all the poor people! 12,500 Rands of minimum live wage, mobile according to the escalation of inflation! Jobs for all the unemployed! Enough of temporary workers! Equal wages for equal work! Everybody must have a stable job protected by a collective bargaining! Opening accounting books of all companies! For the workers' control of the mining industry, with workers' directory of state companies, in mining and all the key branches of the economy!**

To conquer bread, work, wages, land, housing, cheap credit for the ruined middle classes: **Out with imperialism! Not a single rand to the IMF! Expropriation without compensation and under workers' control of the transnationals, the Anglo-American, the mines, the land and the banks! Single state bank under workers' control; foreign trade monopoly! There is the money to grant cheap**

credits to the small merchants and ruined peasants! There is the money for public, free and high quality education and health! There's the money to build housing and a public works plan! Debt forgiveness for the poor people!

Only the working class expropriating imperialism and the new black bourgeoisie can guarantee an emergency workers' plan and thus take the masses out of their suffering. To do so, they must arm themselves, set up the Workers' and People's Councils, the committees of ordinary soldiers, the workers' and popular militias, to expropriate the bourgeoisie and destroy their power. **Out with Ramaphosa and the ANC! Down with the regime of Reconciliation! Down with the officer caste of the Pretoria army! Out with the imperialist pirates of South Africa! Government of the workers and popular organizations based on the self-determination and armament bodies of the masses in struggle! For a Workers' and Socialist Black Republic!**

A revolutionary workers party in South Africa needs a program to fight for the victory of the socialist revolution

Two possible alternatives: Either a party that submits itself to the capitalist gangs and ends up being a new fraud for the exploited who face the Reconciliation regime and the ANC government and its chiefs, the Anglo-American, IMF and other imperialist pirates.

Or a Party that calls on the workers' organizations to break with the bourgeoisie, and the working class to set up the self-determination and direct democracy bodies to defeat the labor reform, expropriate imperialism and the black bourgeoisie and conquer the land, the water and national independence for all

There can be no room for misunderstandings. Mandela

and the ANC's "Freedom Chart" was no more than a deception by which the black bourgeoisie submitted the working class. This question is decisive because it has to do with the strategy, the program, the struggle of the working class and the construction of its revolutionary party.

We insist, there can be no ambiguities or half-measures, much less when the capitalists have waged a brutal war against the workers. These must be told the truth. What democracy did Mandela and the ANC and the union leaders who betrayed one by one the struggles for the liberation of black Africa speak about? "Pure democracy" in general does not exist. It is a deception. Democracy is al-

ways a class democracy

As Lenin said, *"Unless you want to mock common sense and history, of course you cannot talk about 'pure democracy' as there are different classes; you can only talk about class democracy (...) 'Pure democracy' is a lie of a liberal who dupes the workers. History knows the bourgeois democracy, which comes after feudalism, and the proletarian democracy that replaces the bourgeois democracy (...) The bourgeois democracy, which constitutes a great historical progress compared to the Middle Ages, always remains - and it cannot be otherwise under capitalism- narrow, amputated, false, hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a trap and deception for the exploited, for the poor."*

For this reason, we consider it a totally mistaken and confusing formulation made by the NUMSA comrades when they state: ***"The CNA government will only be able to maintain this program if it implements the Freedom Charter in its entirety. The resolution to expropriate land without compensation that was adopted at the national conference of the ANC last month will have to be implemented quickly..."*** *"...Unfortunately, the ANC has a long history of not implementing the resolutions adopted in its conferences. We remain very skeptical until we see decisive action by the ruling party in this regard."*

Because it is not about maintaining the same program as the ANC. Stalinism, Mandela and the black bourgeoisie did not betray the "Freedom Chart" but instead ruled with it, enriched themselves with it and strengthened the submission of our nation to imperialism with double and triple chains.

What revolutionaries cannot do is betray socialism, that is, the government of the working class and their allies: the rural and city workers and poor, which constitute 90% of the nation.



In the new party that the NUMSA is calling for, the defense of the Freedom Charter will be simply the bridge through which the Communist Party traitors -who want to wash their dirty clothes from selling out the workers and their allies- will enter the new revolutionary party; through that bridge there will also enter the pseudo socialists, the "anticapitalists" in word and servants of the bourgeoisie in the facts; both of whom will make the bourgeoisie enter to subjugate the workers.

When the ship sinks, those who sailed yesterday seek to get off quickly and, behind the scenes and back of the working-class fighters, what they are trying to do is a new ANC that saves the business of the bourgeoisie when they collapse before the eyes of the workers of the world.

We insist. Those who call to set up a Revolutionary Party, cannot reiterate the formulas of **"The Freedom Chart"** (adopted at the People's Congress, Kliptown, June 26, 1955), which states that "all men and women will have the right to vote and stand as candidates for all bodies that make laws; All persons shall have the right to participate in the administration of the country; The rights of the people will be the same, regardless of their race, color or sex; All the organs of the minority, advisory councils, councils and authorities will be replaced by democratic self-government bodies." Actually, the only freedom that the workers in the republic have from the Freedom Chart is the freedom to die of hunger. It is in those "democratic organs of self-government" that the new black bourgeoisie regrouped their forces to plunder business and to starve the people.

What the Freedom Chart says is a lie. It is a deception. No serious worker with a class conscience can believe it. The "rights of the people" are not the same for all, neither in South Africa nor in the world. The workers, the slaves, the unemployed, the immigrants do not have the same rights as the bourgeois and rich of this country. They do not have the same rights as the managers of the transnationals, the corrupt politicians and the white generals of Pretoria under the orders of the Pentagon and Wall Street.

The revolutionary socialists affirm that when the black bourgeoisie had the first opportunity to govern, usurping the power that was given to it by the working class whose vanguard was at the heart of the struggle against Apartheid - as the NUMSA comrades say very correctly-, they agreed with imperialism on the new ways of plundering the nation and exploiting workers. The reason is **the black**

bourgeoisie know very well that their class interests are contrary to the interests of the proletariat; that is why Stalinism was responsible for making the workers movement swallow the lie that there could be a nation with "equal rights" without defeating imperialism and its minor partners of the native bourgeoisie by way of a revolution.

The autochthonous bourgeoisie -as demonstrated by Mandela- is incapable of confronting imperialism, because it has one and a thousand ties that bind it to the imperialist bourgeoisie in all the business of plundering and looting the nation. The local bourgeois are "brave" when repressing the workers, but totally cowardly when it comes to even imagining having to fight in a struggle against impe-

rialism; because they know that for this they must mobilize the masses, which in the dynamics of the struggle will not only attack the imperialists' private property and expropriate them, but will do so against the whole of the capitalists, including the perverse and black bourgeoisie. What Stalinism and the reformist left propose is an alliance of the working class with the bourgeoisie, which means that workers give in to their demands and stop fighting against the bosses. The workers fight for the worker and popular alliance, where the proletariat rises as the leader of the oppressed nation, gaining that place through the street combat against the bourgeoisie.

The labor movement has nothing to tie it to imperialism or its servants of the South African bourgeoisie; it only has chains to break. **This is the reason why the work-**

ing and popular masses of South Africa need as their leadership one that calls them to set up their self-determination, armament and direct democracy bodies to conquer their political independence and do not leave stone on stone of the bourgeois power, its state and band of armed men; soconquering power for the exploited, to solve the pending tasks that the bourgeois democracy of semi-colonial South Africa could not and will not solve: expelling and expropriating imperialism, achieving national independence and recovering the land for the poor people. This is the path to take firm steps for the workers' and socialist revolution.



We must break with the Communist Party, which has betrayed all of our struggles; it is the undertaker of the workers' states and the supporters of Al Assad and Putin in the genocide against the Syrian people

In other of his sentences, Irvin Jim states the following: *"... In addition, the ANC has been empowered in its corruption by the leaders of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the COSATU trade union federation who continue to deceive members of the working class to support their worst executioners, for their own narrow and selfish political agenda."* Starting from this point of coincidence, then, the revolutionary socialists affirm that it is necessary to call the whole of the working class, and the COSATU base in particular, to break with Stalinism and the Communist Party; what would lead the workers to sweep away the ANC and its government, since the PC and the bureaucracy are part of it. Because we are not facing a *"narrow and selfish politics"* - a question in which we differ with the comrades of NUMSA -, but the - together with the social democracy- main counter-revolu-

tionary leadership, a traitor of the WORLD working class; for the Communist Parties are the sellouts of the greatest conquests of the international proletariat, as was the USSR and the working states of Eastern Europe. They are who handed over China as a sweat-shop of millions of workers for the sake of the export of the imperialist transnationals. They are the ones who have given Cuba to Obama and the US establishment who today with Trump can see the star spangled banner flag fluttering in Havana. They are the ones that have sustained all the regimes and governments of the black bourgeoisies that expropriated the anti-colonial struggle from us; **THOSE THAT WITH THE PKK BROKE THE MILITARY FRONT OF THE SYRIAN MASSES AND SUPPORT THE SYRIAN GENOCIDE** perpetrated by Al Assad and Putin, on behalf of the USA and other dominant powers.

We know that currents that speak of the "New Left" as

The emergence of the "New Left" in South Africa must be prevented!

the ISO, the SWP, and other minority groups, have written their positions relying on the program of "The Freedom Chart", which is none other than the same that they raise under the nickname of "Real Democracy" on which Stalinists, renegades of Trotskyism and various Social Democrats ally themselves in the same spaces with supposedly "progressive" bourgeois. Theirs is a program that tells workers that *"fighting for more democracy we can conquer our demands"*, while it has already been historically demonstrated that even to reach the elementary democratic demands of any semi-colony, as it is to break the political, economic and military agreements with imperialism, to conquer national independence and land for the poor people, it is necessary for the working class to impose its own power with the method of the workers' and socialist revolution. **These parties, whose referents are the Syriza in Greece (today ruling party) and the**

Podemos in the Spanish State have become, when not the direct applicators of imperialism and bankers' plans, a new obstacle the proletariat and the exploited must overcome to have prospects of success.

Against the postulates of the New Left and its vile deceptions of the workers' and youth's vanguard, the revolutionary socialists affirm that the question of power, of insurrection and revolution on the part of the working class leading all the exploited in South Africa, is a fundamental point in any program of a "Revolutionary Workers Party". Without considering this objective there will be no "Revolutionary Workers Party", because it will not be anti-imperialist or anti-capitalist, it will be a party that prepares for times of peace and elections and not for the class war that the bourgeoisie and its agents have declared to the workers' movement and the exploited.

Open the way to militant internationalism!

The workers' movement in South Africa must be re-founded on the basis of resuming the proletarian internationalism that the Stalinists undertook to destroy by supporting sectors of the bourgeoisie or recycling themselves as a new bourgeoisie. Recovering militant internationalism must be a question of life and death for the working class in any part of the world. The bourgeoisie could prevent the triumph of the revolution in the Maghreb and the Middle East, and today it comes for everything in South Africa. No doubt that if they finish crushing the heroic Syrian revolution, we will get worse and worse in Africa, Europe, the United States and the rest of the world.

The working class must recover its militant internationalism to face the class war that the bourgeoisie has

declared. We workers do not have a fatherland, only chains to be broken; we face the same enemies on both sides of the border. The Black workers are treated like second-hand workers, because in the same places that we were treated as slaves centuries ago, today we continue to do the worst jobs with the lowest salaries and terrible working conditions. That is why our strength is not tied to any Black bourgeois, but to the world working class, starting with our class brothers from the United States and Europe who in France face the labor reform in the streets. The revolution of the Black exploited is attempting to break through, with the workers and exploited of the United States that fight against the murders by the police, yesterday under Obama and today under Trump, with the Black Lives Matter movement, the movement for a minimum wage of \$ 15 an hour; with the Black organizations that fight to free themselves as a nation, and with the Black workers exploited in imperialist Europe.



Syria devastated

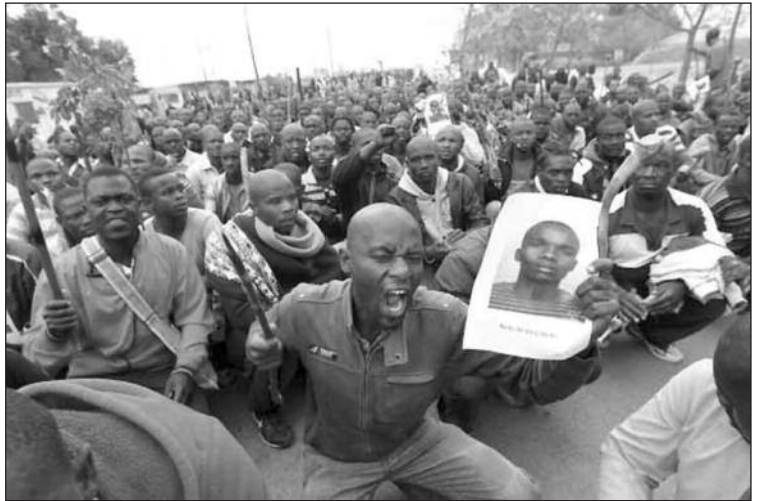
In South Africa, Zimbabwe, the Congo, etc., the working class of southern Africa is standing up facing imperialism and the governments of the "liberation movements" that gave up the anti-colonial struggle to become minor partners and employees of transnational imperialist corporations. It is urgent to centralize the forces of the rebellion of the Black working class throughout the south of the continent: **For a congress of workers' organi-**

zations from all over Southern Africa! To break with imperialism, to overthrow the Black bourgeoisie, recover the land and national independence and to make emerge the true Black, workers' and socialist republics of South Africa.

The forces for this have already emerged; they are in the streets, in the mines, in the countryside, in those who fight for water, and especially in the port workers of South Africa, who against the direction of COSATU refused to embark cargo for the Zionist state of Israel in solidarity with the Palestinian masses and their struggle. There, deep within the working class is the true tradition of the struggle against Apartheid, that regime of opprobrium that supported the Zionist state of Israel.

To take steps towards the unity and internationalist coordination of the working class, from the NUMSA it is necessary to call CONLUTAS and the Trade Union Network with 80 unions from dozens of countries to carry out coordinated actions in support of the Syrian masses, who suffer from brutal genocide on the part of Assad and Putin, under the command of Trump and other imperialist assassins. It is not possible that representatives of dozens of unions meet and do not call at the same time in different parts of the planet for an international plan of struggle to confront the imperialist pirates, the native bourgeois and the traitorous bureaucrats who tie our hands country by country and prevent us from fighting to defeat the capitalists. The example to follow is the strike of the stevedores of the Spanish State that beat the bosses with the help of the coordinated struggle of the workers of all the European ports in their support. Or that of the thousands of young people and workers from Libya, Tunisia and all the Maghreb and Middle East who left their countries to go and fight with the Syrian people against the genocidal tyrant and the imperialist octopi.

From the FLTI that is fighting together with the Syrian, the Maghreb and the Middle East masses; the workers of Latin America, the Pacific Rim, Europe and South Africa, we want to make the NUMSA workers receive our contribution to the debate established around their appeal to the construction of a "Revolutionary Workers Party". Well, we want to make known among the fierce South African working class and against "The Freedom Charter" and its policy of class collaboration, the program of Trotskyism -the revolutionary Marxism of our time that many pseudo leftists have long since abandoned to become nurses of capitalism-. In its "Permanent Revolution" theory/program Trotskyism affirms that, *"With respect to the*



*countries of delayed bourgeois development, and in particular the colonial and semicolonial ones, the theory of permanent revolution means that **the integral and effective resolution of their democratic aims and their national emancipation can only be conceived through the dictatorship of the proletariat, where the latter is wielding power as the leader of the oppressed nation and, above all, of its peasant masses.***

*The agrarian problem, and with it the national problem, assign to the peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the backward countries, an exceptional position in the democratic revolution. **Without the alliance of the proletariat with the peasants, the objectives of the democratic revolution not only cannot be realized, but even be seriously posed. However, the alliance of these two classes is only feasible by fighting irreconcilably against the influence of the liberal-national bourgeoisie.***

This is the party that the South African working class and the entire region need to succeed. A revolutionary internationalist party that will emerge as a product of the struggle of the workers of the world to re-found **the Fourth International, the world party of THE WORKERS' AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.**

**COLLECTIVE FOR THE REFOUNDATION OF THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL – FLTI**

**WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE (WIL),
OF ZIMBABWE**

FIRST NOTES ON THE 25/4 GENERAL STRIKE CALLED BY THE NUMSA AND THE SAFTU

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS WON THE STREETS ALL OVER SOUTH AFRICA AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ANC...

So demonstrating the hatred of the exploited against the government and
the infamous regime

COSATU BUREAUCRATS ACTED AS SCABS IN THE STRIKE BECAUSE THEY ARE THE IMPULSORS OF LABOUR REFORM

Anglo American and
black bourgeoisie's
agents,
Out of the workers
movement!



TO PREPARE THE HIGHER NEXT COMBATS:

WE MUST EXPEL THE TRAITORS; CONQUER THE UNITY OF THOSE WHO ARE FIGHTING AND A UNIFIED LIST OF DEMANDS!

**CONGRESS OF EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED WORKERS, COMBATIVE STUDENTS,
IMMIGRANTS AND THOSE WHO FIGHT FOR THE WATER AND THE DEMANDS OF THE POOR PEOPLE**

DOWN WITH RAMAPHOSA AND THE RECONCILIATION REGIME!

Down with the labour reform! Salary of 12,500 Rands as was demanded by Marikana miners! Reduction of the working day! Decent work for all! Free water for the poor people!

Expropriation without compensation and under workers' control of all the properties and lands of the transnational companies and the imperialist bankers and their partners of the local bourgeoisie!

On April 25, a new and huge demonstration of the forces of the combative South African working class took place. Tens of thousands of workers, despite and against the bureaucracy of COSATU, won the streets demanding the raise of the minimum wage and demonstrating their total repudiation of the proposals for change in the law on strikes, which comes to put a greater state stock (superior to the one that already exists) to control and mitigate the struggle of the working class.

From the little hours of the morning the General Strike was developed; promoted and convened by the NUMSA (Metal Union) and the SAFTU (South African Federation of Trade Unions), which also had the support and participation of the General Union of Industrial Workers of South Africa (GIWUSA), the National Union of Public Service and Related Workers (NUPSAW), the Trade Union of Workers of the Liberated Public Sector of South Africa (SALIPSWU), the Union of Communication and Information Technology (ICTU), and the Simunye Workers' Forum.

There were marches, pickets, rallies and roadblocks in the main cities of the country, such as Cape Town, Johannesburg or Pretoria. There were mobilizations to the government house and the parliament, and to the town halls of several cities. In Johannesburg, workers marched from the Newtown district to the office of President Cyril Ramaphosa and the Department of Labour and Social Development of Gauteng.

This strike coincided with the seventh day of national strike of bus drivers, who are in conflict with the employers for wage increases. And it was held at a time when tension is rising in the North West Province of South Africa, where last week there

were looting and violent demonstrations against the head of the local government, official Supra Mahumapelo, accused of "inefficiency and corruption"; an uproar that forced Ramaphosa to interrupt his trip to the United Kingdom where he had to "render accountability" to his imperialist masters.

If the general strike did not achieve its objectives for the time being, it was because of **the betrayal of the COSATU bureaucracy, who openly muddled the struggle as they promote and defend the labor reform carried out by the ANC, at the service of the transnationals and their small "partners" of the black bourgeoisie.** The COSATU bureaucracy prevented the workers from inflicting a defeat on the government and the infamous regime of reconciliation with the general strike and their street fighting.

Unfortunately, as happened with the general strike of October 2017, the leadership of NUMSA and SAFTU did not call for workers' organizations to break with the bourgeoisie and the workers' base to conquer factories and establish and vote their own delegates to a **National Committee of Struggle** to organize and lead the fight against Ramaphosa, the corrupt politicians, the imperialist plunderers and the set of the executioners of the people. By not promoting this policy of **self-determination and direct democracy**, the combative unions were powerless to win over the workers' base that the COSATU traitors oppress and manipulate to keep the workers divided and put them on their knees before the bourgeoisie. Nor did they help the brave miners of Marikana to untie the hands of the **leadership of the ANCU (mining union) that called for non-stop, at a time when hundreds of thousands of workers faced Ramaphosa and**

could do justice to that murderer who has his hands stained with the blood of the Marikana miners.

The COSATU bureaucracy can no longer speak on behalf of the workers. Each time their role as agent of the bourgeoisie becomes clearer. **But they will not go away or fall by themselves; they have a lot of money to defend they have received for the services rendered to the enemies of the workers.** It is the working class conquering its own democracy which must sweep away the servile leaders, accomplices and executors of the capitalist slave schemes. Only then will the workers be able to conquer the long-awaited and longed-for unity of their ranks. Only in this way and through this struggle, will the necessary forces arise to put on foot the "Revolutionary Workers Party" that the leadership of the NUMSA has called to build.

Down with the collaborationist bureaucracy! Out the Ministry of Labor, the state, the employers and their politicians of our organizations! Out the statutes and organic bodies of the bureaucracy and their state-ized unions! That the delegates go to collect the union quota around the workplaces in the factories and establishments! For recallable leaders and delegates elected in the grassroots assembly, which would be dispensed of when the assembly so decides or believes it necessary! Let the leaders, once their term is over, return to work!

The immediate task is none other than to set up a **Congress of Employed and Unemployed Workers and Combative Students**, to vote a plan of struggle that puts the fall of the government on the order of the day and also the dismantling of the political and military apparatus of this

infamous regime of transnationals and imperialist bankers. In this congress, the attendance and participation of the **committees of the unemployed, of immigrants and of those who fight for water for the people** become decisive to raise a united list of demands of the working class and the exploited. The results of the April 25 general strike demonstrate once again that it has become urgent and fundamental to unite all those who are fighting, because to meet our demands, however small they may be (such as an increase in the minimum wage), we must put end to the government of Ramaphosa, which has been voted for by no one... except for that puppet parliament where evil plots are combined at the backs of and against the poor people and all laws are voted against the workers, all of which are previously concocted in the embassies of the dominant powers between the CEOs of the AngloAmerican and other imperialist gangs, and the local bourgeoisie.

We must conquer a program of revolutionary action to unify the ranks of the workers and prepare a superior fight against Ramaphosa, the ANC, the imperialist pirates and the infamous regime of the capitalists!

Against the power of those at the top, the power of the exploited must be upheld. The demands that unify us are those that were raised in each of the mobilizations that shook South Africa this April 25. The time has come to unite them in a single list of demands and to organize and prepare a struggle superior to that which we have already starred in. It is about strengthening all those enormous energies deployed by the exploited in all these years of battles against the bourgeoisie and the state of the oppressors and showing them a path to victory.



April 25th: the workers marched on the streets

Down with the labor reform! Free water for all the poor people! For a 12,500 Rand minimum living wage, mobile according to inflation index! Jobs for all the unemployed! Enough of temporary hired workers! Equal pay for equal work! All workers must be registered and belong in permanent staff, and receive a wage under collective agreement! Opening accounting books of all companies! For the workers' control of the mining industry, with a workers' directory in each state companies, mining companies, and all the key branches of the economy!

To conquer bread, jobs, wages; land, housing; cheap credit for the ruined middle classes: **Out with imperialism! Not a single rand to the IMF! Expropriation without compensation and under workers' control of the transnationals, the Anglo-American, the mines, the land and the banks!** For a single state bank under workers' control; for a foreign trade monopoly! There is the money for granting cheap credits to the small merchants and ruined peasants! There is the money for public, free and high quality education and

health! There is the money to develop people's housing and a public works plan! Full debt forgiveness for the poor people!

Only the working class expropriating both imperialism and the new black bourgeoisie can guarantee an emergency workers' plan and thus remove suffering from the masses. To do so, the working class must arm themselves, set up the Workers' and People's Councils, the committees of ordinary soldiers, the workers' and popular militias, to expropriate the bourgeoisie and destroy its power. **Out with Ramaphosa and the ANC! Down with the Reconciliation regime!** Down with the officer caste of the Pretoria army! Out with the imperialist pirates; hands off South Africa! For a Government of the workers and popular organizations based on the armed self-determination bodies of the masses in struggle! For a Workers' and Socialist Black Republic!

Correspondent of FLTI

South Africa

April 19th, 2018

*In the face of hunger, the looting of minerals, water and land
Before the direct attack to the workers' conquests*

With general strikes and street fights...

* The ANC of AngloAmerican's partner, the millionaire black bourgeoisie launches a fierce attack against the working class
* With the collaboration of COSATU trade union bureaucracy and the SACP, the ANC wants to make the workers pay for the crisis with the labour reform and giving all the wealth of the oppressed nation to imperialism

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKING CLASS CONFRONTS ANC AND THE REGIME OF ITS EXECUTIONERS



Demostration of metalworkers affiliated to NUMSA

On January 1st, 2018, throughout its general secretary

**THE LEADERSHIP OF THE METAL WORKERS UNION
(NUMSA) CALLS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A
"SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY"...**

**Workers seek to break through to fight against their oppressors and expel
from their ranks COSATU's treacherous trade union bureaucracy**

The call of the NUMSA is a step forward to set up a new revolutionary leadership of the working class

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