

# Africa Workers Organizer

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## *First conclusions of the break with the IST*



**Workers strike at 2010 stadium in Soweto**

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## Editorial

We hereby introduce the Africa Workers Organiser (first edition), which incorporates the Workers International News and acknowledges the bold decision of the ex-International Socialist Organization (Zimbabwe) to break from the IST (International Socialist Tendency) and to commence the process of integration into the FLTI (international Leninist Trotskyist Fraction. The ISO (Gwisai faction) remains listed as being within the IST.

The primary aim of this newspaper is to expose capitalism-imperialism in front of the eyes of the proletariat in Africa today, as well as elaborating the internationalist programme and tasks of the world proletariat for Africa. It is from this perspective that we challenge the vanguard working class fighters across the world, to work towards the setting up a single party for the whole of Africa, as a section of a revolutionary International, a process of rebuilding the Fourth International. This acknowledges that the same imperialists (essentially French, US and UK in the main) are exploiting and oppressing the masses across Africa. This process does not exclude the setting up of national chapters which reflect the adapting of the programme for different national specifics, such as the differences between the North and Sub-Saharan regions, such as considering the different specific weights of the peasantry, etc.

### **The current state of class struggle and the international split of the IST**

With world imperialism having 'clipped coupons' to the value of over 400 trillion USD (ie 400 000 Billion USD), more than what the future generation has yet to produce, the capitalists are forced on the path to attack the current gains of the working class; inter-imperialist rivalries sharpen as the capitalist class goes on the offensive with wars, fascism, bonapartism; all their agents within the workers' movement are forced to discard their masks and show their true colours, as counter-revolutionary forces to contain the anger of the masses and to more openly misdirect their struggles into dead-ends. The possibilities for reform are virtually non-existent, even the crumbs to buy off the labour aristocracy are in short supply.

The central question is that under these conditions, the working class and a section of the vanguard is resisting the attacks of monopoly capital. Over the past year there have been revolutionary uprisings in Guadeloupe, Martinique, Greece, Madagascar; strike waves in China and South Africa, factory occupations and strikes in France and to a lesser extent Argentina, strikes against privatization in Mexico, mass protests against the Gaza 2008-9 massacre, mass ongoing protests against the bonapartist Iranian regime, the going over once again to mass strikes in Britain; Zimbabwe still simmers from the revolutionary days in April 2008; the masses protest against the regime in Guinea; the immigrants begin revolting against the slave conditions imposed by the mafia on behalf of monopoly capital in Italy, there is great hatred, unprecedented, for the Wall Street parasites in the eyes of the US proletariat- a significant proportion even favour Socialism, and this within months of Obama taking office. The Obama mask, held up by much of the world's 'left' (including the Bolivarian bourgeoisies as well as the Castrists), is a desperate attempt by imperialism to regain some credibility among the world working class.

The masses rise, while the reformist tendencies which take the place of the discredited Stalinist tendencies, so effectively used by imperialism over the years to contain the masses, are also exposed. It is under these conditions that the international explosion of the IST has taken place. The pressure of the masses for a real response to the attacks of big capital has shattered the apparatus of the IST (and now the IMT- International Marxist Tendency). We can predict a further

shattering of the 'reformist' and counter-revolutionary forces on an international scale.

At the same time the discredited, counter-revolutionary forces attempt to dress themselves up in new forms to once more play their role as agents of monopoly capital. Thus we have Chavez and other 'bolivarian' bourgeoisie leading the charge for the formation of a Fifth International; thus we also have the growth of (pro-capitalist) anti-capitalist parties.

The split of the IST (and now the IMT) means that imperialism has lost some of its key mechanisms to contain the revolutionary vanguard- on the one hand the IST and IMT kept the vanguard in the imperialist centres isolated from struggles in the semi-colonies and colonies against their own imperialism; on the other hand, they kept the vanguard in the semi-colonies and colonies isolated from struggles in the imperialist centres; thus the struggles for Socialist revolution were torn from their international path- the only path along which Socialism could be achieved. The real liberation of Africa, for example, is directly connected with the working class taking power in the imperialist centres.

While the IST apparatus has split over how best to control the masses, one fraction in Zimbabwe has taken the path, starting to integrate into the FLTI.

The shattering of the IST and IMT further opens up the path for the vanguard around the world for a real regroupment in a new Kienthal and Zimmerwald, to gather the revolutionaries and to disperse the reactionaries. The reactionary forces have been weakened, let us mobilise all our forces to turn our current defensive moment into an offensive drive against world imperialism capitalism.

### **The counter-revolutionary pact to contain the masses in Africa**

Africa, the world's biggest continent, is kept by the world imperialist division of labour as a provider of raw materials, unprocessed goods and cheap labour for the imperialist centres. Hand in hand with this massive slave camp goes the most brutal militarism by imperialism: hundreds of billions of dollars of wealth is raped from Africa every year, to the point of absolute starvation of the masses. 'Aid' is the crumbs left over from the super-profits extracted every year by imperialism- a cynical mechanism to regulate the rate of death among the modern-day African slaves. In the wake of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, French imperialism was displaced by US imperialism; the 2001-2005 war in Darfur was centred on US imperialism backing 'rebels' from the oil-rich south to push out French imperialism in the north of Sudan; the wars in the DRC reflected all the major imperialist powers scrambling for cassiterite and other metals for cellphones, laptops and playstations, over the bones of 6 million Congolese; US imperialism controls the bauxite mines in Guinea and are behind the suppression of the working class there; the entire Africa is cut in contested zones of imperialist rivalry. Imperialism is behind all the wars in Africa. Out of this militarism, most of the arable land in Africa is now under the control of the imperialists. It follows that any single bourgeois democratic demand, such as land, peace, bread, work, can only be conquered by the working class taking power in one revolution on a continental scale, as well as being inextricably linked to the working class taking power in the imperialist centres.

South African, Zimbabwean, Angolan, Rwandese troops have all intervened in various capacities on behalf of US imperialism in the wars in the DRC. The SA 'Development Community' regimes all formed a pact to isolate and starve the Zimbabwean masses when they threatened revolution against the local manager of US and UK imperialism, Mugabe. The popular fronts set up by imperialism (MDC in

Tanzania, the MMD in Zambia, the MDC in Zimbabwe) were part of an international strategy to behead revolutions from within the workers' movements. The MDC was propped up and given legitimacy by the IST, directly instructed from London, even during the revolutionary days of April 2008, when the masses had seen through both MDC and Zanu-PF and had threatened to take power on their own. [In South Africa, even though imperialism did not create the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, they certainly gave greater support to it at the time when they were in danger of losing everything, and such is the massive plunder of the working class, imperialism must surely be regretting not giving such extensive support to the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance sooner. Once the CPSA became stalinised in the 1920's they were a prop of imperialism within the workers' movement, beheading the revolutionary drive of the masses up until today. What changed in 1994 was that the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance became the direct managers for imperialism as the masses were no longer prepared to tolerate slave capitalist relations, nominally headed by the NP-regime. Crucially, when the masses were on an independent path against the capitalist regime, the IST, IMT and other 'left' supported the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, helping to contain the revolutionary action of the masses when imperialism needed it the most].

When the advanced guard in Africa, the masses in Madagascar, formed their own workers, peasants and soldiers' committees and expelled the US imperialist puppet, Ravalomanana, who tried to sell off one third of the island to Daewoo (US imperialism), the SADC leaders once again formed a pact to isolate the masses, starve them and to prepare the ground for a sharing of the spoils between French and US imperialism. However the situation is far from clear for imperialism as the soldiers have not been disarmed and they still declare themselves to be for the masses. The SADC leaders have repeatedly met in Maputo to try to find ways to ensure 'stable' imperialist control in both Zimbabwe and Madagascar. In other words, they want to get the masses under control in the region; this is the background to first, the brutal attempt to smash the unions for soldiers in SA and then attempts to buy them off through huge wage increases. The SACP and Cosatu leaders want the struggles of the soldiers to be channelled into unions only while what should be happening is the generalisation of the workers', poor peasants' and soldiers committees across Africa to face the common imperialism that keeps Africa as a huge slave camp- this is the only way. (The Cosatu and SACP leaders want the struggle of the soldiers to remain depoliticized, and limited only to wages and conditions of work; thus they differ with imperialism only on the method of controlling the soldiers). At the same time, as part of this counter-revolutionary pact by the SADC leaders, Obama prepares for direct military intervention by setting up Africom headquarters in Ghana. The US invasion of Haiti shows that direct military intervention by US imperialism across Africa is on the agenda. Imperialism uses the borders to divide the working class on artificial grounds, while they exploit the masses and play the one off against the other, to keep wages down. Cosatu and SACP leaders divide workers, promoting 'proudly South African' and puts SA worker against the Chinese workers and indeed against all other workers in the region- in this way they aid the exploits of JP Morgan Chase and others.

**We are in the process of developing a programme for the revolution in Africa; elements of this programme should include:**

1. Expelling of all imperialist military bases from Africa
2. Seizing of all imperialist assets, without compensation, and placing them under workers control
3. nationalizing all the land and expropriation without compensation, under workers control of all commercial farms

4. centralizing all banks into one, expropriating the imperialists without compensation, under workers control
5. arming of the masses to defend against imperialist reaction
6. the formation of workers, poor peasants and soldiers' committees to spearhead the fight against imperialist-capitalist relations in Africa;
7. sliding scale of hours and wages- share all work among all who can work, across Africa and in the imperialist centres, without loss of pay (the demand for a continental sharing of work will help undercut the artificial nationalist divisions that imperialism uses to drive down wages by putting worker against worker- it will also unite workers from across the continent against the handful of imperialists); increase wages when prices increase;
8. Defeat the trade union bureaucracies;
9. Split with the local bourgeoisie and pro-imperialist forces;
10. Forward to a federation of Southern African Socialist states; Forward to a Federation of North African Socialist states;
11. Forward to Soviet Africa
12. We need to develop a set of democratic, transitional and socialist demands as part of one African revolution, as well as show the inextricable link between the revolution in Africa and the working class taking power in the imperialist centres; only the working class taking power has the political will to solve the land hunger of the poor peasants.

**Remaining central questions to discuss with the ex-ISO (Zimbabwe) group that has decided to engage the FLTI:**

1. The Transitional programme and the permanent revolution, its method and relevance for Africa;
2. the path to power and the dictatorship of the proletariat
3. The class basis and position of the IST with reference to key acid tests, such as the second world imperialist war, 'neither Washington nor Moscow' policy, the fall of the Berlin wall, 'neither Washington nor Beijing'
4. vanguard proletarian party versus mass reformist party.
5. the ISO (US) as a continuation of Cliffism and that contains the masses through the unions, whose leadership are in alliance with the very imperialism that uses the face of Obama to advance their world hegemony and barbarism.



# FIRST CONCLUSIONS ON OUR SPLIT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST TENDENCY (IST)

Revolutionary Greetings Comrades of the base of the IST and the world proletariat in general:

We write to you as we have faith in the working class and see it as our revolutionary duty to inform you of our experiences at the hands of the leadership of the IST (international Socialist Tendency) and their counter-revolutionary role in Africa. We have gone through bitter experiences, having ourselves committed a number of errors, which in part we lay at the door of the IST leadership and its programme. These are our first conclusions.

## **The role of Stalinism in Africa**

After the second imperialist world war, Stalinism disarmed the working class across Europe, being tasked by imperialism to behead and defeat the revolution in Europe and the colonies and semicolonies; as part of this policy to contain revolution against imperialism they promoted Pan-Africanism as the main means to control the working class in Africa. While mouthing Socialist phrases, the indigenous 'liberation movements' were nothing but vehicles of the suppressed African middle class and aspiring bourgeoisie, riding on the backs of the working class and poor peasantry. Stalinism sacrificed the independent organization of the proletariat and its programme for its support for bourgeois nationalism (instead of supporting struggles against imperialism on the basis of the proletarian programme).

During the period of the second imperialist world war and in the period thereafter the Fourth International was betrayed from within by Pablist forces that submitted before Stalinism and its programme of the popular fronts- in essence, the burying of the proletarian programme and placing the leadership of the socialist revolution in the hands of non-proletarian forces and reformists. Objectively, the conditions for socialist revolution existed in Europe, with an armed proletariat amid mass destruction of the means of production. Under these conditions of extreme crisis, the support by the Pablists of Popular Fronts that spearheaded the physical and political disarming of the masses, was a betrayal not only of the Fourth International but also of the world revolution. The Pablist capitulation to non-proletarian forces is the direct origin of the Cliffism which is at the centre of the programme of the IST.

The dominance and control of the world by monopoly capital meant that imperialism could not tolerate the completion of the bourgeois democratic demands in Africa and indeed monopoly capital was the chief obstacle in the way. The granting of full democratic rights to any part of Africa would mean ceding ground, willingly, to an indigenous competitor and the surrendering of huge fields of profit. When the African masses rose and refused to tolerate direct colonial rule as well as virtual slave capitalist relations in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, imperialism was forced to search for new forms of control. The granting of political 'independence' to the masses meant imperialism ruling indirectly through Pan Africanists. Such was the nature of the Lancaster House agreement that led to Zimbabwe's nominal independence in 1980, in effect imperialism now ruled through its new lackey, Mugabe and the Zanu-PF. Twenty percent of the seats in parliament were guaranteed to the privileged whites, as well as the protection of private property relations (ie the control by imperialism), for a period of 10 years. Today Zimbabwe still uses the Lancaster house constitution (although with many amendments). To Callinicos and the IST, 1980 represented a transition to 'majority rule'. Such was the

start of the IST's hiding of the real class relations in Zimbabwe, namely that the real masters were still imperialism, mainly UK and US imperialism.

The capitulation of the Pabloists, the IST and other renegades of Trotskyism to Stalinism and Castrism, directly propped up Pan Africanism and thus gave imperialism a new lease of life in Africa.

### **The decline of Pan Africanism and the role of the IST**

The masses in Africa had to suffer several decades of brutal military dictatorships, under the jackboot of Pan Africanism and Stalinism, before, slowly the masses started to cast off their illusions. In Zambia and Zimbabwe, the masses were among the first to challenge their imperialist puppets. Imperialism realized that their control, in partnership with Stalinism, through Pan Africanism, was being threatened; they decided to back, as they have done around the world, the creation of popular fronts, as an insurance policy in the event of their puppets being overthrown. (In the case of South Africa it was slave capitalist relations that was being threatened by the masses). Imperialism started to also back the MMD in Zambia, the ANC in South Africa, and the MDC in Zimbabwe. In the run up to the 1994 elections in South Africa, the IST, along with other renegades of Trotskyism, gave support to the ANC, helping to contain the revolutionary masses. Whereas the ANC was directly propped up by the Stalinist SACP, the MDC in Tanzania, the MDC in Zimbabwe and the MMD in Zambia were all direct creations of imperialism to contain the revolutionary African masses- it was part of an international policy, directed by the old ICFTU, the trade union leadership in the imperialist centres, on behalf of imperialism itself. It was the policy of UK and US imperialism to contain the masses.

Crucially, at a time when Pan Africanism was discredited in the eyes of the African masses, the left propped up the MDC, gave them a respectability which they did not have, all in the name of being with the masses, irrespective of the programme they had. What we realize now is that the former counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism is now being played by the IST and others on the left, to contain the struggle of the masses within bourgeois limits. The support that the IST has given over the decades to the bourgeois Labour Party in Britain or to the reformist Respect, turns the revolutionary anger of the masses onto the parliamentary road and thus acts as a paramedic to keep imperialist rule intact, over the bones of the immigrant workers in the imperialist centres and over the bodies of the masses in the semi-colonies. The Labour Party in Britain has always been the party of UK imperialism while Respect is an opportunist grouping of a section of the muslim middle class in Britain with the SWP (UK), riding on the antiwar sentiment of the masses in Britain but channeling the anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses into elections instead of launching a broader struggle to defeat and overthrow UK imperialism. It is an extension of this same policy of the IST in the semi-colonies and neo-colonies that has also had disastrous consequences. The Permanent revolution as outlined by Trotsky, namely that in the imperialist epoch, in the neo-colonial world, the completion of the democratic demands of the proletarian programme can only be achieved by the working class taking power, is confirmed over and over again in Zimbabwe. The policy of the IST, through its support of popular fronts, of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, of the MDC and the pro-imperialist petty bourgeoisie, breaks with the permanent revolution contributing to permanent misery of the working class and poor peasantry. This is the essence of why we have, through bitter experience, decided to break with the IST, a current reflecting the interests of the labour aristocracy in Britain and other centres around the globe.

### **Conditions in Zimbabwe today**

As we write this to you the Zimbabwean situation has not changed, despite the inception of the new Administration. Many ordinary citizens have so much illusions in the Government of National Unity (GNU), also referred as the Inclusive Government. Their high expectations were informed by pre-election utterances by the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). To the ordinary labouring masses of Zimbabwe the GNU to them was or is equivalent to an MDC government. Therefore the failure of the government to deliver is also taken as an MDC failure. Imperialism faces a serious crisis of legitimacy as their current agents, the MDC and Zanu-PF are completely discredited in the eyes of the masses. Under these conditions, imperialism has raised the prospect of Constitutional reform as a means to buy time to prepare new mechanisms to exercise control over the masses. Whichever party comes into power as a result of this 'constitutional reform' will only continue to attack the masses on behalf of imperialism. The recent past of Zimbabwe, the bombing of the masses in Yemen, the coup in Honduras, the military invasion of Haiti – all reflections of the current Obama policy (the current strategy of US imperialism), all prove this.

The current tug of war over the constitutional reform currently under way has further exposed the incapacity of the MDC to deal with the broad expectations of the masses. Thanks to the global political agreement (creating the unity government between the Zanu-PF and MDC) signed in September 2008, it has indeed done us a great service by fast-forwarding the events that might have taken us more time to really expose the MDC in its true class role. The MDC was by birth a bourgeoisie party funded and controlled by imperialism. Members from the Zimbabwe Chamber of Business were on their executive from the beginning. The first principle of the MDC is amnesty to the fascist killers in the state apparatus- they know full well that they will also need these forces as a last resort to crush the masses in the event of any serious threat to imperialist rule. The IST knew from the beginning that the MDC was not even a labour party but they directed us to enter it on a long term basis. Looking back now we can see that at its early stages of formation it posed as a working class party but did not have a working class agenda. Its aim was to capture the revolutionary efforts of the masses to get rid of the hated Zanu-PF regime and divert them onto a capitalist basis. In other words, the MDC was a counter-revolutionary agency of imperialism. MDC was not a United Front party as the IST claimed but a Popular Front, it's a broad church, where you find the conflicting class interests sitting side by side. If it was really a worker's party, its manifesto could have read otherwise. In comparison both MDC and Zanu (PF) manifestos are ideologically the same except on the land redistribution programme, where the MDC is to the right of Zanu-PF, though it was not dealt in good faith by Zanu (PF), reflecting their own opportunism. Both parties' economic policies point to one direction – pro-imperialism. In short the MDC and some petty-bourgeois socialist preaching socialist phrases in Zimbabwe have fooled the masses for a while, with the help of the IST. In actual fact the MDC diverted a possible revolution in Zimbabwe in 1999 as well as 2008. If we truthfully agree that the MDC is funded by western imperialism then why do we waste our time by arguing whether it is or was a workers' party, yet we all know that capitalist will never fund, knowingly or unknowingly, an opposing element.

We therefore wish to correct or admit that we were wrong to suggest that a working class movement was built through the MDC in Zimbabwe. What was formed is just another capitalist party, in fact a reactionary party. Reactionary in the sense that it intended to reverse some policies implemented by Zanu (PF) seen as exclusive. Exclusive in that the process of implementing these policies affects or sidelines other elites on partisan lines. So it was or is still a fight over who gets the crumbs from imperialism for managing their control of the natural resources. When we pointed out to the IST leaders that the MDC had adopted the structural adjustment programme of

imperialism, Callinicos advised us to not be so hasty as we had a parliamentarian (in the name of Gwisai). We should have been building an independent, internationalist party, based on the reality of US and UK imperialism- the same monopolies control Zimbabwe as control South Africa and indeed most of Southern Africa. A revolutionary International would have waged an implacable struggle against US and UK imperialism on their own home ground. But the opportunist tailing by the IST of Stalinism and of popular fronts like the MDC, tore our programme from the internationalist road and confined it, in neo-stalinist fashion, to a policy of socialism in one country. We hardly knew what the IST was doing in Britain as part of advancing the Zimbabwe socialist revolution, besides holding occasional talkshops and listing us as an address on the website. In times of uprising of 1999 and 2008 were times when there should have been calls for councils of workers, unemployed, poor peasants and rank and file soldiers, such as occurred last year in Madagascar; instead all we received was: put your faith in the MDC and parliamentary elections; in other words, in times of revolutionary crisis, the IST acted as a left face to contain and isolate the Zimbabwean and Southern African revolution. Truly speaking, the spark in Zimbabwe was the spark for the Southern African revolution but the policy of the IST left the heroic masses who spearheaded the fight against the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the IMF in Africa, isolated.

A close look at the recently adopted country's 'economic recovery strategy' confirms our reflections. The short term economic recovery programme document, which was widely recommended mostly by British imperialist Institutions as a vehicle to economic recovery in Zimbabwe, is very clear about the intentions of the government. The strategy is anti-working class, it exonerates the government from fulfilling its integral obligation of providing for the vast majority of the working class and poor peasantry. It instead promotes privatization as the major tool for 'improving capacity utilization'.

Comrades as you might be aware Zimbabwe has received over US\$500 million from the IMF in breach of the sections of ZIDERA (Zimbabwe Democratic Economic Recovery Act). ZIDERA denies Zimbabwe from accessing loans from the International Financial Institutions. One wonders what will be the intentions of IMF when it deliberately breaches its own laws. It shows that the real imperialist concern is not democratic aspirations of the masses but absolute control over super-profits. The fight between Zimbabwe's main political parties is not over the terrible effects of receiving such money (such as further attacks on the working class through cuts in services) but is over the control of the money and who receives the crumbs from imperialism for carrying out their brutal plans. Already some MDC officials are being paid by the World Bank, creating what is commonly referred to as a parallel government. The crisis of imperialism is so deep that they, at times, even lose the pretence of semi-colonial governments being independent.

History shall harshly judge us for ideological dishonesty. This is because the reasons that saw us actively participating in MDC activities were wrong. Particularly that we had argued that it was a nearer to workers' party by virtue of it being massively supported by the working people who were itching for change after being subjected to the effects of the economic and political crisis that have hounded the country for over a decade, so we could change the direction of the party. This implies that we had illusions in this arrangement and created illusions that the middle class and capitalist class could advance the struggle for the democratic aspirations of the masses; no matter that we later on disengaged from the MDC. Disengagement in itself further confused the working class who still had illusions that the MDC was the vehicle for fighting their number one opposing enemy – the owners of the means of production. We believe and share the same view that workers must build an

independent councils of workers, poor peasants and soldiers as in Madagascar and an internationalist workers' party if the objective of attaining a workers' government can be achieved. We are opposed to any form of united front when forming a workers' party. For a workers party of the Bolshevik type to play a vanguard role in the struggle it has to have working class interests in its programme and in its composition; and not a shred of the interests of the capitalist class nor any of its supporters (in the middle class or even within the working class). Such a vanguard party has to centralise all the experience of the class struggle on a global scale-imperialism centralizes all its forces against the world working class and can only be defeated through a centralized organ of the world proletariat. It immediately means building a single party of the proletariat across Africa as part of a revolutionary International. We realize now that unless we conquer imperialism across Africa and in the imperialist centres, our struggles will be limited and unlikely to hold out for any extensive period. We will definitely apply a united front strategy on issues such as campaigns in order to unmask before the eyes of the masses all the pro-capitalist forces. This is perhaps the crux of the Zimbabwean political discourse (national 'socialism' versus international socialism).

Already we are seeing attempts on a world scale, not only in Zimbabwe and South Africa, to build 'anti-capitalist' parties. Again we don't think this is the way forward to attain workers' power. These parties, just like other failed social-democrats, are reformist controlled and funded by big business to keep the organisation of the society under the control or orders of capitalism-imperialism. In actual fact they are there to misdirect possible socialist revolution. Their actions are nothing but the strangulation of working class power. The alternative to workers' power is barbarism. The objective social conditions are very much in favour of a possible revolution in the near future. The system of capitalism is under immense pressure to reform. Through the anti-capitalist parties, imperialism is formulating an international policy to once again contain the mass uprisings they know are coming.

In Zimbabwe, after the failure of the MDC to depose Zanu (PF) and take political power, with the growing resentment amongst the working class as evidenced by recent strikes by civil servants and workers in the private sector and the growing realisation by the majority of the working class and poor peasantry that the MDC would never deliver, the capitalists are it again. They intend to use the constitutional reform process currently underway to assess the mood of the people; once satisfied that those opposed to the government-led process have a good following they will definitely shift their support to forces to chain these masses to the capitalist framework once again. This is the reason there are fights in the main elements that were involved in the formation of MDC, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, National Constitutional Assembly and Zimbabwe National Student Union. It is a fight to control influential pillars of the body politic in Zimbabwe and the region, ultimately to form an alternative but this time a pro-capitalist 'anti-capitalist' party. [In South Africa imperialism is also testing the waters for the support for a similar 'anti-capitalist' party through Conference for a Democratic Left, spearheaded by the Stalinist SACP]. It is the international policy of imperialism to try to find a safety valve for the survival and continued existence of the capitalist dictatorship. This arrangement, the anti-capitalist movement, too, will like its predecessor's subordinate itself to capitalist system.

However, we will always support democratic demands of the masses while exposing the reformist leaderships in the workers' movement and showing in practice the impossibility of these demands being met within the capitalist framework, based on the principle of "marching separately but striking together". We think it is important to do united front work with these elements to expose them. The constitutional reform

process has played a decisive role to determine the relationship of the MDC and its main former civic allies notably the NCA, ZCTU and ZINASU. For the first time in the history of the existence of the MDC it has differed with its chief allies, though not over any of their policies but over strategies and tactics to take political power from the ruling Zanu (PF); in other words they realise that the MDC is itself being discredited and are positioning themselves to take over a future counter-revolutionary role in containing the masses through a 'anti-capitalist' party. We will swiftly move towards the working class and supporting workers' activities for social, economic and political liberation. We will be there with them in the streets, courts, factories and communities. We are burying the secretarial approach used by ISOZ leadership since 2002 – late 2008. ISOZ has no longer been active, its visibility was only through the internet, which is hardly accessible by our targeted class, the working class. We utilise the conducive relationship we enjoy with the rank and file of the ZCTU, ZINASU, NCA, Residents Associations and Environment movements to expand our work in their constituencies.

On the other hand, the ISO (Gwisai) which is still aligned with and recognized by the IST, has reformed itself into the Democratic United Front (DUF). DUF, headed by Gwisai is taking part in the constitutional reform process, being commissioners for the government, whose main function is to get the masses not to take independent working class actions for their demands, but to submit, individually, their concerns for a new constitution. (Commissioners are paid USD70 per day for 70 days while the average worker- the few who do work- earn a monthly wage of USD100). In the case of any deadlock, the main capitalist parties, the 2 MDC's and Zanu-PF will have the final say. The IST once again places the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie at the head of the struggles of the masses, and acting as the left face of the MDC and Zanu-PF to help imperialism maintain control over the masses. Tribal Bantustans, over 90% unemployment, brutal dollarization of the economy, cheap labour reserves of Zimbabwean workers for use by imperialism in the Southern African region, ongoing super-profits by mainly British and US imperialism, the separation of the struggles of the Zimbabwean working class from the struggles of the working class in Southern Africa, from the struggles of the workers in Britain and the USA, how US imperialism uses Zimbabwean troops in the DRC in their wars of plunder- these are all examples which the policy of the IST assists. This exposes their Right to work and Anti-war campaigns as fraudulent- a social-imperialist lie. The concept of 'socialism from below' by the IST in the context of support for the MDC and now the DUF, means the maintenance of capitalist-imperialist dictatorship from above.

In the 1989 period the IST policy of 'neither Washington nor Moscow' allowed pro-capitalist forces to divert workers' uprisings to smash the gains of the October 1917 Russian revolution. Today the policy of the IST (and other reformist left) de facto of 'neither Washington nor Beijing' (or claiming that China is now an imperialist power) disarms the working class about the brutal subjugation of the Chinese working class at the hands of JP Morgan Chase, Bank of America and Citibank, and that the world spread of 'Chinese' goods and 'Chinese' front companies, are nothing else but the arm of US imperialism spreading across the world in a most brutal fashion, undercutting the gains made by workers' struggles over many decades.

### **So what is our role in advancing Socialism?**

Honestly, we must at least celebrate an own goal by the imperialist that has cost them the support of the labouring masses. If the MDC had managed to at least to stop a nosedive on the economic front, the reformist could have scored an important

and defensible goal against the progressive forces particularly revolutionary socialists. This could have set the agenda that socialism could be achieved gradually within capitalist arrangements. And indeed it was going to take time just like Chiluba's Zambia for the masses to diffuse illusions in such movements. The imperialist crisis allows no such luxury.

We have from the onset, to **diffuse** illusions in any kind of capitalist arrangement that claims to advance workers' democratic aspirations. We must not delay in exposing the character of the impending movement in Zimbabwe – the anti-capitalist movement. Already the Social Forum, which is one such other movement of such character, has proved its complicity with imperialism. It is one such movement controlled and run by these multinational corporations, yet its founding principles are 'anti-capitalist' and 'anti-neoliberalism'. This movement as assembled here in Zimbabwe is funded by the imperialists and capitalists. The just-ended Zimbabwe Social Forum was funded by Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is an organisation funded wholly by the Germany government while Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition is funded by USAID. Here we have the real essence of the World Social Forum exposed- behind the rhetoric they are tied hand and foot to imperialism. Again this must be viewed and read as an attempt to divert the attention of the struggle of the working class from taking power. But surely they are only delaying the revolution. Our main task is to remove any such illusions from the working class, we should not allow bourgeois intellectuals and bourgeois socialists to confuse the revolutionary path by throwing around philistine phrases in workshops. Zimbabwe Social Forum is just one of many other reformists, anti-Mugabe and pro-MDC activists, but in deed, pro-imperialism. It is just another bunch of western imperialist servants. We also have to expose the true character of this grouping disguising itself as an alternative.

### **How do we achieve this?**

This is the crux of this letter. Comrades if we are to lead a successful socialist revolution in Zimbabwe and the entire world we first of all agree that this can only be achieved by the working class through an organisation led and controlled by the workers, whose majority membership is the working class itself. No matter how long it will take us, it remains the only principled way clear of any class distortions. We are still a very young organisation, but we strongly believe that the only way for workers to take power is by forming their own independent councils of workers, poor peasants and soldiers (as was glimpsed briefly in Madagascar) and an independent revolutionary workers' party as part of a revolutionary International. Our objective as revolutionary socialists is not to reform or to gradually reform the capitalist system into socialism. The only class that can decisively smash and take power from the capitalist is the workers organised around a purely working class organisation. This therefore presupposes to say that any movement short of this characteristic is doomed to fail, as it is there to resuscitate the activities of capitalism.

As revolutionaries we should adopt a clear, onerous, broad programme that can of course be amended according to events of each particular activity (country). We should collectively, internationally, plan and work together for the attainment and implementation of our programme. Zimbabwean struggle must, just to repeat, be viewed as the struggle for the emancipation of the exploited and oppressed class internationally, henceforth our planning must be international.

The absence of support or contribution to our Zimbabwean perspectives has an inherent influence on other struggles across the world. Workers of other countries would always refer to our success or failures, and at times could motivate or

demoralise them. The way the IST has regarded the struggle in Zimbabwe as nationalist, isolated from the struggle to overthrow their own imperialism, has exposed their social chauvinism. The same imperialists control the South African economy as controls the Zimbabwean economy; when the masses started to challenge the hegemony of US imperialism in Zimbabwe and Madagascar, brutal isolation and starvation were heaped on us. When the masses drove out the US puppet, Aristide, in Haiti, imperialism imposed an occupation army of the UN under conditions of over 90% unemployment. The Haitian masses are used as a cheap labour reserve in the USA, while the Zimbabwean masses are used as a cheap labour reserve in the Southern African region. The struggle in Zimbabwe is inseparable from the struggle of the masses in Southern Africa, as indeed it is inseparable from the struggle of the working class in the USA and Britain. The central point is to develop a revolutionary programme of demands for Southern Africa. It is around the struggle for this programme that the Fourth International will take up its historical role in Africa and complete the tasks started in 1938.

This is what has been lacking in our Zimbabwean struggle, the international IST comrades didn't bother to contribute to our struggles. Perhaps that is why we at the first place confused the MDC as workers' party. Honestly it was due to the absence of meaningful debates and engagements and due to the direction from the IST to enter and stay in the MDC for an extended period. We were unaware that the IST policy towards the MDC was an extension of their policy towards Respect and earlier towards the Labour party (UK). The nett result was the same- containing of the masses on behalf of imperialism.

Our perspectives can not be attributed to lack of materials, the ISOZ has a rich library, though inaccessible to its membership for reasons best known to the then leadership of the organisation. The leadership which was at the helm of the organisation some of the since early nineties. The activities of ISOZ left a lot to be desired. We were the laughing stock within the working class movements. Many progressive forces no longer have faith in our approaches.

In November 2008 we had a leadership renewal conducted according to our constitution. Our South Africa and Botswana comrades monitored the process, yet these democratically held elections have been denied a chance to stand. What we witnessed was worse than what was practised within the worst reformist organisations. All activities inconsistent with revolutionary practice was seen being willy nilly implemented, this included but not limited to bribing members in an attempt to reverse the results of a democratic election. The worst was the persecution of the newly elected leadership by the aggrieved outgoing members in the leadership of ISOZ. The assets of the organisation were placed in state custody, including revolutionary organisation assets and records containing secret documents. Four of the leaders were dumped in Mugabe's gulag for 4 days. We raised this with the Socialist Workers Party of Britain long ago on this, including their failure to guide us on perspectives but we couldn't get any response. We have written them several times but to no avail. We found no excuse for this behaviour. Instead of using proletarian methods to settle disputes in our ranks, we were charged before the courts of the dictator Mugabe by the wing of the ISO (Gwisai) which is still currently recognised by the IST. Only when we launched an international campaign for an International Moral Tribune, did Gwisai, under pressure from workers in Bolivia, from workers in the UK who had broken from the SWP, from workers in South Africa, finally dropped charges. This was also as we indicated that we were prepared to go to jail rather than testify against the IST- our main concern was that the material of the organization be released from the hands of the state, even if it had to be surrendered into the hands of Gwisai. Despite our repeated appeals to the ranks of

the leadership of the IST and all its affiliates, not a single group came out publicly to state that they oppose the use of the courts to settle internal disputes. The use by the IST of the imperialist courts against members of the Scottish Socialist Party reaffirms our belief that no proletarian morality exists within the leadership of the IST. Indeed the petty bourgeois morality of the IST is directly a reflection of their class role they play in tying the working class to bourgeois reformism, to the apron strings of imperialism.

Although as a young organisation of the truly labouring masses which includes amongst their ranks victimised employees, we lost our main source of income, defending workers rights, we did not sit down. Just like young chick left alone, the safest thing to do is to find shelter away from capitalist predators. This is exactly what we did and indeed we found a movement which in our view reads quite well with our own perspective – a Trotskyist grouping in South Africa, commonly known as the WIVL, section of the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction (FLTI). This letter serves to inform you that we have decided to join this progressive movement. We will always engage with your movement on a united front work, exposing you in the eyes of the masses for what you are, a counter-revolutionary force within the workers' movement.

Forward to a new Kienthal and Zimmerwald conference; let us regroup the revolutionaries and disperse the reactionaries! Forward to the development of a revolutionary programme for Southern Africa! Forward to the rebuilding of the Fourth International!

Forward to an International Moral Tribune to judge the IST for its support of the use of bourgeois courts to deal with disputes within the workers' movement. Let such a tribunal be convened by workers of Las Heras, the Bolivian mineworkers of Huanuni, delegates from Haiti working class, representatives from the poor peasantry in Matebeleland, representatives from the retrenched Whitehead textile workers, persecuted soldiers from South Africa and Madagascar, workers from Matafeni township whose schools were bulldozed to make way for a 2010 soccer stadium, workers from the Tonghua metal factory, workers from the African immigrants in Italy persecuted by the mafia and finance capital, workers from the oil fields/industry in Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Warm regards.

Ex- ISOZ NCC



## **Down with the fraudulent Constitutional process!**

### **Forward to a Congress of delegates of workers, unemployed, poor peasants and rank and file soldiers!**

Over the next few weeks, paid agents of imperialism, the election commissioners, for USD 70 per day, will be coming door to door to try to pull the wool over our eyes.

While they may ask for our views, at the end of the day the masters of the Zanu-PF, and the 2 MDC's will have the final say over what will be in the Constitution. Having a good sounding Constitution will not put bread on the table or give us all decent housing. It is just a delaying tactic by imperialism to buy time, to work out what next offensive to wage against us.

Over the past 30 years the middle class and capitalist class in Zimbabwe have promised the masses land, bread, shelter, health care and education. Despite the words of the leaders of the Zanu-PF and the 2 MDC's, the commanding heights of the economy remain in the hands of the imperialists. The banks of Wall Street and London like JP Morgan Chase, Citibank, HSBC, Bank of America, control the platinum, gold and diamond mines, the tobacco and cotton production as well as the local banks. The leaders of the Zanu-PF and their wives sit on the boards of the companies controlled by US and UK imperialism. The MDC's are directly on the payroll of imperialism.

The past 30 years in Africa and in Zimbabwe has shown over and over again that the middle class ( the Zanu PF and MDC managers of the regime; their supporters, the leaders of the ANC, SACP, Cosatu) and the capitalists are incapable of granting even the simplest of democratic demands such as land, work and housing. In fact their self-interest turn them into obstacles of achieving these basic demands: The Zanu-PF invade some sectors of land for handing out to their cronies while guarding the best land for the imperialists to profit from; the Zanu-PF sits on the boards of the companies that are dismissing the workers and super-exploiting us- they have helped turn the Zimbabwean working class into a reserve of cheap labour for the imperialists companies across southern Africa; the MDC stands for amnesty to the top generals and army officers who have brutalized us over the decades; they also stand for the absolute protection of imperialist control of the land.

#### **The policy of imperialism today**

While the hundreds of thousands of Haitians were dying and trapped under the ruins of an earthquake on the 14<sup>th</sup> January this year, the US imperialists, led by Obama, invaded the country and were prospecting for oil and gas while they should have been searching for survivors. In June last year Obama launched a coup against the government of Honduras; a few days ago the people of Yemen were bombed by Obama's troops; last year over 50 million workers were retrenched. US imperialism spends 1 trillion (1000 billion USD) on the ongoing war in Pakistan, Iraq and Afghanistan. US imperialism controls the banks in China and together with its junior partners, the Stalinist Chinese Communist party are super-exploiting the working class in China- using goods produced there to undercut all workers gains around the globe. This is the policy of imperialism- they are waging war, starving us and killing us.

The constitutional commissioners and the capitalist press are fooling us when they say that a new constitution will bring an improvement in our lives when the facts in the world show exactly the opposite.

When the Pan Africanist regimes in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania were becoming unmasked before the eyes of the masses as nothing but agents of the continued exploitation by the giant monopolies, imperialism created new agencies to contain the masses. These were popular fronts such as MDC in Tanzania, MMD in Zambia and MDC in Zimbabwe.

Now that Popular fronts and the traditional parties are being discredited by having to go on the offensive against the masses on a far greater scale than before, imperialism is creating as a world policy a new reserve force- supposed –anti-capitalist parties, posing left and radical but resolutely still capitalist in practice. In France a new anti-capitalist party has been launched; in South Africa, the Stalinists SACP are leading the so-called Conference for a Democratic Left as part of efforts to contain the masses once again. In Zimbabwe, the leadership of Zinasu, ZCTU and the NCA are posing left, preparing the ground for an anti-capitalist party, as if to oppose to new process of the constitution but their programme of demands is very similar to the existing parties- this is part of an international strategy of imperialism to contain the masses.

In Madagascar, when the masses took control of the country, emptying the shops and taking what they needed, the SADC, including Mugabe, Zuma, and all the Southern African Presidents met in Mozambique, opting to wait and starve the masses and force a partnership between US and French puppets (Ravalomanana and Rajoelina) onto the masses once again.

#### **What should we do?**

When US imperialism through Daewoo (a South Korean company under the thumb of US imperialism) was given a third of the island of Madagascar by their government, the masses rose up and refused to accept slavery conditions or further expulsion from their land. In the middle of the uprising, the underpaid soldiers, family of the protestors rose up and openly sided with the people; they took over their military bases and sent their forces against the police and fascist groups, with a simple message- they are with the people. The example of the workers and poor peasants of Madagascar needs to be taken into the whole of Southern Africa.

Opposed to the talkshops of the constitutional process, we call for the setting on feet of a Congress of delegates of workers, unemployed, poor peasants and ranks and file soldiers to plan a programme of action to fight for our demands. No boss or leader of the Zanu-PF or of the 2 MDC's should be allowed as delegates- they have shown themselves to be with the imperialists. Let us organize marches, strikes, pickets and demonstrations against the fraud of the Constitutional process, while highlighting our demands.

Our demands are simple:

1. Expropriate all the land (without compensation to the capitalists) and place it under workers' control- this is the way to conquer bread for all!
2. Expropriate all imperialist companies (without compensation) and banks (centralizing them into one bank) and place them under workers control- in this way all work can be shared among all who can work, without loss of pay! For the demand for a sharing of work among all who can work to be taken into the entire Africa;
3. All commercial farms should be expropriated (without compensation) and placed under workers control.
4. Down with the Unity government that is the puppet of US and UK imperialism!

5. Down with the privileged officer caste of the army! For rank and file soldiers to elect their own delegates and leaders, based on instant recall! Forward to workers, poor peasants and soldiers committees as in Madagascar, across southern Africa!
6. Out with the reformist and Stalinist leadership of the unions!
7. Adequate housing for all close to places of work!
8. Free, liberatory education up to the highest level!
9. For this entire programme to be taken to the masses in the entire Southern Africa- it is the same imperialism oppressing and exploiting us. Let us unite as one working class in one revolution!
10. Forward to a Socialist federation of workers and poor peasant republics of Southern Africa!
11. Forward to Soviet Africa!
12. Our revolution is inextricably linked to the working class taking power in the United States, UK and other imperialist centres.
13. The success of any struggle for Socialism depends on the establishment of a revolutionary International with sections in every country- this is what the (International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction) FLTI of South Africa and Zimbabwe is striving for. Forward to a new Kienthal and Zimmewald conference to unite the Socialists and to disperse the reactionaries!



## **Strangling the baby in the crib- the current strategy of US imperialism**

27.12.09

While the world's bourgeois media blares endlessly on about Christmas carols and the 'season of giving', the paid hirelings of finance capital are debating the best mechanisms to 'strangle the baby in the crib'. In the journal, *Current History* (January 2008), bourgeois analyst Christopher Layne, describes the strategy of 'strangling the baby in the crib' in the following terms: '*anticipatory violence as an instrument for maintaining American primacy*' and '*for a declining hegemon...by attacking a rising challenger preventively*'. Layne is discussing the best ways for US imperialism to maintain control over Chinese capitalism. He argues that US imperialism can best maintain control through the bloody dictatorship of the Chinese Communist party. In the event of a war between Taiwan and China, Taiwan should be sacrificed, he says; in the event of war between China and Japan, US imperialism should stand on the sidelines; in the event of any conflict in east Asia, let India, Russia, China and Japan fight it out, he says. If the US tries openly to be the hegemon, they will be defeated; rather maintain control indirectly and use all the mechanisms at their disposal to achieve the same goal. Layne argues for a limiting of high technology transfer and for steps to reduce the trade deficit- in other words, create the mechanism for greater dumping of consumer goods from the US in China (a process which is currently underway).

The balance sheets of the Chinese government and all the companies are known to US imperialism as the top 3 banks (Industrial and Commercial bank of China, China Construction bank and Bank of China) are all listed on the Hong Kong Stock exchange and have cross directorship with JP Morgan Chase, Citibank and the Bank of America. In the case of the bank of China, an ex governor of the Reserve bank of England sits on their board. US imperialism maintains control over the Chinese working class through the Chinese banks with the Chinese government as the frontmen. The largest bank in the world, the Industrial and Commercial bank of China has its strategy 'to follow and serve the multinational companies'. It is implied that US imperialism will only intervene in China to assist in the brutal suppression of the working class, should the bureaucracy prove inadequate.

The post 1945 imperialist boom was on the back of bloody repression in the colonies and semi-colonies; the 1968-1973 revolt from the world working class forced imperialism to seek other avenues, such as the massive hike in oil price to rescue their falling profits; 1989 saw the restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe, the ex-soviet Union and China, based on massive defeats of the working class; the dot com bubble of 1997-2001 saw the strangling of the US worker and lower middle class by imperialism raiding their pensions and savings; the period from 2001 up to now, with the housing bubble and the speculative increases in food and commodity prices saw fictitious capital of over USD 400 trillion being 'created'. Food and goods have been bought up of the next few generations. To increase the rate of profit, imperialism has to increase the rate of exploitation, increase food prices, increase commodity prices. All this requires an unprecedented attack on the gains of the world working class.

About a year ago, the ILO (International Labour Organization) prepared the way for the massive dismissal of 50 million workers. This alliance of governments, imperialists and union leaders paved the way for an alliance on local level of all the world's trade union leaders with the capitalists and all the false left of the world, to

allow 70 million workers to be sacked, without a fight. More than 1 billion more people were pushed into starvation. Imperialism knew that for them to strangle the 'baby', it is best to get someone close to the 'baby' to do the dirty work (the trade union leaders and reformist 'left'). Within the space of only 1 year, imperialism has increased their annual profits by over USD 1 trillion. Now the sickness, of more retrenchments and cuts in pay is being spread by these same trade union leaders and semi-colonial governments. False multi-billion dollar 'infrastructure' projects in roads, railways, airports, stadiums and electricity are mushrooming everywhere as means to assist the bailout of finance capital. Similarly National health insurance scams are being openly promoted as a means of bailing out finance capital who control the health sector by thousands of threads. US imperialism used mass – produced 'Chinese' goods to cut through the world as a means to increase the world rate of exploitation. But even with all these mechanisms, imperialism will not even come close to the USD 400 trillion of fictitious capital. Rather than take a cut in profits, imperialism is preparing to dump the world into war. Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan have been in a permanent state of war since 2001. Already 6 million people have been killed in the ongoing imperialist wars in the DRC since 1996. After the 1994 massacres in Rwanda, US imperialism gained hegemony in the country and US military commanders have been on the ground overseeing the wars for minerals in the DRC. SA troops have been guarding Anglo American mining operations in the DRC. Where the US imperialism cannot openly send arms to its lackey regimes, it uses China to send weapons (such as the weapons sent to Zimbabwe a few months ago).

Imperialism strangles the baby in the Middle East through Israel and the puppet Arab regimes; Imperialism strangles the baby in Africa through the denial of technology and maintaining the continent as a reserve of cheap labour and exporter of primary raw materials, and of assembled goods; In Latin America, Obama launched the coup in Honduras and the setting up of 7 military bases in Colombia as the next steps to strangle the baby.

Bourgeois apologists and fake lefts have been launching the red herring of a Chinese imperialist danger. This has had the effect of disarming the US working class about who is really responsible for the wave of mass retrenchments and wage cuts- the popular myth is that it is 'China' that is the cause of this misery, whereas in reality it has been the gangsters of Wall street. This is how finance capital, with the assistance of the 'left' is killing the US 'baby'., how they are strangling the US working class.

The Palestinian 'baby' is being strangled by the Stalinists and reformists of the world through publicity stunts like the march of activists to the border gate at Gaza, instead of using proletarian methods like mobilizing a million Egyptian workers to march to the border with Gaza, to tear it down, instead of organising strikes at the diamond and coal mines in South Africa to cut the lifeline to fascist Israel; the main proponents of the march to the gates of Gaza by 1400 'activists' are the very ones who support a Bantustan for Palestinians (a 2 state-'solution').

For imperialism to strangle the baby in SA, they know that they cannot only rely on the Cosatu and SACP leaders, they know there is a growing crisis of legitimacy of the regime, only temporarily set aside by the 'polokwane' regime; they need absolute control of the military; that is why they want to smash any form of unionisation of the army; the offer of a 65% increase to the lowest ranked soldiers must be seen in this context. At a time when the unions and government unilaterally decreased the public sector wage increase from 8% to 7% for 2010, this offer must be seen as the first attempt to weaken the military unions. Imperialism hopes soldiers will resign from the

unions as the puppet Military Commission could be seen as a more effective body than the union. A deeper study of the increases shows that imperialism still places their loyalty with the capitalist generals. The generals received a 22% increase in January 2009 while the soldiers did not receive a cent. The lowest ranking general had an annual package of R400 000. The January 22% and the current 2% increase, means that the lowest paid general now earns R500 000 (about the same as Vavi, the Cosatu general secretary). This means that the lowest increase in Rand terms of the lowest ranking general was about R7520 per month. The lowest ranking soldier earned R48 879 per annum. With an increase of 65%, this brings the annual package to R80 650, or a monthly salary of R6200. Thus the increase of the lowest paid general is more than the total monthly salary of the lowest paid soldier, after the 65% increase is added. And if the increase is not backdated, what the increase amounts to is a 30% increase per annum, which was the demand that the unions put forward in the first place. Thus under the cover of a Military Commission, the government has been forced by the unity of the soldiers and of their unity with the working class organised in Cosatu, to concede to their demands. A powerful argument for strengthening the unions.

The entire working class should take the example of the soldiers and unite, unemployed, with employed and soldiers, for all our demands for housing, food, work, for land.

Last year, while the working class in Greece were on the march, unknown to the rest of the world, the Chinese working class were on the march; for each of the first 3 months of 2009 there were 20 000 strikes, protests and road blockades; the imperialist press suppressed knowledge of this uprising. Millions of Chinese workers were dismissed, today over 800 million live in absolute poverty; the uprising has not been completely smashed but imperialism is still very much in control; S&P and Moody's give the top Chinese banks A-ratings for stability of their foreign long term deposits.

Today, once more the working class in Greece and Europe stirs; the workers of Madagascar and Guadeloupe are not defeated; the revolutionary risings start to move from the extremities to the main centres. Today's crisis can be reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership, both the absence of a revolutionary leadership and the presence of a counter-revolutionary weight around the necks of the working class.

As imperialism prepares all their forces, the coupist regimes, the bolivarians, the trade union leaders, the popular front regimes, the fake left, the Stalinists to attack the world working class anew in 2010, let us not allow them to once again 'strangle the baby', let us uniting the working class in revolutionary action and around a revolutionary programme; let us unite the working class fighters in a revolutionary International, we need a new Kienthal and Zimmerwald conference to unite the revolutionaries and to disperse the forces of counter-revolution, such is the call of the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction.



## On the invasion of Haiti

The 1804 bourgeois revolution in Haiti and its rapid defeat at the hands of the early French colonial power, was an early indicator that in a colony or semi-colony, even then, the completion of the democratic demands of the proletarian programme cannot be left in the hands of the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, whether in the colonial era or in the current imperialist epoch. Further, the attainment of full **democratic demands in the colonies** can only be achieved not only by the working class taking power in the colony but also in the imperialist centres. The masses of Haiti have been paying for their militancy through the centuries through 'reparations' to France for freeing of the slaves and through various other forms of capitalist crookery (high interest payments etc). Imperialism has plundered the land and destroyed the forests of Haiti, forcing the masses into slums in the cities. An earthquake of 7.0 in Japan would have left 2000 dead (perhaps less), but in Haiti, well over 200 000 have been butchered indirectly through the policies of imperialism.

Imperialism has turned Haiti into a massive slave camp of cheap labour for use in the capitalist world, mainly the USA where over 1 million Haitians are used to undercut all wages- they are at the bottom of the pile of the immigrant workers in the USA.

In 2004, when the US imperialist puppet Aristide was in danger of being overthrown in yet another revolution, this time by the working class, US-French imperialism organised a preventative coup against him- the main aim of which was to subdue the insurgent Haitian masses. The permanent occupation of Haiti by the Minustah (UN forces from South America) was a partnership of the US imperialists with their juniors, French imperialism. The Haitian state had been smashed by the working class and the UN troops were there to act as the state to ensure the continued slave pool of labour for US imperialism as well as pre-empting any workers uprising or any new Cuba's from emerging.

Aristide is currently in South Africa (since about 2004) which reflects the alliance between US imperialism and their junior agents, the Castrists, the SACP and the ANC.

This alliance with the Castrists was further illustrated by Cuba opening its airspace to allow a massive wave of US imperialist troops to be airlifted into Haiti within days of the initial earthquake in early January. US imperialism seized the airport, all the ports and all major access points which illustrate that in their antagonistic alliance with French imperialism, when it is opportune US imperialism will elbow their alliance partner aside to take the spoils for themselves. The main aim of the US troops is once again pre-emptive to smash any threat to private property, to deny even the dying, access to food and water that was immediately available on the ground. Such is the brutality of capitalism imperialism today. The policy of US imperialism to starve the dying and to secure a base for profits over efforts to save the hundreds of thousands who were dying, is the same policy of starving the Zimbabwean masses into submission when they challenged the imperialist puppet Mugabe;

it is the same policy of the coup in Honduras, of the bombing of the masses in Yemen, of the brutal wars in Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan. The mad scramble for profits in the wake of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, over the bones of the black workers, is part of the same policy of US imperialism. The US imperialist invasion was to pre-empt the seizure of food by the starving masses, actions which could have led to further uprising and expulsion of all imperialist troops from the island.

We call for the military defeat of the US and other occupation troops in Haiti! US soldiers, hand over your guns to the Haitian masses; turn your guns against your own officers should they refuse immediate and unlimited access to food, water, medicines and other necessities. We call for million worker marches across the United States! Forward to united mass action of immigrant and US workers! For committees of action in defence of the Haitian revolution, uniting employed, unemployed and soldiers, uniting immigrants and US workers. Down with the pacifism of 'aid' (even the 'aid' under so called workers control or from supposed worker and union assemblies) while leaving imperialist barbarism in Haiti and in the US unchallenged! Break with Obama, the bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO and the fake left who cover their imperialism in deeds!

For workers' revolution in Cuba and Haiti; take the spark of workers' revolution in Haiti to Detroit, New York, Washington; forward to a socialist federation of the Americas from Greenland to Terra del Fuego! To claim that the US imperialist invasion of Haiti is to counter China is to cover the super-exploitative relations between US imperialism and the Haitian working class, is to undermine the heroic resistance of the Haitian working class.

Further, to pose the prospect of WWIII between China and the US at a time when imperialism is moving over to a policy of direct military control as a means to displace their competitors (French, Japanese, German imperialism and the lesser Belgium's etc), is to provide a left cover not only for the policy of US imperialism but to disarm the US proletariat about the real role of their imperialist and thus about what their role should be- it is a pacifist policy while US imperialism wages war on the world proletariat.

The true humanitarian aid for the exploited of Haiti can only come from the working class and its fighting organizations. **It is necessary to expel to the invader troops; to condemn the monopolies and the capitalists; to nationalize the foreign trade and to break up with imperialism; to impose a unique national bank under workers' control, expropriating the private banking without payment! It is necessary to expropriate all the urban properties of the bourgeoisie! It is necessary to impose a workers' and peasants' government based on the self-organized and armed masses, in supply committees, reconstruction committees, workers' committees and poor peasants' committees that take the arable lands immediately!**

This would be a first step and a true electric shock for the masses of all Central America and the Caribbean, so that Guadalupe, Martinique and Mexico catch fire again. It would be the kick so that Nicaragua and El Salvador insurrectionists stand up again, as an outpost in the struggle to expropriate the expropriators, with the Haitian masses at the head of the continental revolution as the slaves already did at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But this time it will be a rebellion of the modern

slaves, against the exploiters, against its leaderships that make them kneel down and prevent them to develop all its revolutionary force at a national and a world level.

**The key for the victory of the Haitian masses is in the hands of the North American working class**, that with its anti-imperialist struggle yesterday, with the immigrants at their head, and with the heroic Iraqi and Afghani resistance, provoked the crisis of the government Bush and the regime of the “republicrats”. Today, the working class has to break with Obama and with the reformist leaderships that submitted it to this smoked Bush that represents the same interests of the financial capital, the oil companies, the high tech industry and the industrial military apparatus. This is the only way to put on feet the March of a Million Workers against the war and against the military occupation of Haiti, Iraq and Afghanistan.

For this to be true, the **working class need a courageous voice** that calls thing by their real name. The first thing that has to be said is that it was the treacherous AFL-CIO who submitted the working class to the gang of parasites of Bush and Cheney and the masses are paying for that with 40 million of hungry in the USA now.

They were who submitted it to the follower of Bush’s job, the imperialist butcher Obama, and now millions of jobs and houses are lost, with hundreds of thousands of workers living with three dollars a day, without healthcare and without education for their children. The working class is equal or worst than their Latin American brothers. It is necessary a courageous voice that calls things by their real name and that tells that the assassin Obama has endorsed the Zionist massacre in Gaza with the operation “Cast Lead”, keeps the anti-imperialist fighters of Afghanistan and the Middle East in Guantanamo and in the six hundreds clandestine prisons of the CIA, and is the one who, leading the regime of the “republicrats” is preparing to send Mumia to the electric chair, a hostage of the world working class in the hands of the imperialist gags. It is necessary a courageous voice that calls the North American working class to break with the smoked Bush of Obama and with the regime of the “republicrats”, setting on feet the March of the Million Workers again and to paralyze the imperialist war machinery.

**With the military occupation of Haiti, the yankee imperialism wants to establish a new military base in the Caribbean to massacre the masses and to consummate the capitalist restoration in Cuba.**

**The French imperialist vultures –under the cover of the ONU and the “bolibourgeoisie”- wants to be part of the reconstruction of Haiti, and to preserve their interests in the Caribbean and in Latin America**



## **Cosatu and SACP leaders' fake 'concern' over 2010 soccer world cup exploitation reveals their pro-imperialist policy**

Cosatu and SACP leaders are supposedly concerned about who is going to benefit from the tournament, they said it should improve the lives of SA workers. The federation said that all world cup-related products should be made locally in a bid to revive the "SA" manufacturing industry. In fact this attitude of the SACP and Cosatu leaders divide the workers of China and SA. The cheaper produce in China are not Chinese goods. The capitalists go to wherever the profit is greatest. They are not loyal to any worker. The same imperialists who back Fifa are the same ones who control the industry and banks in SA. The SACP and Cosatu leaders are in partnership with imperialism in SA and in the Southern African region. Instead of singing praises to Mao Tse Tung as the Cosatu leaders do, a proletarian response would have been to say, well, the same imperialism that is exploiting SA workers are super-exploiting Chinese workers, who live under a brutal dictatorship, how can we help the Chinese workers get organized to fight imperialism and their lackey managers, the Chinese Communist Party (and similarly, the workers in Southern Africa should tackle the same imperialists operating here). Last year when the Chinese workers were on a strike wave against privatization and exploitation by imperialism, the Cosatu and SACP leaders kept silent; when the workers of Tongua and Linzu kicked their CEO's to death for wanting to dismiss 25 000 out of 30 000 workers, the SACP and Cosatu leaders keep quiet. The price for the maintenance of super-exploitation in Southern Africa, a small part of the shareholding in imperialist companies are given to the ANC-SACP-Cosatu elite.

The 'Chinese' companies are fronts for imperialism that seeks new ways to super-exploit the workers of the world. 1 All the high tech and industrial exports from China are dominated by imperialist firms, 2 the industrial firms are deeply dependent on critical components, and manufacturing equipment from the USA and other advanced industrial companies. The point is who really benefits: US imperialist, and other imperialist companies. Imperialist-controlled construction companies like Murray and Roberts, Group 5, and others who made billions out of stadium and Gautrain contracts, not only paid workers low wages, but bulldozed the schools of the community of Matafeni- the ANC-SACP declared a virtual state of siege in the area; the workers demands for housing and schools were trampled on by the ANC-SACP, while 6 black bankers became super-rich- but the only winners were imperialism, who took most of the profits. But the sinister call of the SACP and Cosatu leaders for 'SA jobs for SA workers', such as the Fifa mascot, or clothing or assembly of vehicles, is an indirect support for the concentration camps for immigrant workers such as in De Doorns for 20 000 Zimbabweans, is a support for the policy of JP Morgan Chase and the bank of New York and other imperialists operating in Southern Africa, who brutalise the Congolese, who starve the Zimbabwean masses, whose profiteering recognize no boundaries (or bounds), but who keep workers divided on nationalistic and ethnic grounds, using them as cheap labour and disposing of them when their purpose has been served (brutal exploitation).

A proletarian policy would strive for expropriation of all imperialist assets, under workers' control, in China and in Southern Africa, posing sliding scale of wages – sharing of work across the entire region, and supporting the same policy in China. The chauvinist policy of the popular front government demonstrates clearly: The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance are the main regional lackeys of imperialism.

## **Zimbabwean Textile workers struggle against retrenchments**

Some of us have been working at Whitehead Textiles for more than 10 years. They have a spinning section in Kadoma, fabric section in Chegutu and hosiery in Gweru. In all we were about 1400 workers. In September 2009, the boss applied for provisional liquidation. Our own union leadership were divided, some supported us to occupy the factory and take it over, while the union secretary and his grouping in the leadership proposed to the bosses that we offer the boss that some workers would retrench themselves (voluntary retrenchment). The secretary of the union even proposed that we accept only 2 months retrenchment pay while even the pro-boss law states that we are entitled to 3 months pay.

While the leadership of the union were divided, the bosses moved the machinery from the factory, stopped paying the workers. We could not even meet to discuss our strategy as workers did not have transport money.

Our union, the ZTWU (Zimbabwean Textile Workers Union) wanted to go ahead with their congress but we stopped them, we said they must first fight our case; we are currently in negotiations with the bosses over the terms of dismissal- this is being overseen by the ministry of labour as some of the workers were on the point of using violence against the bosses. The ministry of labour stepped in to save the boss.

The boss wanted to put us on unpaid leave while he is retrenching us, a total of 577 workers were dismissed. How can we be on leave and be dismissed at the same time? The workers are paying for not being decisive to occupy the work place as now the boss has moved the plant from Gweru to Chegutu. There is no such thing that if some workers are retrenched then those who remain behind are 'safe' – look now, how will workers travel 140km to get to work, when they are still owed months of wages.

The ministry of labour hides behind supposed support on technical grounds for workers, such as saying that the bosses must pay us even for the months of 'unpaid leave' but they do nothing to enforce this, and the government allows the big companies to walk all over the workers. So the government is really for the bosses, not for us.

The textile industry here has been decimated by mass dismissals- there are still 72 companies in the National Textile bargaining council but workers are isolated and only meet rarely.

### **Editorial comment: The way forward?**

What we need is to mobilise for a congress of all textile workers to kick out the pro-boss leadership and to install worker leaders who will advance working class interests, the same must be done at ZCTU level; our first demand must be to share all work among all who can work; this must go hand in hand with a demand to expropriate all companies that want to retrench any worker, place

them under workers' control; but what must be at the centre is a demand to expropriate all imperialist companies- these are the companies who take billions in dollars of profits out of Zimbabwe and Africa every year and they leave us with the scraps- to conquer bread we need to agitate for a congress of delegates from all workplaces, delegates from the poor peasants as well as rank and file soldiers, following the heroic example in Madagascar; indeed without taking this plan to the rest of Southern Africa and linking it with a struggle for workers' power in the imperialist centres, our struggle will not advance. We need to break with the unity government, they are the local managers of imperialism.

### **The Internationale [variant words in square brackets]**

Arise ye workers [starvelings] from your slumbers  
Arise ye prisoners of want  
For reason in revolt now thunders  
And at last ends the age of cant.  
Away with all your superstitions  
Servile masses arise, arise  
We'll change henceforth [forthwith] the old tradition [conditions]  
And spurn the dust to win the prize.

So comrades, come rally  
And the last fight let us face  
The Internationale unites the human race.  
So comrades, come rally  
And the last fight let us face  
The Internationale unites the human race.

No more deluded by reaction  
On tyrants only we'll make war  
The soldiers too will take strike action  
They'll break ranks and fight no more  
And if those cannibals keep trying  
To sacrifice us to their pride  
They soon shall hear the bullets flying  
We'll shoot the generals on our own side.

No saviour from on high delivers  
No faith have we in prince or peer  
Our own right hand the chains must shiver  
Chains of hatred, greed and fear  
E'er the thieves will out with their booty [give up their booty]  
And give to all a happier lot.  
Each [those] at the forge must do their duty  
And we'll strike while the iron is hot.