



# Africa Workers Organizer

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The working class needs to seize political power, dispersing the capitalist regime in Greece, for the youth to have a future

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Striking metalworkers expose the Mandela myth

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## Editorial note

At the time of writing there are a number of class conflicts that are bursting out around the globe. This necessitates us to rapidly bring out our next edition and to work harder to help draft a programme that responds to these momentous events. In the face of the class explosions around the globe and due to the growing restlessness of the working class in the US, the bipartisan Democrats and Republicans have been forced to postpone most of the harshest attacks on the working class, out of fear that an eruption will occur on home soil while imperialism is battling to put out the fires of resistance in many places on the planet. We live in a period when the masses struggle for mere survival has turned political- all the capitalist regimes are threatened by the toiling masses.

In Argentina the imperialist puppet regime of Kirchner has shot down and killed 3 workers, whose only 'crime' was to occupy vacant land (in the region of Jujuy). The regime has to artificially maintain the housing desperation that is the basis for the massively over-inflated housing prices. The Kirchner regime is the agent of the imperialist banks. Hundreds have been injured but the masses continue to resist. There have been massive waves of strikes in Chile and Bolivia that shake the regimes to the core. In Malawi, the regime is under the control of the biggest cigarette monopoly in the world, the US imperialist company of Phillip Morris- yet the masses have risen up, 19 were killed a few days ago while the bourgeois 'opposition' opportunistically tries to hijack the dissatisfaction of the masses. The historic public sector strike in Botswana has ended in defeat- the lessons need to be drawn. The strike wave in South Africa has forced the imperialists to surrender double digit increases rather than face a united general strike- the Cosatu leaders have played a leading role in separating and isolating the struggles of workers- but the masses are only beginning to taste their strength. Behind the scenes the shameless public sector unions have watered down workers demands to only 8%- what a betrayal! At the time of writing the ANC-SACP regime is desperately sitting with their allies, the Cosatu leaders to try and end the strike wave. The imperialist-backed Syrian regime is butchering the masses- the past weekend saw over 150 being killed by tanks and heavy weaponry- but still the heroic masses fight on. On the 1<sup>st</sup> August over 100 000 municipal workers in Israel went on strike, supporting the tent city demands for adequate, cheaper housing in Tel Aviv, cheaper food, etc, implying a growing split in the base of the Zionist regime. The military dictatorship in Egypt begins to crack down on the masses who are demanding a 'second revolution'. But still the masses resist.

On the other hand, the fascist leanings of the world bourgeoisie have created a Brevik, who slaughtered at least 77 people (mostly youth supporters of the Labour Party in Norway).

On all of these issues and others we will comment on in our next edition, which we hope to bring out within weeks.



Never before, in recent history has there been such generalized hatred by the masses for the world capitalist class. The situation cries out for the refounding of the Fourth International. We call for working class activists to join with us to define the programme for the current struggles. On the basis of such a common programme, the Fourth International will be refounded.

We request our readers to give us feedback on any of the articles. Comments and critiques are always welcome. The new revolutionary working class party in South Africa and elsewhere will not fall from the sky, it has to be built, consciously. We will try to upload article to our website as we complete them so we encourage our readers to check it weekly. (website [www.workersinternational.org.za](http://www.workersinternational.org.za) ). Our contact details are on the front cover.

3 August 2011



The masses gather in Syntagma square, Greece

**Only by the working class seizing political power, dispersing the capitalist regime can the Greek masses have a future**

**From Tahrir to Wisconsin, Puerta del Sol and Syntagma squares**

**Greece to show the way to the world Socialist revolution**

Most of the world's 'left' and imperialism try to characterize the uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Syria, Yemen, Jordan as an 'Arab Spring' or as a revolution in North Africa and the Middle East. What they are consciously hiding is these uprisings are expressions of a world revolutionary process, where uprisings of the working class and fellow poor are threatening every capitalist regime on the planet- the entire world capitalist system is under threat from the prospect of a world Socialist revolution.



The 2007 crisis is still with us. In 2008 the socialization of the debt of the major banks, with the dismissals of millions of workers around the world, has only deepened the crisis- already food, housing and energy prices were high. The suffering of the world working class was rapidly increased. There is accelerating hatred for the regimes that act for world capitalism- it is this which has caused, in regions of extreme suffering, for the working class and lower middle class to explode onto the scene against their regimes. The world economy has not grown- the housing bubbles grow in India, China, Spain, Greece and many other areas around the globe. Imperialism has tried measures of reducing interest rates to still encourage housing loans at the speculatively high rates. But these measures are reaching their maximum- the world wide resistance of the working class has placed a limit on certain food prices and on how far imperialism was able to cut social benefits. But even the imperialist Bank of International Settlements acknowledges that the cuts in wages, in pensions and other benefits, taken so far, is not enough- in the USA the regime needs to cut trillions of dollars of benefits. 2012 is an election year so the Republicans and Democrats are jostling with each other (with similar programmes) over who appears as taking responsibility for the attacks [The Republicans want to raise the new bailout funds for the banks with 85% from cuts and 15% from raising taxes, while the Democrats want to raise the funds with 83% from cuts and 17% from raising taxes]. Either way, both stand for a huge attack on the gains won by workers over many years. Imperialism is acutely aware of the mass uprising in Wisconsin when the attacks were accelerated against the masses- they want to avoid an explosion all over the USA, that the mass occupation of Tahrir square does not reach Washington and tears apart the imperialist beast from within. Already the imperialist agencies are talking of raising interest rates and the possibility of large imperialist banks that have their tentacles all over the globe, such as JP Morgan Chase, collapsing under the weight of fake balance sheets based on non-existent wealth. The imperialist agencies acknowledge that every large imperialist country like France, Britain, Germany, USA, Japan are all at risk as are indeed the larger semi-colonies such as China, India, Brazil.

The crisis placed on the working class in Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy, is nothing else but a reflection of the crisis of the main imperialist banks of the world- the supposed bailout of Greece, Portugal, Spain, Ireland are nothing but bailouts of the US, German, British and French banks, selectively carried out country by country. Eastern Europe has been reduced to semi-slave regimes of imperialism.

So now we have a process of imperialist banks lending funds to Greece to bail themselves out- a process which is unsustainable. Imperialism has to collect it at some stage through a massive attack on the working class. As the imperialist Economist puts it- what imperialism needs in Greece is to smash the unions. (in other words, they need to smash the working class in Greece). In other words imperialism is starting a process, where to continue increasing profits (and really their crisis is not that they are making losses, but they have reached a limit of growth of their profits), they are prepared to enslave not only the Greek working class but the working class of the entire planet, for generations to come. The attacks by imperialism in Greece will be repeated country by country, across the globe. Thus the battle for Greece takes on an important character- a working class victory in Greece would not only reverberate in Europe but across all the semi-colonies around the globe. On the other hand, a defeat of the working class in Greece would embolden the imperialists to go on the offensive further around the globe- even in this case the working class would still meet imperialism with the most determined combat, so the further victory of imperialism is by no means guaranteed.



Inspired by the mass mobilizations in Tahrir square, the Spanish youth started to occupy the central square, Puerta del Sol in Madrid and other squares in cities around Spain from the 15<sup>th</sup> May 2011 onwards. They were soon joined by pensioners and their worker parents. These gatherings marked the beginning of a decisive break by the masses from the control of the traditional parties such as the right Popular Party, the Social Democratic PSOE, and the Stalinists. The PSOE and the Stalinists nevertheless treacherously kept the organized working class demobilized and out of the squares- leaving the masses isolated. The fake Trotskyists and anarchists applied the same mechanism as the youth groups in Egypt- banning criticisms of any party, and indeed banning all parties from the gatherings- in so doing their objective was to prevent a revolutionary proletarian entity from emerging, not only this, but it was through this mechanism that imperialism, through the petty bourgeois youth groups and the fake Trotskyists, were able to prevent a dual power from emerging. The SEP helped to isolate the masses by writing off the gatherings as merely being undemocratic and being controlled by the fake Trotskyists and with no policy to strengthen the proletarian wing against the petty bourgeois. The FLTI correctly called for the formation of factory committees and for worker delegates to go to the squares to contest leadership with their demands. Although the occupation of the squares in Spain has subsided for the moment, there is still the possibility that they could re-emerge in the near future. It is our task to prepare the working class vanguard to defeat the pro-imperialist forces in the coming battles.

### **The struggle for Greece**

Inspired by the Tahrir Square struggles and the Puerta del Sol mass occupations, the masses in Greece started to occupy the squares in central Athens (Syntagma square) and other city centres around the country since the 25<sup>th</sup> May 2011.

Greece is different from other countries in Europe in that here the resistance has been the most sustained and ongoing. Over the past 2 years there have been 15 general strikes. This shows that the Greek masses have not been defeated. It shows that the masses are starting to break with the Pasok ( the Greek social democratic party), other bourgeois parties and the Stalinist KKE. In the early part of May the regime sent fascist gangs into the streets. In the aftermath the masses responded by from the 25<sup>th</sup> May occupying the main squares across the country. Again the treacherous Social Democrats, the fake Trotskyists and Stalinists, who control the unions have deliberately kept the organized workers away from the People's Assemblies. And again the fake Trotskyist groups have attempted to impose from within the assemblies a policy of destroying and neutralizing any attempt to develop an alternate power to the bourgeois regime. The fake left want to turn these assemblies into endless discussion groups, pressure tools for the masses to blow off steam, to water down the demands of the masses, to contain the threat of revolution. The SEP dismisses these assemblies as being controlled by the petty bourgeois and has no policy for the proletariat to contest and dominate the Assemblies. Thus from different angles the fake left, the Stalinists, the social democrats work with imperialism against the masses.

In the beginning of these assemblies, the petty bourgeois were dominating- this was demonstrated by the masses chasing away striking workers from a state company that was being privatized. This no longer happens- those who now attempt to shout anti-immigrant slogans are shouted down by the masses. This shows that the proletarian trend within the assemblies is getting stronger.



The start of mass assemblies in Greece marks a qualitative new phase in the struggle against the imperialist attacks; it places on the agenda the seizure of power by the working class and the dispersal of the imperialist bourgeois regime.

### **On the treacherous role played by the EEK leadership**

The role played by the leadership of the EEK (Revolutionary Workers Party of Greece) leadership is really the most dangerous because they raise the banner of the Fourth International together with a programme that self-limits the revolution and, despite its call for soviets, leaves the bourgeois regime intact. The leadership outlines a programme calling for a 'social' revolution not a socialist revolution. Comrades, how can we change the social relations of production without the working class seizing political power? To put it clearly, the workers need to seize political power in order to change the social relations- the abolish the capitalist class and capitalist relations. The EEK leaders further outline, despite the opportunist use by the fake left of the call for a Constituent Assembly (CA), that it is necessary to still call for it as a means of mobilizing the masses. The very turning of the masses to the streets and to the squares shows a break from bourgeois parliamentarism- there have been 15 general strikes and each time the parliament has turned their backs on the working class and implemented the bourgeois attack. Under these conditions, to raise a call for a Constituent Assembly can only mean to turn the masses away from their own organs of power, away from the squares and back into a bourgeois trap. The call has to be for the dispersal of the bourgeois regime, all power to the people's assemblies- this is the path to the working class taking power into its own hands. Further, the task of dispersal of the bourgeois regime requires the immediate setting up of a workers' militia and work over the base of the army, to break it from the capitalist officer caste- the EEK leaders raise no such task, even in the face of the rise of fascist gangs which imperialism unleashes because they feel the proletariat breathing down their necks. The only conclusion that we can come to is that, despite its revolutionism, the EEK leaders policy stands for the preservation of the bourgeois regime, through a constituent assembly- and this at a point where they claim that Greece is imperialism's 'weakest link'. In other words, at imperialism's weakest point they play the role of a band-aid on behalf of imperialism- this is where their policy leads.

### **A proposed way forward**

To the rank and file of the EEK and other working class fighters we propose the following programme:

1. The central theme in these assemblies (which should be raised again in Spain, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Libya) is what steps are to be taken for the working class to take power, how to disperse the bourgeois parliament, and once power is gained, how to maintain it.
2. The occupation of every workplace and the immediate setting up of factory committees there, electing delegates whether they are immigrant, local, permanent or contract worker, unionized or not; For the setting up of workers committees in every street and block in the working class neighbourhoods; expelling the bureaucracy from the unions, reclaiming them to support the process in the squares for the working class to seize power
3. For all factory committees and street committees to send their delegates to the mass assemblies in the squares in the cities around the country- for the working class to place their demands and to contest for them;
4. All power to the 'people's assemblies' (or whatever term the masses have chosen for them), based on delegates of workers from the factory and street



- committees and the rest of the impoverished masses. This takes the notion of 'our dreams don't fit the ballot boxes' of the capitalist parliament, to the end. For a workers government based on these assemblies. Elected representatives must be subject to instant recall and not have the salary higher than an average skilled worker. This means the active dispersal and dissolution of the bourgeois parliament and regime; this means the immediate setting up of a workers militia which is subordinate to the assemblies and which incorporates the rank and file soldiers- the dissolution of the police and the army- the general arming of the masses- this is particularly necessary as imperialism is likely to intensify their sending of fascist gangs and all their repressive forces against the masses.
5. Outline of demands: - no repayment of the debt- repudiate it; nationalization of all the banks, centralizing it into one state bank, expropriating all imperialist and capitalist assets without compensation, placing the bank under workers' control; no retrenchments, nationalize all industries, expropriating the capitalist without compensation, placing these under workers control; share all the work among all who can work; confiscate the riches of the capitalists. For the sending of arms and supplies to the Libyan masses in their fight against the Gaddafi regime and the Nato forces. For material support for the Palestinian masses. The central question is who will implement these demands? The capitalist parliament? A Constituent Assembly that is based on the repressive apparatus, the police and army of the Greek state? No! It is only a workers government based on the people's assemblies, that takes power in its own hands, that can meet these demands.
  6. The experience of Libya shows that when the masses, arms in hand, are about to take power and smash the bourgeois regime, that imperialism will try to infiltrate the movement and destroy it from within and they will use every effort to smash the revolution, including military invasion. Thus the question of extending the revolution across Europe, from Portugal and Ireland to Russia, is immediately posed. Thus the question is posed of the masses, uniting immigrant and local workers, taking to the squares in Berlin, Paris and London and indeed across Europe, taking forward the Greek revolution as its example, combating the Stalinists, the social democrats and fake Trotskyists, posing the question of the working class taking power. [it follows that the capitalist EU must be abolished through revolutionary means and in its place the Union of Soviet Socialist republics of Europe be fought for]. Indeed the same example needs to be followed in Washington and Tokyo. It is through the working class taking power in the imperialist centres that will open the way for the real liberation of the working class in the Americas, Africa and Australasia. The enemy is at home! For a congress of workers delegates from Europe and North Africa and the Middle East, in Athens to strengthen, centralize and co-ordinate the fight for workers power in Greece and in the entire region. This is not to say that the explosions that are occurring in the semi-colonies and colonies should wait for the working class to take power in the imperialist centres. No. These uprisings should be taken to the end, with the working class taking power there, realizing that for Socialism to develop, we also need the working class to take power in the imperialist centres.
  7. Based on the above programme, for a committee to refound the Fourth International, meeting in Athens.

22.07.2011



## **On the disagreements among the US imperialist bourgeoisie over the levels of debt**

There is a split in the US imperialist bourgeoisie over how to handle the growing debt of the state. The world capitalist economy has long been stagnating and the US economy along with it. The US economy is parasitic on the exploitation and violent subjugation of the world working class. The revolts of the working class around the globe, overthrowing imperialist puppets, have also begun to place a limit on the parasitism. Already interest rates are close to zero in the imperialist centres- these and other measures are regarded by the imperialist Bank of International Settlements (BIS) as not a long term mechanism to stimulate profit growth for the imperialists. Even the BIS recognizes that interest rates have to rise in the imperialist centres. This means that imperialism recognizes that they have to turn on the working class in an accelerated way in the imperialist centres to keep growing their profits. The coming greater attacks on the working class in the USA is what is behind the split in the imperialist bourgeoisie there.

A section of the bourgeoisie represented by a part of the Republicans and the Tea party would like to put the full burden of stagnating profits on the back of the working class. On the other hand the section of the bourgeoisie represented by part of Democrats realize that if the full burden does not appear to be shared in part by the capitalists there would be an explosion of the working class that threatens the very existence of capitalist rule in the USA itself. Both sections of the US bourgeoisie agree that the major part of the burden should be borne by the working class but they differ on how best to achieve this.

The explosion of the working class and lower middle class in Wisconsin earlier this year when tens of thousands surrounded the state government centre for days on end, is a sign that the US working class is at last breaking from its conservatism. The Republicans tried to smash the unions while the Democrats used the union bureaucracy and the 'left' to betray the struggle from within. The explosion of the working class in Wisconsin shows that they are beginning to break from their traditional leaderships.

This is not just any working class, this is the arch conservative working class that has been used up to now as the bastion of US imperialist domination of the world working class. A radicalization of this working class, with it breaking from support for the imperialist apparatus, will threaten the existence of the world capitalist system, it will place US imperialist domination of the world and indeed world capitalist rule at greater risk of being overthrown by the masses of the world. Such is the importance of the factors underlying the split in the US imperialist bourgeoisie.

There is a fundamental difference between the current phase of the crisis and capitalist crises in the recent past. The past crises were economic, in the sense that the working class were vying for space within the system, for a greater share



of the surplus they were producing. Now the crisis is political, cuts in social gains, massive increase in prices of food, electricity, fuel and housing brings forth mass revolts of the impoverished masses that threatens capitalist rule (Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, Yemen, Malawi, Madagascar, Botswana, Bolivia, Chile, Algeria, Greece, Portugal, Kyrgyzstan, Portugal, Ireland, UK, France, etc). And further, this crisis is at once international- every capitalist regime is under threat from a mass revolt.

Since about the 17<sup>th</sup> July, hundreds of the Israeli youth have gathered in tents in the centre of Tel Aviv. They are demanding an end to the housing crisis- they want houses in Tel Aviv. The regime has repeated said that there is enough housing outside of the city (implying that more Palestinian homes are being bulldozed in Jerusalem and elsewhere to create space for the Zionist project). Yet the protestors refuse to go- they want housing in Tel Aviv, implying that they are unwilling to be part of the further destruction of Palestinian households. Thus within the arch conservative base of Zionism a split is emerging. Despite the efforts of imperialism to create a fascist elite that has been bought off with privileges, the international capitalist crisis has reached Israel through high housing prices and a lag in wages that cannot keep pace. Netanyahu has not been able to disperse the tent city by force- the entire Israeli population is armed- any forced suppression of the youth could be met with an armed rebellion against the Zionist state itself- the Palestinian, Egyptian, Jordanian, Syrian, Lebanese masses will not be passengers in such a fight that could shatter the main imperialist repressive apparatus in the region.

In the USA virtually the entire population is armed. A few months ago a desperate unemployed worker shot a Democrat senator- this is a reflection of the growing class hatred for the banks and their parliamentary representatives. The coming large scale attack by the imperialist capitalist regime on the working class in the US will bring forth a direct revolt- a threat of a tent city in Washington DC, a generalisation of Tahrir Square into the heart of the imperialist beast and the possibility of setting up a dual power to the imperialist capitalist regime.

In 2008 about \$12.8 trillion of the savings and wealth of the US worker and lower middle class was wiped out (and handed over to the banks); now, from the 16<sup>th</sup> May 2011 the US government has taken from the Civil service employees and the entire pension of the Federal employees and handed it over to the banks. At the same time, the US state kept up with its interest payments to the banks. Among others, the US Chartered Commercial banks, life insurance and property insurance corporates (who are still being bailed out) received more than \$88 bn. Even if the debt 'ceiling' is lifted, this further bailout of the banks means that the US government will force employees to work longer (retire later) to make up for the funds the state stole to give the banks; it also means that those who retire will have to make do with less. Homeowners in the US have between them \$10 trillion in mortgages they still have to pay off. The US government will be raising interest rates, which means another bailout for the banks. Many more will not be



able to keep up with payments- many will lose their homes. The youth, like those in Tel Aviv, will not be able to buy a house and will struggle even to rent. The children of the police, of the soldier, will also have no future under this system- the soldier will be forced to retire later. The war veterans, the injured and traumatised, will have their medical care slashed. These are but some of the implications of the coming attacks on the masses.

A system of demands, starting from the conditions of the worker and the masses in the US, and including transitional demands, needs to be developed. These should include demands for the confiscation of the profits of the military companies, for the confiscation of profits of all the companies and banks who directly and indirectly were bailed out with public funds. Expropriate all the banks, without compensation to the capitalist, place these under workers control. Not a single cent from workers pension or workers money for any 'debt'. Let the capitalist pay. Recall all the troops from all the military bases around the world. The enemy is at home! For committees of action in every workplace, uniting local and immigrant workers, whether 'legal' or 'illegal', for a workers militia to defend against attacks by the state and its fascist groups; for committees of workers and rank and file soldiers.

For the setting up of a revolutionary working class party in the US, as part of an international fraction to refound the Fourth International. 1<sup>st</sup> August 2011

#### **Postscript**

As we sent out this article, we heard the news that the 2 factions of the US bourgeoisie have reached agreement. They have postponed most of the attacks by 2 years, hoping by then to have put out the flames of working class resistance around the globe. They did not want to ignite a fire on home soil while still unable to crush or neutralize the current threats to capitalist rule that has become so widespread.

The developing of a revolutionary programme for the moment is an essential step to refound the Fourth International to combat this barbaric onslaught by world imperialism capitalism. Workers of the world unite- we have nothing to lose but our chains!



**Thousands gather in Madison government buildings, Wisconsin**



## **The struggle of the care givers in the Eastern Cape is a struggle against casualization and the structural adjustment programme of the imperialist World bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF)**

The Cosatu leaders claim that the government has broken from the Gear policies that have favoured the rich monopolies, and that they have embarked on a New Growth Path. The way the government treats the care-givers shows that the government is still casualizing and collapsing health care so that the big banks can make super profits out of the sickness of the masses. The population has grown from 38 million in 1994 to 50 million today and yet the public health sector has not kept pace or even significantly advanced to the goal of free, quality universal health care. This is the story of the care givers of the Eastern Cape:

In 2007 the Eastern Cape Department of health launched a junior category of nursing called Health Care Givers. During that time the MEC for health was Mrs N Njonjula. It was said that these care givers were going to be on a 2 year contract. During this time they were promised training as nurses, dental assistants, pharmacy assistants, etc. They were told that to embark on this career pathing the entry requirement was having a Standard 8 (Grade 10) and Standard 10 (Grade 12). Their duties were to take care of patients in clinics and hospitals, they would help professional nurses and assist with non-nursing duties. However the caregivers ended up helping everyone in the health department, from general workers, to drivers, clerks, caretakers, etc. All these years they have been forced to survive on a stipend of R1500, which has never been increased. There are about 800 caregivers in the Eastern Cape that we know of.

The first 2 years came and went- no care giver was given any training. The contracts were extended by 1 year. The caregivers united to form their own forum as they had common problems. There was no-one in the health department who was willing to take responsibility for the caregivers, so we made many fruitless efforts to submit our grievances from lower to upper levels of management.

Management did not listen and we were sent from pillar to post. The caregivers forum eventually took the dispute to the bargaining council, the CCMA. The case moved very slowly because the employer did not show up. The 1 year contract extension ended and we were told our contracts are now further extended for another 2 years. There was no change- things were still the same.

Only after we lodged the case to the CCMA, the training of a few caregivers started. No criteria was ever explained why certain caregivers received training, while most others had to wait.

We went to conciliation at the CCMA, a certificate was issued and the case is due to go to arbitration on the 5<sup>th</sup> August 2011 in Bisho. We went to the public



sector unions. They asked the health department about us and they say they do not know us. The health department gives the impression we are filling vacant posts but the truth is that we are casuals and the government is saving millions at the expense of the sickly. The health system is collapsing and the patients correctly say that the service at public clinics and hospitals are poor. Many, out of desperation, turn to private clinics, not realizing that the government is deliberately collapsing the public health system.

We have to buy our own uniforms from our own pockets. The patients come in and think they are being helped by nurses but they are being helped by casuals.

The government spent over R100bn on the 2010 world cup, they even want to spend another R100bn on the Olympics, but they do not have the few pennies for proper health care. The Cosatu leaders talk about a National Health Insurance but do not address the fundamental conditions within the public clinics and hospitals. It means that workers will have to pay an extra 10% tax and then go to a private hospital. So the proposed health plan is just another way to make the private companies and banks that own these private hospitals, richer.

Some of the caregivers have died, with nothing in their hands. We are exposed to disease and sickness while we work- we do not even have money to go to see a doctor- what can you do with R1500 per month? This money we have to use for our uniforms, transport and to maintain ourselves.

We need to nationalise and centralise all health care under the public sector, no-one must be able to profit from the sickness of others. All health care workers must be made permanent, with the same benefits. Down with casualization of health care! Forward to adequate training for all health caregivers! Forward to free, quality health care for all!

We call on all workers organizations and working class communities to support our common fight! The courts will not give us justice. Let us unite as the working class against capitalist exploitation.

Issued by the Caregivers Forum (Eastern Cape).

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1<sup>st</sup> August 2011



## 90 years of the SACP

Having started in 1921 as the CPSA (forerunner of the SACP), with a magnificent attempt at drafting a programme for the South African socialist revolution, its mistakes and degeneration along Stalinist lines have turned it into its opposite.

Having followed every twist and turn of the Stalinized CPSU (CP of the Soviet Union), with expulsions of internationalists, falsification of the writings of Lenin and Trotsky, expulsion of the left from the trade unions, to initial support of the Gear structural adjustment programme and now support of the imperialist plan for the economy, the 'New' Growth Path, the SACP has become the central agency for imperialist capitalist domination and slavery of the working class in the region. The New Growth Path proposes, among other measures, that workers wages be kept low in exchange for CEO's of companies reducing the size of their increases. The current wave of strikes, with workers demanding double digit (10-18%) increases is a sign of a total rejection by the working class of the SACP and its policies. Workers at the picket lines of the current strikes openly say that the SACP has failed, 'it not the vanguard of the working class', 'workers need to break from the government' and even further, workers are saying 'it is time to change the government'. This is no sentiment to support right wing parties like the DA but for workers to build our own vanguard party independent of the state and capital.

The workers see the SACP as part of the government, as part of the self-enrichment brigade that is part of the apparatus that shoots workers during strikes and which suppresses the rank and file soldiers (a thousand of whom are still on forced suspension) and their striving against the repressive apparatus of the old regime.

Thus it is fitting that the SACP 90 year commemorations include as keynote speakers, representatives from the Chinese Communist Party, the butchers of Tiananmen square. This same Chinese Communist Party keeps hundreds of millions of workers as slaves for exploitation by US and Japanese imperialist companies- such exploitative relations maintained by the Chinese CP on behalf of imperialism is part responsible for the waves of mass dismissals of millions of workers around the world. The slogan of the Chinese CP, taken from their former leader, Deng Xiao Ping, is 'to get rich is glorious'. Dollar billionaires are members of the Chinese CP. Another fitting speaker is the Cuban Communist Party, who have just dismissed 1 million Cuban workers and opened up mass privatization and handed over many of the gains of the revolution to the hands of imperialism. The Cuban Communist party helped suppress the left in Angola where 4 communist groups were massacred, where under the hand of Che Guevara in the Congo, suppressed the development of a communist party, even though there were over 3 million mineworkers at the time, and the promotion of bourgeois nationalist formations, that cut a deal with imperialism for continued capitalist relations and imperialist exploitation.



The 90 year commemoration of the SACP is a gathering of the millionaire and billionaires club. What the working class can celebrate is that workers are finally breaking from this parasite that is artificially sustained by imperialism.

In the heat of the battles, at the clashes with the capitalist class, the SACP is absent. In the negotiating chambers with the bosses, the SACP is present, not only in the union delegations but also as part of the management teams of big capital. Workers openly say- 'go to any head office of any big company, they are filled with ex-Cosatu leaders- they are the ones who know all our weaknesses- they are the ones who are killing workers struggles'. Vanguard workers are starting to discuss the building of an alternative to the SACP. The bourgeois analysts are openly touting Vavi to lead a reformist workers party to, like the Workers party of Brazil, they hope will give imperialism capitalism, a new lease of life for another 15 years.

This is a clarion call to the working class fighters in the unions and in the communities, to join in discussions with the WIVL, to develop a new programme for the Socialist revolution in South Africa as part of the world Socialist revolution. The middle class and even the section of the black middle class that are the leaders of the ANC and SACP and Cosatu, are incapable of fighting to achieve the completion of even 1 democratic demand- only the working class in power has the interest and will to do so (not through parliament but outside and against it)- this is the starting point of the programme. Capitalism imperialism, that controls the commanding heights of the economy, are organised on an international level, thus the second part of the programme has to be the international organization of the world's proletarian vanguard.

Forward to the refounding of the Fourth International!

30.07.2011

WIVL affiliate of the FLTI



**The masses resist in Lilongwe, Malawi**



**HOSTING THE OLYMPICS Vs ADDRESSING WORKING**  
**CLASS NEEDS**  
**SIMPLY A CASE OF BOURGEOIS Vs PROLETARIAN**  
**PRIORITIES**

The debate was whether it was wise and beneficial to the oppressed and exploited to spend more than 100 billion on building 5 stadiums and refurbishing 5 others, building the Gautrain project between O.R. Tambo International airport and Sandton, upgrading the national road network, etc. or rescuing more than half the population from the squalor and degradation resulting from capitalism-apartheid's exploitation and oppression. This was actually a debate of the contrasting priorities and needs of the bourgeoisie versus that of the proletariat.

Our article on the "2010 soccer world cup" in the IWO, Special Edition, Sept. 2010 exposes the fallacies forwarded by the ANC-led South African Government and its imperialist allies regarding the costs and "benefits" involved with it. More importantly, the real beneficiaries were highlighted and the burden of footing the billions of accrued debt was clarified. The repayment of these debts will be at the front door of the working class for many years to come. The possibility of resolving the problem of homelessness/inferior/inadequate housing and improving the living conditions of millions of South Africans (the oppressed and exploited from the previous regime/the more oppressed and exploited in the present stalinist/bourgeois dictatorship) in 6 years has been spelt a knock-out blow by this option. However, the imperialist masters do remember this act of loyalty, by the new ruling elite, where the working class was abandoned, to please them. Should the Olympics be hosted in South Africa, the "working class" will once again be made to foot the bill, binding them to poverty and starvation- "the least of the concerns of the peoples government"- for decades and the "freedom" that many sacrificed their lives for will remain a pipedream. Our bondage to imperialist dictatorship will be a reality and the prospect of that "freedom" a very sick joke. Fikile Mbalula, in his infantile/overnight acquired bourgeois wisdom, sees this as a victory for South Africans. Remember, a large portion of the R100 billion+ debt of the world cup, left our shores to bolster the not so vibrant imperialist economies and will still be leaving our shores for many years to come. Similarly, hundreds of millions of rand will be spent on the campaign to host the



Olympics and if successful many more billions debt will be incurred- just another nail in the coffin of the “working class”. The Olympics is also estimated to cost another R100bn.

**Imperialist bail-out = prolonged Working Class bondage.**  
Remember, the 2010 extravaganza, must still be paid for.

The time has come to expose these agents of imperialism and their plans to keep the “working class” in a state of poverty/ degradation. The time has also come for the “working class” to divorce themselves from those self-proclaimed comrades who have no intention of guaranteeing any permanent victory over hunger and starvation. Remember, a snake in any colour skin, remains a snake. Beware/Lumkela/Wees versigtig. They use their privileged positions to deceive/mislead the down-trodden who are willing to accept offers of assistance to be “free”. It is time the working class severs ties with these fork-tongued allies of capital. Cosatu leaders and the SACP unashamedly proclaim/swear their allegiance to the class which is diametrically/totally opposed to the working class viz. the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the petit-bourgeoisie. The working class and its allies must align themselves with the building of an independent, revolutionary working class party. Work with the WIVL to build such a party that keeps working class interests paramount- the WIVL is an affiliate of the International Leninist-Trotskyist Fraction.

The petit-bourgeoisie, on the contrary, protects their masters, (imperialism) by deceiving and betraying the grave-diggers of capital, the proletariat.

Please, please, do not get the wrong end of the stick. We are not opposed to sport and leisure. On the contrary, we will ensure that sport and leisure is an integral part of “our new society” in order to promote a healthier life-style-for all.

N.B. Our, “all”, most definitely includes the working class as a crucial constituent.

More importantly, our ultimate goal is the abolition of classes and the inherent contradictions.

**FORWARD TO A CLASSLESS SOCIETY-  
WHERE THE ATTAINMENT OF ONE’S FULL POTENTIAL IS  
NOT DETERMINED  
BY THE AMOUNT OF MONEY ONE’S FAMILY HAS =  
THE CLASS ONE BELONGS TO.**



## **Qina Msebenzi, Socialist Fight and Communist League of Brazil march with the imperialist agent Gaddafi against the Libyan masses**

The June 2011 edition of Qina Msebenzi publishes a highly contradictory statement on Libya- which is jointly signed by other fake trotskyist groups Socialist Fight and Communist League of Brazil.

A few weeks prior to this the Socialist Fight published a document on Libya which declares Gaddafi as the 'foremost opponent of Zionism in the region' and declares Gaddafi as not being a strongman of imperialism, he sings praises that Libya is the most anti-imperialist country in the region. (see our answer to him in our statement on Libya of 11.4.2011 on [www.workersinternational.org.za](http://www.workersinternational.org.za) ).

However in this June 2011 statement Socialist Fight makes an about turn: suddenly they acknowledge that Gaddafi was indeed implementing the attacks by imperialism on the masses. In other words, they now acknowledge that Gaddafi was the open stooge of imperialism for at least the last decade.

Now here's the strange thing: these red professors of Qina Msebenzi, Socialist Fight and the Communist League, want us to believe that imperialism wanted to overthrow their strong man in Libya who had banned unions and who was extracting a very high rate of profit for them. In 2009 Hilary Clinton declared Gaddafi as their long term partner in Libya. Gaddafi killed off his opponents- many have 'disappeared'. Despite these very favourable conditions for capitalist exploitation, Qina Msebenzi wants us to believe that imperialism would jeopardise such exploitative relations by now wanting to topple the Libyan regime. The Gaddafi regime was so highly regarded by imperialism that Libya had a seat on the UN Human Rights Council- a structure which oversees the plunder of the world by imperialism and covers up on its crimes.

The uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt began with the masses smashing the police stations and seizing weapons. The army was kept off the streets. Imperialism was getting jittery. It wanted to nip the uprisings in the bud. In the imperialist centres counter-revolutionary agencies such as the fake left (like Socialist Fight) help keep the masses off the streets and the struggles separated from the struggles in the semi-colonies. But in Libya the bourgeois opposition was weak because Gaddafi had annihilated most of them. At about the same time, in February this year, imperialism ordered their lackeys in Bahrain, Yemen and Libya to use brute force to put down the mass uprisings. Unfortunately for imperialism, in Libya, the army split and a huge section went over to the masses who were fighting the imperialist puppet Gaddafi. The masses smashed the state institutions in the East (something which caught imperialism by surprise) and were marching on Tripoli when imperialism sent mercenaries from Chad and Niger to prevent Gaddafi from falling. Italian and US imperialism were steadfast in the early days of the uprising in supporting Gaddafi. Only when it was clear that Gaddafi could not crush the masses and he had lost all credibility in their eyes, did they start making noises of being openly 'critical' of Gaddafi. Imperialism sent some of their agents, supposedly 'defecting' from Gaddafi to join the uprising, in order to strangle it from within. After a few weeks of manoeuvring, imperialism gained control over the command structure of the uprising. This control is still contested as shown by the clause for a so-called no fly- zone that



precludes (on paper) a military occupation by imperialism. This is as much a product of the resistance of the working class in France, USA, Britain as it is of the masses who are rising against the imperialist butcher Gaddafi.

Now comes the real gems of wisdom from Qina Msebenzi- they claim to form a 'military united front with Gaddafi against imperialism'. Now this is a very strange military bloc- Gaddafi has not fired a single shot or sent a single warship against any imperialist plane or ship. In fact the only thing that Gaddafi has done is launch military attacks against the masses who are trying to overthrow him. On the other hand, the imperialist puppet regime of the TNC has kept the trained soldiers in barracks while dispatching the lightly armed militias against the trained troops of the remainder of the Gaddafi army, to be slaughtered. The Nato planes have bombed the airfields and military hardware both in the East and West of Libya- on the side of Gaddafi and the militias. Nato has forced fighter planes in Benghazi to turn back to base and not to fly against Gaddafi's forces. Several times the Nato planes have bombed the militias too. Nato has bombed civilians too. Nato is playing the central role to prevent the insurgency from reaching Tripoli, from defeating the Gaddafi regime. At the same time the TNC is sabotaging the insurgency at the rear, already negotiating a deal behind the backs of the masses to impose a Gaddafi regime without Gaddafi. On balance, the TNC, Gaddafi and Nato are objectively acting to tire the masses- their aim is the same- to smash and eventually disarm the masses.

The military bloc of Qina Msebenzi, despite their high sounding very revolutionary phrases, is a bloc with Gaddafi and imperialism against the Libyan masses. Normally such hot air from the red professors could be simply ignored, but in this case they cannot be, because the Stalinist Young Communist League (YCL) has latched onto the slogans of the Qina Msebenzi and called for the SA government to send troops to Libya to 'defend Gaddafi and the Libyan people and fight imperialism'. Thus the Qina Msebenzi provides a theoretical cover for a criminal policy to help the imperialism smash the masses. We only have to look at the role of the SA troops in the DRC, where they protect the plunder installations of Anglo American, while around them 6 million people were killed, to see the role of the SANDF in Africa- a tool of imperialist control. The YCL stands with Gaddafi in much the same way as they would stand with Zuma or any other imperialist puppet regime, against the masses.

To the Qina Msebenzi, there are no other forces in Benghazi besides the TNC. The militias were set up before the TNC and while the TNC had to use all the influence and resources of imperialism to gain control over the militias, such control is not uncontested. The first step the TNC tried was to disarm the masses, under the guise of supposed 'training'. While there is a petty bourgeois influence in the militias that does support the Nato invasion, there is a left wing that is openly against Gaddafi, against any intervention by Nato and is against capitalism. But to the Socialist Fight, the Communist League and the QM, the militias are just 'CIA agents'. To them they bloc with Gaddafi against the very ones who are the vanguard of the fight against the brutal Gaddafi regime.

When the mercenaries and troops of Gaddafi were at the gates of Benghazi, it was not a foregone conclusion that they would defeat the masses in Benghazi, who were all armed, having tanks and planes at their disposal as well as a sizeable section of the army who had crossed over to the resistance. If the masses in Benghazi defeated the Gaddafi army on their own, not only would there have been a widespread uprising throughout the country but the way forward for imperialist intervention would have been closed (temporarily). The intervention of imperialism would have been openly against the



masses and to support the Gaddafi regime. But also the signal of the masses, with their own organs, conquering power through revolutionary methods would have ignited the masses in Tunisia and Egypt anew with what is required to conquer food and work. It would have inspired not only the masses in North Africa and the Middle East but the working class around the world, including the imperialist centres. This is what imperialism was working night and day to prevent. Thus they rushed through the UN resolution to invade Libya under the pretext of 'protecting civilians' but really to save the world capitalist system from socialist revolution.

The very invasion, with funding and all measures of support to the TNC helped support the reaction against the revolutionary wing of the masses. Imperialism is more concerned about crushing the resistance of the masses rather than maintain a loyalty to Gaddafi himself. Imperialism only poses to be against Gaddafi, the better to betray the uprising from within. And betray the revolution from within is exactly what imperialism has, for the moment, achieved in Tunisia and Egypt, through the petty bourgeois youth leaders and through the trade union leaders, with the support of the world's 'left'.

Qina Msebenzi and others do not answer the contradiction of why if the resistance are on the payroll of the CIA, did they allow Gaddafi to massacre hundreds of them in Tripoli, without lifting so much as a finger. Those massacred in Tripoli were mainly from the working class neighbourhoods- this is what the Qina Msebenzi covers up, what they want to hide from the world working class. The truth is that imperialism sat idly by while Gaddafi massacred hundreds of the working class and popular masses because their aim was the same- the crush the resistance of the masses.

Qina Msebenzi wants the millions who are suffering because of the pro-imperialist policies of Gaddafi, to just shut up and die in silence, to march with the butcher Gaddafi against the very militias who spearhead the fight against his regime.

The Qina Msebenzi falsify the tactics of Lenin and Trotsky during the Russian revolution of 1917 when the bourgeois Kerensky regime was faced with the Kornilov counter-revolution. The Bolsheviks never called for weapons for Kerensky, rather, they used the opportunity to arm the masses openly to face the counter-revolution and at the same time prepare the ground for the working class to seize power. Gaddafi is not arming the masses- in fact his army directly attacks any section of the masses who have arms, with the excuse that they are with the imperialist backed TNC.

The Communist League of Brasil, on their blog issued a statement on 2 June 2011 where they say that revolutionaries should march with the Libyan army and the armed masses. But the Libyan army is directly fighting against the armed masses, so who do the Communist League support- do they fight with the Libyan army against the masses or with the armed masses against the Libyan army? Or do they join the masses and the Libyan army and fight themselves?

In the section of the Transitional Programme on **The struggle against imperialism and war**, the following is stated: '*a correct policy is composed of two elements, an uncompromising attitude on imperialism and the ability to base one's program on the experience of the masses themselves.*'

Imperialism is using the Gaddafi regime to smash the masses as they are using their puppet regimes in Bahrain, Yemen, Syria, Israel. Imperialism is also using the TNC to



attempt to strangle the revolution from within. If we are to march with the Libyan masses, it must be with the militias, against the Gaddafi regime. Day by day the Libyan masses are seeing the reality of what Nato 'intervention' means- attempts to take over and hijack the actions of the armed masses to install a capitalist regime (which must mean that at every stage imperialism and its puppets the TNC and the Gaddafi regime, will try to disarm the Libyan masses- the few weapons that imperialism will give, will be only to those who they are sure will push a capitalist agenda). Considering that more than 50% of the workforce in Libya are immigrant workers, the first step should be for the militias to be expanded to include immigrant workers, to march together to defeat the brutal Gaddafi regime. Down the TNC- all power to the armed masses, expropriate the bourgeoisie and the oil companies in the areas controlled by the insurgency, placing these under workers control; expropriate the bourgeoisie in Benghazi and Misrata to get food and weapons for the fight against the Gaddafi regime and imperialism. There should be mobilisation for workers delegates from the factories and delegates from the militias to elect a central command, subject to instant recall, based on a programme to expropriate the local capitalist class and all imperialist assets, without compensation, under workers control, expelling all imperialist forces immediately. For a workers government in Libya based on workers and soldiers committees and the insurgency militias, to break with imperialism, expropriating the bourgeoisie, abolishing all traces of the Gaddafi regime, based on the defeat of Nato and all its lackeys in the North of Africa and the Middle East. Such a programme would immediately cause the remnants of the Gaddafi army to split and lay the ground for it to come over to the side of the masses. For international worker brigades to join the Libyan masses against the Gaddafi regime and the imperialist invasion.

For factory committees and workers delegates to gather in the squares in Spain, in Syntagma square and across Europe to prepare to occupy the factories and banks, for a Europe-wide general strike- expropriate all the banks without compensation to the capitalist- this necessarily leads to the expropriation of all capitalist industry- for a workers republic of the outraged in Spain, UK, and other monarchies, for a United Soviet Socialist Europe. Generalise the Wisconsin workers uprising to all of the USA- for factory committees- for a general strike in the USA- for factory committees- for preparation to occupy and expropriate the banks without compensation to the capitalists- which necessarily means the occupation and expropriation of all capitalist industry- all under workers control. For workers to paralyze the imperialist war machine all over the world- arms for the Libyan masses. For the building of revolutionary working class parties as sections of an international fraction to refound the Fourth International. Take the revolution to Greece, Europe and the USA, this is the way for Misrata to win and for the Nato forces to be defeated.

The QM and its bedfellows make a call for a Constituent Assembly 'based on these revolutionary committees' but remain silent on the key question of who convenes it. Gaddafi and the TNC are both opponents of any Constituent Assembly and they would do anything to weaken and dilute any attempt at an unfettered Constituent Assembly to meet. The only force that can convene it is the working class in power in Libya. And even then, the future Libyan workers government would only convene the Constituent Assembly to show the masses its limits, that the workers government based on workers councils, on soviets are a million times more democratic than a Constituent Assembly can ever be.



The joint statement makes the high-sounding promise of ' *we advocate the defeat of our own governments*'. Yet the constituents of the QM called for a vote for the capitalist ANC in the 1994 elections (thereby tying the working class to the capitalist class instead of pursuing an independent policy of building a revolutionary working class party) ; in 2010 the Socialist Fight no3 called for a vote for the New Labour (the imperialist party that co-headed the invasion of Iraq). This is a rather strange way of 'defeating' your own government- by supporting them!

Nowhere in the literature of the FLTI or LOi-CI has there ever been descriptions of the uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East as ' Arab revolutions' or 'democratic revolutions'- this is pure falsification by the QM, Socialist Fight and the Communist League.

Nowhere has there been even a hint of support of the FLTI for the TNC.

The QM, Socialist Fight and Communist League stand for arms for Gaddafi (like they would have been for arms for Kerensky)- objectively they are the ones marching with imperialism against the Libyan masses.

1.7.2011amended 3.7.2011

## Zimbabwe Civil Servants Salaries Raised

02-07-11 by the Workers International League (Zimbabwe)

The government has awarded civil servants an all-inclusive minimum salary of US\$253.00, from this month. According to the new breakdown, the lowest paid worker, who is in grade B1, will get basic salary of US\$159 up from \$128, US\$50 for housing allowance and a transport allowance of US\$44 and to be revised next year January.

This means the basic salary was increased by US\$31 across the board. There was, however, no reintroduction of rural and education allowances. The increment at least for now, is likely to defuse anger that has been mounting in the civil service, according to what a government official claimed. This amount still does not meet what the civil servant was demanding as they demand for US\$500 to meet the poverty datum line.

The Zimbabwe Teachers Association (Zimta) has been torn by leadership divisions which has led to the Apex negotiating council to agree to any amount that they have given by the government without consultations with the masses. Apex is the board formed by Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ), The College Lecturers Association of Zimbabwe (COLAZ) and The Zimbabwe Teachers Association (ZIMTA).



Since last year, Civil Servants were demanding for better salaries, talking about general strike even up until today, but this has not happened, this is due to pro-MDC and ZANU-PF factions vying for leadership.

Mean while The Zimbabwe Teachers Association which was opposing for the industrial action. They said that the fight for Civil Servants demands was not political, claiming they are not an appendage of the government or any political party and not formed an alliance with anyone, “*when we cooperate with the state, it’s because our minds and objectives meet*”. Zimta is at loggerheads with other teacher’s organizations, The Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe and The Teachers Union of Zimbabwe.

### **Editorial comment**

The first point to remember is that US imperialism and to a lesser extent UK imperialism control Zimbabwe. This means that, contrary to the speeches by Mugabe, he is the pointman for imperialism in Zimbabwe. The dollarization of the economy is just an open expression of what has long existed, namely the the US banks are really in control of the wealth of Zimbabwe. There are many examples we could use to show that the companies operating in Zimbabwe are controlled by US imperialism- we just quote a few:

- Zimplats is controlled by Anglo American (through Impala platinum)
- Delta Corporation is controlled by Anglo American (through SAB Miller)
- Merchant bank of Central Africa is controlled by London-based Old Mutual (through Nedbank)
- Hippo Valley estates and Triangle Sugar are controlled by Anglo American (through Tongaat Hulett)
- Portland Holdings is controlled by Anglo American (through PPC)
- Carnaudmetalbox, Crown cork, Hunyani Forest, Hunyani paper and packaging, Hunyani properties, Megapak Zim, Megaplastics, are all controlled by Remgro – in which the Bank and New York and US giant bank JP Morgan Chase have shareholdings.

Every year billions of dollars in profits leave the country while the masses are kept in slavery and starvation. Mugabe’s troops guard and protect all the imperialist installations. Many of the Zanu-PF leaders and their wives serve on the Boards of the imperialist controlled companies. Despite the façade of travel ‘restrictions’ on Mugabe and some of his ruling clique, they are the real mainstay of imperialist exploitation of Zimbabwe. Imperialism created the MDC, which rested on support of the trade union bureaucracy, as a means to capture the anger of the masses and to direct it once again into the capitalist parliament. Thus Tshivangerai is the reserve leader for imperialism, just in case Mugabe



loses total control. Now that the masses have seen some months of the 'unity government', they have started to break from both MDC and Zanu-PF.

It must be noted that the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which is centred on Britain, but organized in a number of countries around the globe, played the major role from within the workers movement to tie the masses to the imperialist MDC (which had members of Zimbabwe capitalists in their ranks from the beginning).

The demand for a US\$500 per month minimum wage is one which all sectors of the working class stand for; yet the treacherous leaders of the ZCTU and other trade unions actively divided the masses by letting the teachers and public sector workers struggle on their own- they deliberately kept the industrial workers off the street and thus allowed the 'unity' regime impose the plans of the imperialist World Bank to cut wages in the public sector (that is what the new \$253 minimum wage is- a massive cut in what workers should be earning). The fight to Socialism starts with the fight to remove the trade union leaders, to develop a programme of demands, which centralizes the struggles of all workers, unemployed, the youth. [see our other articles for an outline of a draft programme].

The entire region, Zambia, Malawi, South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, DRC, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, is exploited by our common enemy, US imperialism and imperialism in general. The wage agreement has won a small space for the regime, but the working class is dissatisfied, the leadership of the teachers unions and of the ZCTU have shown that they are in the service of big capital- they must be removed. Break with the capitalist Zanu-PF and MDC. Let us draw the lessons of Egypt, Greece, of Bolivia, Chile, etc, Let us build revolutionary working class parties in every country as part of building an international fraction to refound the Fourth International.

Let us expropriate all imperialist companies and assets, without compensation to the capitalist, placing these under workers control. Share all the work among all who can work, without loss of pay. Let wages rise when prices rise. Let us prepare the way for a general strike against the capitalist onslaught. For a federation of Socialist workers states of Southern Africa- for a Soviet Africa. Let us unite with the workers in the imperialist centres, in the USA, in the UK, etc, against our common enemy- the handful of the capitalist class.

Forward to Socialism!



**The Syrian masses on the march**



## Review of Trotsky's book STALIN

This book was translated from the Russian and edited by Charles Malamuth. What casts a cloud over the whole book is that Malamuth's personal opinion intrudes into the book so as to alter the actual words of Trotsky. Often one is not certain if these were Trotsky's words or whether those of Malamuth. Malamuth is a bourgeois and by no means a Socialist. One striking alteration is that, on more than one occasion, the text refers to the October revolution as a 'coup', a description, if we examine the whole of Trotsky's writings, he would never have used. Once alerted to the obvious bias of the translator, if the book is read with circumspect, it nevertheless does provide an amazing insight into the mind of Stalin, what was the origin and evolution of Stalinism and what are some of the essential characteristics thereof.

The Marxist Internet Archive (MIA) only captures the first half of the book up to the year 1917, saying that the rest of the book was unfinished and carries too much of Malamuth's intervention in the text. We disagree, once the reader has been warned about the bias of Malamuth, the text should still be made available and the reader should be left to decide for themselves.

We think the most important part of the book is thus ignored (deliberately) by the Marxist Internet Archive (MIA). We have for example objected to the persistent use by the Marxist Internet Archive to the use of text from Progress Publishers which consists of wholesale Stalinist falsifications, especially of Lenin's works- to no avail. They prefer the distortions of Stalin over the distortions of the bourgeois Malamuth- we say the distortions of Stalin are worse as they seek to falsify history to cover up the real positions of Bolshevism (as Stalin's policies were a direct break from revolutionism); whereas Malamuth wants to show that Stalinism grew directly from Bolshevism. The edited version presented by Malamuth, we feel, does give an insight into the objective conditions when world imperialism attacked the young workers state, when Stalinism and bolshevism were engaged in mortal combat with each other, and how gradually, Stalinism took hold over the defeat of Bolshevism. These conclusions can be reached despite the aims of the translator and thus the text can be regarded as reliable in general (although at all times the bias of Malamuth should be borne in mind).

For example the parts omitted by the MIA include the role of Stalin during the Civil war when whole imperialism was invading the newly formed Russian workers state- during this period the book exposes the role of Stalin in supporting the guerrilla tendency in the Red Army and opposing the proletarian influence in this struggle. So we have to ask if this section is really being left out because much of the left capitulated to guerillaism for many years and they wish to cover their tracks of a real linkage to the politics of Stalinism? Left out is the individualistic actions of Stalin which split the Red army forces in the decisive battle for Poland (Stalin marched to Lwow while the weakened remainder of the army marched on Warsaw- and was defeated- the way to support the coming



workers revolution in Germany was blocked by a hostile pro-imperialist Poland, and thus world history took another course). Further, what is cut out from the MIA text is the astonishing political conclusion that Trotsky comes to, namely, with the hindsight of the whole Stalin school of falsification and persecution, and the later revelation that Stalin had a team that deliberately poisoned his opponents, that Stalin had Lenin killed, mostly likely through the use of poison. Why is the MIA so shy about revealing this devastating conclusion? Is it that this revelation deals such a body blow to Stalinism that by their own close association with them, that they land up tainted as well?

During 1923 Lenin had already cut all personal ties with Stalin; he was preparing a devastating exposure of Stalin, was forming a pact with Trotsky to oust Stalin from the post of General Secretary; he had drafted his final testament in which he put as a postscript that Stalin should be removed from the position of General Secretary, when suddenly Stalin called an urgent Politbureau meeting claiming that Lenin (who had just suffered a second stroke and had lost the power of speech) had asked him to organise some poison (apparently because his pain and suffering were unbearable). Trotsky rightly questions as to why would Lenin have asked Stalin, whom he had just broken ties with, for poison? Trotsky answers this by saying that perhaps Lenin knew that Stalin was the only one who would actually do his bidding, or perhaps he was testing him. We think Trotsky was wrong in this interpretation- we think that at that stage Stalin had already decided to kill Lenin and all he was doing, was psychologically preparing the rest of the leadership for his death. Stalin had the most to lose- his control over the party apparatus that he had consciously built up over the past 6 years. If Lenin recovered, he was going to have Stalin removed from the post of General Secretary. Lenin was starting to recover. He made his testament available to the central leadership of the Party. Stalin could feel his days ending- he had to take his fight for control of the apparatus to the end. He killed Lenin and manoeuvred that Trotsky was sent far away (he was very sick at the time) so that he could not attend Lenin's funeral and thus a negative shadow of doubt could be cast on his absence. (Stalin lied about the day of the funeral- he sent a message that the funeral was on the Saturday and Trotsky could not return in time- in reality, the funeral took place on the Sunday).

Lenin had wanted a secret pact with Trotsky against Stalin but Trotsky was not as far-sighted as Lenin, once he realised the danger of Stalin (even though Trotsky was one of the first, if not the first, to recognize the danger of Stalin and tried in vain, for years to persuade Lenin about the danger of his politics). Trotsky wanted other members of the politbureau to be informed of the plan to expose Stalin- Lenin was at first against this as he feared that his plan would then be leaked prematurely to Stalin (which is what happened when Lenin informed Kamenev of his plan to remove Stalin). But at that time, despite Lenin wanting to use the party Congress as a platform to expose Stalin, Stalin was already in control of who the delegates to the top structures would be.



Stalin was essentially a petty bourgeois within the Communist Party- becoming an expert of using rumours and lies, putting different factions against each other; when moving against an opponent, he would always set up someone else to fight for his position, in case it lost and then his way would be open to retreat. He would use the right wing against the left; when the right wing went too far and threatened to unseat him, he used the rank and file to discipline the right wing. In order to show that he was the closest next to Lenin he had to cover up the entire history of Lenin's opposition to him- where facts could not be covered up, opponents were killed off. Stalin's position of Commissar of nationalities meant that he could build up support among the more backward elements of the party against the more advanced guard in the industrial centres. Eventually Stalin killed off most of the Bolshevik leadership who had led the 1917 October revolution. *'there is nothing so calculated to disintegrate the revolutionary morale of a mass party as clandestine unprincipled manoeuvring.'*-this was one of Trotsky's comments on Stalinism in practice.

Trotsky commented that Stalinism was so devoid of a theoretical standpoint that they used the arguments of the Right opposition against the old Bolsheviks and internationalists; when the Right became too strong, Stalin made a left turn, using the arguments of the Left against the Right. Thus the notion of 'socialism in one country' was a Menshevik platform used against the Bolshevik core when the rule of the apparatchiks was being threatened; elements of the platform of the left opposition was used to beat down the rising kulaks when they directly threatened to appropriate the surplus from the control of the apparatchiks. Bureaucratic control of the party machinery, using Marxist phraseology of what is a distinguishing feature of Stalinism- a trend that still poisons the workers and Marxist movement today.

Stalin used the kulak (rich peasant) against the old Bolsheviks and internationalists- the petty bourgeois flooded the party. But once the kulak started to dispute control of the surplus with the bureaucracy, the party machine, Stalin moved against them (his so-called third period, when he posed ultra-left in order to use the masses against the threat of his privilege from the threat of capitalist restoration)- he was brutal in his suppression of the peasantry.

The essence of Stalinism is the control by a petty bourgeois clique over the apparatus of a party or union or state structure, using communist phraseology, to control the masses.

Trotsky gives evidence that Stalin started off his political involvement as a Menshevik in Georgia; in his early circle years he opposed the election of workers to committees; he was proposing unification with the Mensheviks in February –march 1917, before the arrival of Lenin. He adapted his politics but never changed its essence during the period that Lenin was alive. Stalin bore grudges and never forgave anyone who crossed him. He played virtually no role during the period up to and including the October 1917 revolution. He was absent



during most of the days of the October insurrection despite being elected onto the 'bureau for political guidance of the insurrection'; he was removed from being editor of Pravda, having deliberately suppressed Lenin's correspondence and pursuing a line of conciliation with the Mensheviks- Stalin initially supported Kamenev and Zinoviev in opposing the insurrection in October. He was recalled (at Trotsky's insistence) from the front during the Civil war against the imperialist invasion – he was pursuing his own disastrous tactics. After Lenin had died, Stalin used Kamenev and Zinoviev (representatives of the Right wing of the party) against Trotsky and the Bolshevik core, Once the left had been decisively dealt with, Stalin turned on the Right wing of the old Bolsheviks, once they had realized what Stalin was up to, but by then it was too late- in the end the entire leadership of the Bolsheviks who had led the October 1917 revolution, had been killed off by Stalin (except the few of those who died through other reasons). While many of the Bolsheviks had been killed off during the civil war against the imperialist invasion, the party was now being flooded with the petty bourgeois and former bourgeois, with careerists, in the milieu of the intense tiredness of the masses who had been through a world war and then 4 years of civil war fighting the imperialists and capitalist reaction. During the same period the long-awaited for revolution in Germany, was defeated. These were the conditions in which Stalinism rose over the defeat of Bolshevism.

Many of the trade unions and Communist parties reflect Stalinist structures, where a tiny clique of bureaucrats, in the name of democratic centralism, exercise bureaucratic control over millions. It is a parasitic disease which still afflicts the working class movement today.

Trotsky was killed in 1940 by an agent of Stalin with an ice pick struck repeatedly into his head. Trotsky's response was that his killer be kept alive so that he could be interrogated about who sent him. Up to the bitter end, Trotsky was fighting Stalinism, knowing full well that healthy leadership of the revolution is a pre-condition to a successful revolution against the world capitalist system. Stalinism knows that beheading of revolutions is the most crucial part of the apparatchiks staying in power- it is this bloody conclusion that is the basis of Stalinist collaboration with world imperialism to control the masses of the world. Thus it was that stalinism and imperialism colluded against the armed masses in Europe at the end of the second world imperialist war, partitioning Germany, dividing the working class and ending all possibility of a socialist revolution, disarming the French masses and preventing a Soviet France from emerging, partitioning Palestine, creating balkanised rump states of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, creating Israel, to smother the resistance of the masses and keep the masses permanently divided; later partitioning Korea, Vietnam, Yemen, all agreements between Stalinism and imperialism against the possibility of Socialist revolution. Across Africa and Latin America, forming alliances with petty bourgeois forces, with guerrilla-ism, with popular fronts, subsuming the interest of the working class to that of the petty bourgeois, colluding with imperialism, against the revolutionary masses.



Many other Trotskyists were killed off around the globe- in Russia, China, Vietnam, Angola, Argentina, Chile, Nicaragua, etc, not only by Stalinism, but by the forces of imperialism as well.

Trotsky emphasizes that the works of Lenin should not be taken out of context- they were written as part of intervention in the class struggle and thus also had errors of judgment which he later corrected, inaccuracies in programme that he had not foreseen, it contained polemical exaggerations that were necessary at the time to combat reactionary tendencies. Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action. The same could also be said of Trotsky's writings that some on the 'left' take as a gospel and not as a living part of the class struggle being fought under specific conditions at the time.

We end off with a note of encouragement from Trotsky, which is at the same time a note of caution:

*'Bear in mind that in the years of reaction, in 1908-1911, the Bolshevik Party refused to launch a direct attack upon the monarchy and limited itself to the task of preparing for the eventual offensive by fighting for the survival of the revolutionary traditions and for the preservation of certain cadres, subjecting the developing events to untiring analysis and utilizing all legal and semi-legal possibilities for training the advanced stratum of workers. The Left Opposition could not proceed otherwise under similar conditions. Indeed, the conditions of Soviet reaction were immeasurably more difficult for the Opposition than the conditions of the Tsarist reaction had been for the Bolsheviks. But, basically, the task remained the same- the preservation of revolutionary traditions, the maintenance of contact among the advanced elements within the Party, the analysis of the developing events of the Thermidor, the preparation for the future revolutionary upsurge on the world arena, as well as in the USSR. One danger was that the Opposition might underestimate its forces and prematurely abandon the prosecution of this task after a few tentative sallies, in which the advanced guard necessarily crashed not only against the resistance of the bureaucracy but against the indifference of the masses as well. The other danger was that, having become convinced of the impossibility of open association with the masses, even with their vanguard, the Opposition would give up the struggle and lie low until better times. This threatened with complete loss....'*

Rarely has there been such a period in which there is such generalised hatred for the capitalist class on a world scale- the Tunisian, Egyptian, Libyan, Bahraini, Syrian, Palestinian, Greek, Spanish, Bolivian, Wisconsin, French, British workers uprisings and awakening resistance, all point to the coming Socialist revolution. The world wide fractions for the refounding of the Fourth International needs to sharpen its programme and head to the barricades, fighting side by side with the masses. 6.7.2011 This is a first summary.



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