International Workers' Organizer

International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction
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SPECIAL ISSUE

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Statement of the Collective for the Re-foundation of the Fourth International / FLTI

August 26th, 2019

May the Hong Kong spark ignite Shanghai and mainland China!

TO THE CRY OF "REVOLUTION", THE GENERAL STRIKE IN HONG KONG BEGINS!



The CCP slave bosses are preparing to send their army to crush the revolutionary uprising of workers and students

The counterrevolutionary assassin army of Beijing must be defeated!

DOWN WITH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE "RED ENTREPRENEURS" OF THE CCP, GENDARMES OF THE IMPERIALIST TRANSNATIONAL BUSINESSES!

Out Carrie Lam, governor of Hong Kong!

She acts under the political and military orders of Beijing and imperialism

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HONG KONG

At the shout of "Hong Kong Revolution Now", the enormous struggle of the workers, students and the whole exploited in Hong Kong has entered its twelfth week. It is a general political strike, with the irruption of all sectors of the working class, as well as students and the large exploited masses, who went out to fight in successive days starring mobilizations of millions (such as on 8/18), occupation of parliament, pickets, airport capture, clashes with police and repressive forces, with hundreds of prisoners and fifty dead.

On August 5, for the first time in more than 50 years, a general strike was held. It was called by the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (HKCTU) and 96 unions affiliated with it ioined and were active summoners. These unions include the Hong Kong Federation of Transport Workers Organizations, the Association of Logistics, Transportation and Warehouse Personnel, Bus Drivers' Union, Mass Transportation Railroad Personnel Union, General Union of Textile Industry Workers, Commerce and Resale Trade Unions, Union of Postal Workers, Trade Union of Professional Teachers, General Trade Union of Electronic Industry Workers, General Trade Union of Construction Workers, Trade Union of Jewelry and Gold Ornaments, airlines and aeronautics labor unions, among other unions mainly in the public sector. Thus, that day, there was no transport, nor did the airport, public offices and even the financial sector work. Youth organizations joined this day, making blockades and pickets in different areas and streets of Hong Kong.

Every weekend there are several days of struggle of this phenomenal uprising. On Saturday 8/24, in addition to a huge mobi-



The counterrevolutionary government of the Chinese Communist Party deploys its army in front of Hong Kong

lization, there were road and street blockades in the working class neighborhoods. The exploited

facing the police (who went to repress and disperse the protesters) set up barricades and pickets.

This huge uprising began against the attempt to pass the Extradition Act, which would allow the Beijing government (which has no jurisdiction to detain Hong Kong residents) to arrest and extradite people to mainland China and impose its repressive laws on all those who go out to fight. Laws that allow detainees to be isolated, locked up, tortured, without access to a lawyer and without anybody knowing their whereabouts for six months.

Trump's trade war and the response of the Chinese big bourgeoisie are only paid for by the workers and the impoverished masses of the countryside and the city

Trump's trade war has already led China to stagnation and recession in its economy. The expansion cycle that China has had in recent years is coming to an end. Huge masses of transnational capitals, and even the great Chinese bourgeoisie, leave China and take refuge in US treasury bonds, in the face of this recessive process that has begun there, as it has also done in Germany, England, Italy and that threatens a world re-

cession. The devaluation of the currencies continues as a soul to the body to a US dollar that has strengthened. The trade war declared by US imperialism calls into question the entire world division of labor in the world economy.

A huge process of struggle has begun in mainland China at the beginning of this recessive cycle. The workers, to defend themselves against the attacks of the capitalists, here and there star in hard struggles to recover lost wages and defend jobs. Meanwhile, the Shanghai stock market crumbles and a real estate bubble collapses in China, like the one that broke out in Spain or the US in 2008.

Hong Kong is no exception to this crisis or the attack on the masses. The crisis came to Hong Kong a while ago, and imperialism and the great bourgeoisie threw it on the exploited. The high cost of life becomes unbearable. On an overcrowded island, where the square meter is one of the most expensive in the world, housing becomes inaccessible to millions of exploited. For the masses, the situation is unbearable.

Then the crisis already struck in mainland China and also in Hong Kong, but here, in an independent political action, the masses have engaged in a battle, facing Carrie Lam, the governor of the island that acts on behalf of the imperialist bankers and the "Red entrepreneurs" of the CCP.

The Hong Kong masses, headed in their first phase of struggle by the student movement, today have the labor movement as protagonists. The exploited have seen how the Chinese bourgeoisie and its counterrevolutionary regime treat those who fight like them in mainland China. The right to strike is absolutely forbidden in China and every worker or student fighter is imprisoned and even disappeared by the state institutions for as long as the government and its forces of repression deem appropriate. That is what the Hong Kong masses face with their fight against the Extradition Law, as we have already said.

To give just one example, we recently saw the strike of the Jasic Technology workers in Shenzhen, where, in this struggle for independent unions, all the leaders, as well as the students who came out in their support, ended up missing, tortured. Then the government played videos recorded in the same torture rooms, where these prisoners renounce their struggle and apologize for it. They had been subjected to a brutal scourge. Even today they are still missing.

What we say here is just one ex-

Demonstration in Honk Kong asking to stop killing them ample of the policy of the counterrevolutionary government of Beijing against the tens of thousands of struggles and combats that run throughout China.

When in 1997 England placed Hong Kong under the command of the counterrevolutionary army of Beijing, with an agent-governor elected by their hand, these British imperialist pirates knew very well what they were doing. They put the defense of their interests, their businesses, their free trade zone and their banks under the whip of the CCP foremen and their counterrevolutionary forces. In turn, English imperialism was given free reins, with its banks and transnationals within the Chinese territory and with a free trade zone, to start from there a huge economic and business offensive on mainland China, as we will see later.

The counterrevolutionary armed forces of the Beijing government prepare to drown the uprising in Hong Kong in a bloodbath

The Chinese army is already on the borders of Hong Kong. They prepare to carry out a massacre and drown the exploited in a bloodbath. These are the counterrevolutionary forces of the government of the Chinese capitalists, the gendarmes who defend the property, business and profits of the imperialist transnationals in China.

Those counterrevolutionary forces that are preparing to attack in Hong Kong have already been tested. They are those who in 1989 massacred in Tiananmen a huge uprising of workers and students who began a process of political revolution to end the Stalinist scourge of the CCP, which had long been agreeing with the US and its large banks the introduction in China of their transnationals. So it was the Nixon-Deng Xiaoping Pact of 1975, which allowed the installation of thousands of transnational companies in Southeast China to exploit the workers of that country as slaves.

In **Tiananmen**, revolted students had gathered in Beijing. When they began to be supported by millions of workers, the CCP sent their tanks and caused a real massacre of workers and youth. This massacre ended up settling the capitalist restoration in China and thus guaranteed that from the bowels of the CCP a new possessing class associated totally with imperialism emerged. This put to produce hundreds of millions of workers under conditions of slavery in China. No doubt the capitalist restoration in China and the superexploitation of its working class, with the whip of the new Chinese Mandarins, gave imperialism fresh blood to survive its agony.

At the same time, from this process a powerful Chinese bourgeoisie emerged that politically and commercially overlapped with the imperialist powers, which already control the banking system as a whole, having 25% of the shares of each of the 42 banks of all Chinese provincesna. The transnationals, with slave labor, using tax and credit exemption from Chinese banks, dispute the Chinese domestic market, where they place much of their global overproduction.

China's huge export machinery, based on the exploitation of 300 million workers - who are like immigrants in their own



land, enslaved in concentration camps of huge factories - is now in a commercial war, declared by Trump. For the US it has not been enough with the "fresh blood" that they have already taken from the workers of that country along with their partners the Chinese mandarins, nor that they provide their transnationals with oil, steel and other intermediate goods and supplies and all the Infrastructure for freight transport. Imperialism now goes through all the way for everything in China, for its large state-owned companies, its revenues ... That is the commercial war that Trump boasts of "winning."

US imperialism has kicked its way to try and return to control the world market, after the 2008 crisis made it lose its influence.

Wall Street already wants to get rid of even its minor partners from the new great Chinese bourgeoisie. The latter is finding the US domestic market increasingly closed and, as we said, it has quickly thrown all the crisis that this has generated on its working class. It has carried out a huge devaluation, which further sank the wages of Chinese workers.

In turn, the mandarin regime is increasingly shielding itself. It needs to take its army to the streets, apt to slaughter its own masses. These forces are what it tries to dump over Hong Kong to crush that rebellion with blood and fire. Its life is on it, because in mainland China there is dry straw for the workers uprising. The Hong Kong spark can set the meadow on fire.

Mainland China and Hong Kong: one country, one system

Hong Kong was until 1997 an English direct colony. In that year, as we said, English imperialism integrated Hong Kong into China, but its financial capital maintains control of business there, especially of its huge financial place (the third in the world). The motto of this integration was "China and Hong Kong: one country, two systems". This was a brutal hoax. For there was only one system, capitalism. In mainland China, capitalism had already been restored with a brutal superexploitation of the working class, as we have seen. Prison factories. workers having to leave their documents at the entrance of every industrial complex, turned into true concentration camps ... a fascist regime that all the transnationals in the world would like to enjoy, 300 million workers are as immigrants in their own country. They can only move from province to province with a passport approved by their employers and the state. Nothing different from hungry Latin American immigrants in the maquilas of northern Mexico or within

the US. A regime traced

to that of Apartheid and the Bantustans in South Africa under the Boer boot.

This is what China has to offer the world market: the largest concentrated workforce on the planet, capable of producing under conditions of slavery. This workforce is openly disputed by transnationals and the various imperialist powers that want to keep business directly and semi-colonizing China completely.

English imperialism introduced a Hong Kong in China under its control to use it as a beachhead to enter the dispute for keeping the business of that country, as we said. The slogan "one country, two systems" covered up that it was British imperialism that got into China associated with the "red businessmen" who, with their terror regime, keep the masses at

With the concretion of so-called "New Silk Road" - a complex of ports, roads and railways that seeks to unite China with Italy and Germany - the imperialist EU of Maastricht does not want to stay out of those fabulous businesses. But first, China, its regime and its government must ensure that the technology belongs to the imperialist powers and that the production of machine tools is managed and controlled by the transnationals of those great powers. There is the case of Huawei and 5G ... China forged it by spying the US industrial apparatus, but then it had to kneel, return it, and give 75% of that business to Wall Street.

As we see, the competition of the imperialist powers for China has been exacerbated. Trump goes for her all the way in an open trade war. England itself, which used Hong Kong as its beachhead for its financial capital in China, is being pressed on the one hand by the fabulous businesses it is already doing and await her there, alongside US imperialism. On the other hand, it has a sector of its financial capital alongside

President Trump of the United States with Chinese President Xi Jinping



Germany in the European living space.

Ultimately, the discussion of Brexit inside England is a huge dispute between the bourgeois gangs of the City of London on "Whither England?" ... And this is what has it in crisis, pulled, on the one hand along the Franco-German axis, and on the other to go to the Pacific with the US thanks to the socalled Brexit.

There are no imperialist powers that do well if the others are not doing badly. The world market has shrunk ... Not only is there no place for new imperialist powers (and Trump reminds China of that politically, economically and militarily), but there are too much of those that still exist.

China and Hong Kong are the same system and the same country, under the command of the "red businessmen"'s CCP and their gang of armed men, which are their counterrevolutionary forces to maintain slavery over the most important exploited labor force on the planet.

China, with Hong Kong included, today is a capitalist country dependent on the world economy, with a native bourgeoisie financially and commercially associated with imperialism, but still maintaining relative independence. But this is coming to an end. Every imperialist power to survive needs China as a whole, andemakr it a colony right now. Hong Kong is the point from where British imperialism, associated with the great Chinese bourgeoisie, seeks to take and keep business on the continent.

Therefore, the Hong Kong working class faces imperialism and its partners in the new Chinese bourgeoisie, at the point where financial capital is advancing over China. It is a huge anti-imperialist struggle, which objectively clashes with the counterrevolutionary forces of Beijing's new slave-owner mandarins and

with their major partners in the imperialist bank in Hong Kong. This demonstrates the brutal deception that the Stalinist Communist Parties of the world have said about the struggle of Hong Kong, which would be an "imperialist conspiracy" ... We are facing a huge uprising of workers and those exploited against hunger and against imperialism and its minor partners of the new Chinese bourgeoisie and its counterrevolutionary armed forces!

The struggle of the exploited in Hong Kong is a link in the same struggle of the Chinese working class. This is developed on the island, which is the point where control of the Chinese state is still weak, since Hong Kong will be integrated into mainland China in a progressive plan, so there is a transition regime. Still the Chinese army has not installed a counterrevolutionary military base from which to execute its mass control policy.

imperialism increasing-But ly needs that "social peace" be maintained in Hong Kong at the hands of the counterrevolutionary fascist forces of the Chinese state. The English army and the US Marines cannot invade there, but the armed forces of Beijing are preparing to do so. That is not only "the same system" but also "the same country" and the same state with the same band of counterrevolutionary armed men.

Enough of high cost of life! Decent wages and housing for all!

Carrie Lam out! Down with the counterrevolutionary government of the "red entrepreneurs" of the CCP! It is urgent to crush their army that is preparing to slaughter Hong Kong! In mainland China and Hong Kong: The same capitalist "system", the same working class to face it.

The uprising of the masses of Hong Kong is against hunger and the impossible cost of life, and for this it directly confronts Carrie Lam's government to the cry of "Revolution!" With the working class method, the general strike. The first demands to get bread, work, decent housing are, "Out Carrie Lam! Dissolution of the murderous police and their repressive forces! The Beijing counterrevolutionary army that is about to invade Hong Kong must be defeated! It is necessary create workers militias starting from the pickets that face the police!"

Hong Kong workers must stand in solidarity with the working class of mainland China fighting for independent unions and raising the same demands against hunger, unemployment, for housing, wages, freedom for prisoners and against repression. There are their forces to succeed, unifying with each other through a program of common struggle.

The uprising youth of Hong Kong must endorse the Chinese rebel youth program that stands in solidarity with the workers by shouting, "Let socialism return! Down with the regime!"

In the Pacific, at the end of World War II, the working class and the exploited gave the greatest beatings to imperialism and the US imperialists in particular. They were defeated in Korea and before in China, forcing the Stalinist parties - who intended to be allies of "democratic" US imperialism, as they had been during World War II - to have to go beyond what they wanted and expropriate the capitalists. This happened in Mao's China and in North Korea. The onslaught of the working and peasant masses of Vietnam and their heroic sacrifice defeated US imperialism in the Indochina peninsula. But then, due to the betrayal of the Stalinist scourge, these great conquests of the world working class have fallen on their shoulders, from the capitalist res-

FROM CHINA

Greetings from the "Support Committee for Jasic workers and students " to the letter of the Collective by the Refoundation of the Fourth International (FLTI) to the 57th Anti-War Assembly of Japan

August 28th, 2019

Comrade. Hello there!

Very glad to hear from you again! I have read the letter and the motion carefully.

Workers from all over the world (Argentina, Chile, Iran, Japan, China, etc.) are suffering from capitalist and imperialist oppression. Soldiers who fight for the rights of the proletariat are also persecuted by the regime. Therefore, we firmly support the proletarians of the world to solidify and strongly urge governments to release political prisoners!

At present, China's political atmosphere is getting more and more tense. Jasic workers' struggle last year made the authority fear and step up a harsh crackdown on the left wing in an attempt to extinguish the newborn flames. Number of people involved in the movement are still unknown. After that, other labor rights activists and leftwing activists have been arrest-

ed, and many self-media focusing on the bottom of the society have been banned.

At this dark moment, we are lightened to hear from you, and we are willing to fight against the imperialism side by side with you!

Not long ago, the documentary "We and Me" commemorating the Jasic workers' struggle has been launched. The theme is the choice of road towards future of the left wing and the working class. We hope you enjoy it! The link is as folhttps://m.youtube.com/ low: watch?v=Sy-BzU2fOoc

P.S Do you need us to post the letter on our promotional platform telegraph channel?

Revolutionary Greetings! •

August 2018: activists in Shenzhen protesting in support of workers in Jasic In their flags they ask for the punishment of the corrupt police and the release of the detained workers



toration that granted imperialism millions of slave workers to reproduce a cycle of survival of this putrid world system.

The working class of the Pacific have great fighting ahead in the 21st century. Yesterday was Tiananmen and today the Hong Kong's spark again threatens to burn China.

The task is to prepare new huge combats of the Pacific working class and of China in particular and prevent a new massacre as that in Tiananmen.

In these combats, the exploited of the region face the greatest sellouts of their revolutions of the twentieth century, Stalinism today has become a new bourgeoisie associated with world imperialism, such as the CCP.

The immediate task is none other than to expropriate without compensation and under workers' control the transnationals and the imperialist banks and the bourgeoisie of the Chinese mandarins of the CCP! There are the funds to have housing, salary, work and a decent life! The working class must recover the conquests of China and Indochina that Stalinism surrendered. This will be done victoriously under the banner of the international socialist revolution.

May the flame of Hong Kong spread throughout China!

For the Hong Kong uprising to triumph, the irruption of the working class in mainland China is essential, hitting the fascist government of Xi Jinping, the chief of Carrie Lam, who commands the army ready to slaughter the exploited Hong Kong people. They are the same class and have the same enemy!

Down with the counterrevolutionary government of the "red businessmen" of the CCP, custodians and minor business part-

ners of the imperialist transnationals in China! For a provisional worker and peasant revolutionary government, based on committees of workers, peasants and private soldiers!

The struggle is to conquer "the same system"... i.e., socialism, that is, the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat under revolutionary forms, based on committees of workers and private soldiers, without traitorous Stalinist bureaucrats becoming exploiters on account of imperialism. The means of production and exchange must be re-nationalized, the state monopoly of foreign trade, nationalized banking and the planned economy reinstated, and soviets set up, establishing a genuine Soviet democraIn Hong Kong is the heart of the struggle of the world working class, first of all China, of the Pacific and of the imperialist powers, starting with England. The English, North American, European. Japanese and the entire Pacific working class must win the streets in solidarity with the struggle of the exploited Hong Kong people! Otherwise, the slavery conditions of the Chinese proletariat will fall on them sooner rather than later.

The greatest agents of imperialism and the City of London are not the rebel masses in Hona Kong today, but the scoundrels of the English Labor Party, with its chief Corbyn, and other "socialist" traitors of the world proletariat, lackeys of the queen of England. They live as true bourgeois and

worker aristocrats with the coins that are lost to the transnationals of their super-profits extracted on the basis of the super-exploitation and the blood of hundreds of millions of Chinese, Asian, African, Latin American workers ... They are the greatest enemies of the world proletariat, just like Judas! They are lackeys of the imperialist metropolis!

China will be socialist or it end up whole like Hong Kong: colony of either Wall Street, the "City" of London or the imperialist Europe of Maastricht! ●

Carlos Munzer

Editions in English of the "International Workers' Organizer" voice of the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International - FLTI













July 26th 2019

JAPAN

Letter to the 57th International Antiwar Assembly

WE FACE THE WAR OF POWERS DOMINANTS, THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND REGIMES AGAINST THE PROLETARIAT AND THE EXPLOITED OF THE WORLD!

To the 57th Annual Anti-War Assembly

To the Zengakuren [Japanese Federation of Self-Organized Student Associations]

To the Anti War Youth Committee

To the Revolutionary Communist League of Japan - Revolutionary Marxist Fraction (JRCL-RMF)

Comrades:

We send a warm revolutionary greeting to the 57th Anti-War Assembly that is taking place in Japan, as a contribution to the struggle for the workers and socialist revolution against imperialism and its brutal offensive against the working and exploited masses of the world.

We are writing to you at a time when, due to the betrayal of their leaderships, which prevented them from bringing their fighting to victory, the masses are paying with suffering, hunger, misery and massacres for the cost of the capitalist world economy crash; and while the American, German, Japanese, French, etc., imperialist gangs, dispute the world's markets in a fierce trade war to make "Great China" kneel and submit it to them through treaties of semi colonization. US imperialism are going all the way for China's market, banks and profitable state enterprises.

For the crash of the world economy there are too many imperialist powers and there is no place for all to survive or for any new one to emerge, without clashes and military wars.

Today, the United States with Trump at its head, is overwhelm-



Antiwar assembly

ingly running over the planet, like the lava of an erupting volcano, seek-

ing to impose its conditions in order to regain full control of the world market. That is why it tries to create custom barriers that hinder the exports of imperialist Europe of Maastricht and China, in particular. Also for these higher adventures, the US imperialists are stomping again on and go all the way for their Latin American "backyard".

Those at the top, that 1% of parasites that manage the world at will, are fighting over business and super profits, while those below are forced to survive in the hell of a planet that has become a dirty prison for 99% of its inhabitants, that is, for the vast majority of the working class and popular masses.

Because the true WAR is that of the dominant powers, their banks, their transnationals, their governments and regimes against the proletariat and the exploited, to which they are imposing tremendous slavery and labor flexibility and the looting and robbing of their colonial and semicolonial nations; with carnages as in Syria, Yemen and Ukraine, with the direct collaboration of the reformist leaderships, supporters of rotten capitalism, without which all this would not

have been possible.

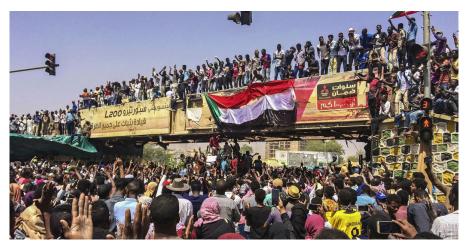
In the aftermath of 1989, world imperialism sheltered Stalinism that recycled as a new bourgeoisie after handing over the former workers states to the former. which shaped the Stalinist national parties as counterrevolutionary shock forces around the world at the head of the trade union centers, this time under their direct control. This was made possible by the coverage and the support on the left that the so-called currents. "anti-capitalist" former Trotskyists gave them, having long since renounced to the struggle for the socialist revolution.

Comrades:

As we have just said, in Latin America the situation is getting ever worse for the masses as a result of the US imperialist offensive. With a wall on the Rio Grande that divides the border between Mexico and the United States, the US troops on one side and thousands of members of the Mexican "National Guard" on the other are unleashing a bloody repression and persecution, intended to "immobilize" millions of hungry people that are fleeing from the worst miseries and social catastrophes in Central America by marching towards the USA. The ultimate expression of this is what is happening in Haiti, the poorest country in the world that is militarily occupied. This is just an example of everyday life that hundreds of millions of Latin American outcasts are enduring.

As part of this barbarism, US imperialism has confined thousands of Hispanic refugees in army barracks at its borders and in real prisons and concentration camps, separating parents from their children.

When these hardships occur in Central America, the Caribbean and all of Latin America, the traitors of the workers 'and peasants' revolution, such as the Castro



Sudan uprising of the masses

brothers and the Cuban CP. have raised their counterrevolutionary cry

of "Socialism is no more possible even in Cuba." Stalinism is the greatest holder of imperialism and US imperialists in particular. It is which has created the best conditions for the US for its current counteroffensive in its "backvard."

FLTI militants internationally and their Latin American revolutionary groups from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, affirm that this martyrdom in the Americas exists thanks to the action of Stalinism that sustained the cowardly bourgeoisie of the continent. They surrendered the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle of the masses. They led the exploited to trust in the cowardly native bourgeoisies. It was they who defended the "Bolivarian Revolution" scam and held the Obama / Castro Pact with which they have sold out both the Colombian workers and peasant resistance (also disarming it) before the murderous regime of the 9 US military bases installed in that country, and Cuba to the capitalist restoration.

Now they lie before the eyes of the workers of the world, passing the Maduros, Moraleses, Lulas, Kirchners, etc. as supposed "anti-imperialists," although they are the representatives of the native bourgeoisie who have long since surrendered and knelt before the US imperialist master. They are minor partners in the slavery of

our peoples and the theft of the wealth and natural resources of our nations.

The Bolivarian bourgeoisie withdraw now, ever surrendering to imperialism, after being used by it as "squeezed lemons" to complete their selling out of the wealth of the Latin American peoples and starving and shooting workers. This is what Maduro and the cowardly Venezuelan bourgeoisie do, who repay the fraudulent debt to the IMF, to the last penny, even though US imperialism has established a blockage on Venezuela. Meanwhile, Evo Morales of Bolivia is one of the exemplary governments that Wall Street directly manages, and he guarantees the theft of the hydrocarbon and mining wealth of that nation to imperialist bankers and transnationals.

Comrades:

Today all the exploited of the world are suffering the offensive of the capitalists. US imperialism and other imperialist pirates have a free rein to deepen their fierce attack because in recent years they were able to concentrate their forces and crush the two most advanced foci of the world revolution in Syria and Ukraine. This was thanks to the betrayal of Stalinism and other treacherous leaderships, supported by labor bureaucracies and aristocracies, which allowed the counterrevolution to advance against the masses that rebelled for bread and freedom.

In Ukraine, with the Minsk counterrevolutionary pact, imperialism, along with its lackey Putin, has split that nation and strangled the revolution that began in 2014. Putin "annexed" the Crimean peninsula and imperialism imposed a fascist regime in Kiev, thanks to the Stalinism that divided the Ukrainian working class. The pro-Russian oligarchy of the Donbass, supported by the Stalinist fifth-column and the bombs from Kiev, subdued the uprising miners of the Ukrainian East, recreating the false illusion of a "Novo Russya", which was surrounded by NATO troops, the Russian base of Crimea and fascist troops of Kiev.

Comrades, we call you to fight together to defeat the Minsk pact, to recover the Crimean peninsula for the Ukranian nation that was robbed by the Moscow oligarchy and, uniting the fierce Ukrainian working class, to crush fascism and conquer a Soviet Ukraine, united, worker and socialist, free and independent, that would be a bastion of the revolution in Eastern and Western Europe.

On the other hand, in Syria, Stalinism along with all the social-imperialist parties and the renegades of Trotskyism mounted a siege against the Syrian revolution so that imperialism by the hand of Assad, Putin, Iranian Ayatollahs and Hezbollah as its mercenary troops can deepen the genocide against the heroic Syrian people, while Turkey and FSA generals sold out each of the rebel cities from within. This is the result of the Geneva-Astana counterrevolutionary pacts of the United States, al-Assad, Russia and Turkey, under the UN umbrella.

But despite the hundreds of thousands of massacres, the millions of IDP gone towards the borders and the hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing to Europe, the Syrian people continue to resist in the last trench of the revolution in

Comrades: we call upon you to direct a call to the workers' organizations around the world from your Assembly to join forces to stop the genocide in Syria and carry out an international struggle, winning the streets, in support of the Syrian masses, to defeat al-Assad and expel all invading troops.

Today the scourges of the Syrian exploited are deepened day by day and with them, those of the martyred Palestinian masses. There is Hezbollah, the party of the Shiite billionaire bourgeoisie, which has not fired a single shot against the state of Israel but has dedicated itself to crushing the Syrian masses alongside al-Assad and Putin and now from the Lebanese government pursues Palestinian workers and Syrian refugees, taking away their labor rights, giving them to the subhuman life of chronic unemployment. This is how these lackeys of imperialism act that take care of the borders of the Zionism, occupier and executioner of the Palestinian nation!

Comrades:

In Iran, once it used the "Revolutionary Guard" of the Ayatollahs to slaughter the Syrian revolution, US imperialism also wants to grab and keep for itself all the oil of that nation. This time it aims to control it directly, without the intermediaries of that Islamic bourgeoisie that takes much of that national oil income.

The US pirates are contesting the "black gold" business of Germany, France and Japan (which feeds much of its transnationals' production with Iranian oil). The European imperialisms and Japan have a political and economic pact with the Iranian millionaire theocracy: they refine their oil, resell their derivatives and they

have the largest investments in the productive apparatus of Iran.

The US imperialist offensive is also directed against them. The US needs to end the theocracy and get its imperialist competitors out of Iran. The US goes all the way there, even for the last square meter of the Middle East. This is why they invaded Iraq, they maintain more than 150,000 Marines in Afghanistan and planned and organized directly, from the back rooms, all the counterrevolutionary actions that crushed the enormous chain of revolutions that opened in 2011-2012 in the Maghreb and the Middle East, to blood and fire. The US preserved Zionism from that great revolutionary tide, while maintaining installed one of the largest US fleets in the region in the Mediterranean Sea.

"The clergymen live as kings and the people as beggars!" It is the cry of the workers and exploited of Iran against the counterrevolutionary and murderous regime of the Iranian theocracy, which is dedicated to persecuting, imprisoning and torturing the workers who fight for their rights, as happened with the steel workers of Ahwaz and the sugar workers of Haft Tappeh.

The more the Iranian ayatollahs control and strangle the revolutionary rise of workers and peasants in that oppressed nation, the more imperialism is strengthened that prepares the conditions for a direct attack against Iran. The US pirates know that, as happened with Kim Jong-un of North Korea yesterday, today the Iranian ayatollahs are able to surrender and get to their knees for a Tweet issued by Trump, the wild genocidal of the White House.

This infamous regime of the Iranian theocracy, servant of Frankfurt and Paris, does not even grant water and electricity to the areas of southern Iraq that it controls as is the case of Basra, where the masses suffer more than 50 degrees Celsius of heat. The Stalinism that makes these enemies of the working class pass as their allies, trying to show them as "anti-imperialists," should go to live there to know what it is to be under the control of that blood theocracv.

The great task to end the US imperialist blockade and expel German and Japanese imperialisms from Iran, is to return to the workers and socialist revolution as in the 1980s, with the workers and exploited setting up the shora, the workers and peasants councils to expropriate the millionaire clerics and the imperialist transnationals, and to chastise the exploiters in Iran and the whole Middle East again, this time decisively.

Comrades:

There are more examples that the working class of Japan, the Pacific and the world must know about how treacherous directions act. There is Stalinism with the CP of Sudan holding the scam of a "civic-military" transitional government alongside the murderous generals and the "democratic" bourgeoisie, to get the revolutionary masses out of the streets. In the same way acts Stalinism as part of the ANC governing South Africa with the black bourgeoisie at the service of AngloAmerican. It is Stalinism that from the French CGT has been preventing the fall of the Macron government, which the masses have been confronting with the barricade fighting whose revolutionary vanguard is the Yellow Vests.

More than 90 Communist Parties from all over the planet have held a conference to "refound the (counterrevolutionary) Third International" of Stalin, centralizing its forces to continue selling out the fighting of the exploited. Meanwhile, there are currents that claimed to speak from Trotskyism, which have been completely subordinated to Stalinism. They have made common parties



SRWP Congress

with it (as in South Africa with the emergence of the SRWP). They have

held congresses or common conferences such as those held by the CRCI (Coordinator for the Refoundation of the Fourth International) of the Workers Party of Argentina and the EKK of Greece together with Darya Mitina of the Unified Communist Party / OKP of Russia, a friend of al-Assad and Putin. They even held a "Seminar on Leon Trotsky" in Havana, organized by the new rich of the Cuban CP government.

Let us denounce and fight together against Stalinism and other treacherous leaderships that prostrate the struggles of the working class and subject it to different bourgeois variants to prevent the masses from advancing along the path of the workers and socialist revolution!

Comrades:

But despite so many betrayals and backstabbing, the working class does not give up and continues to engage in battles.

Just as the exploited in Nicaragua, Haiti and Puerto Rico revolt, the general strike in Honduras is fought and the resistance of Idlib does not surrender in bloody Syria, in Sudan and Algeria there are huge revolutionary uprisings of the masses for bread and for the fall of dictatorships and oppressive regimes.

In France, the "Black Vests", which today stand in the heart of the imperialist Europe of Maastricht, emerge in the heat of the struggle of immigrant workers. Meanwhile, in Zimbabwe and throughout South Africa, new and huge combats of black workers are being prepared.

Comrades:

We call you to make your own and to promote a common struggle in support of immigrant workers who are persecuted and massacred around the world in which this system has divided a planet subjected by the capitalists to hunger, slavery and war. .

WE ARE ALL IMMIGRANT WORK-ERS IN THIS PUTREFACT CAP-ITALIST SYSTEM that must be swept away by the triumph of the Workers' and Socialist Revolution.

Comrades:

As we see, the Chinese working class, one of the most exploited on the planet, is far from giving

Today the masses rise again in Hong Kong, which are brutally repressed by the government of the new rich of the Chinese CP. They act the same way they do throughout China with the mobilizations of workers and peasants. The government of the Chinese



The US imperialist government puts its flag back in Havana again

mandarins persecutes with jail, torture and all forms of repression the workers who seek to stand up independent trade unions that defend them from the exploitation of the "red businessmen" and the imperialist transnationals. The workers of Jasic Technology of the city of Shenzen and the students who came in their support are detained and/missing today. They are witness to de counterrevolutionary semi-fascist response the Chinese bourgeoisie gives the workers in revolt.

The Chinese workers are the best allies of the Japanese workers fighting against the Abe government! That is why we, comrades, call upon you to come out of your assembly in support of the workers and students of China and to organize actions in the streets to fight for the freedom of political prisoners and the appearance alive of the missing fighters.

The unity of the workers of Japan, China, the entire peninsula of Korea, Vietnam and throughout the Pacific must be set up to fight to recover the workers' and socialist revolution!

In this task have all our strength and our support. To a large extent, the fate of the world's workers is played today in the fighting that the Pacific working class is fighting or will wage.

Comrades:

Today, the workers and oppressed peoples of the world have in the US American working class a bulwark of our struggle. US workers imposed the withdrawal of Yankee troops from Iraq, planted the shout in the streets of "Black lives matter" and marked the way for workers in the world, saying that 1% of Wall Street parasites must be expropriated that have stolen all the wealth produced by human labor.

The combativeness that the American working class has demonstrated and goes on demonstrating is what has prevented Trump and the US imperialist pirates from imposing direct military invasions and not advancing, for now, on higher counter-revolutionary adventures that are what they need to regain control of the whole planet. The workers of the United States are the best allies of the world working class!

Comrades:

The struggle against imperialism, labor flexibility, slavery, looting, must find the working class united and coordinated internationally. That is the responsibility of all of us who claim to be revolutionary Marxists.

A single class, the same struggle! For the workers and poor people of the world to live: IMPERIAL-ISM MUST DIE! STAND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL WORKER AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

Let's fight together over borders to stop the war that imperialist vultures, native bourgeoisies and traitors bureaucracies of all coats have declared to the workers and exploited!

The workers of Japan, the United States and all imperialist metropolises are the true allies of the exploited of the oppressed countries! Today, the cry of the Communist Manifesto of "Proletarians of the World. Unite!" has more validity and force than ever!

Let's keep fighting together over borders!

Revolutionary greetings, •

Julián Juárez, Milenka Lopez, Carlos Munzer, David Soria, Lourdes Fernández and Tito Benavídez for the International Coordination Secretariat of the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction Abu Muad, for the paper "The Truth of the Oppressed" of the revolutionary socialists of Syria and the entire Middle East

Jussa K. and James S., for the Workers International League (WIL) of Zimbabwe and Southern Africa

> Benito T. and Paula M., for Workers Democracy of the Spanish State

Internationalist Workers League – Fourth International (LOI-CI) / Workers Democracy of Argentina

Internationalist Workers Socialist League (LSTI) of Bolivia

Internationalist Workers Party – Fourth International (POI-CI) of Chile

Revolutionary Workers and Youth Committee for the Self-Organization (CROJA) of Brazil

Internationalist Workers Socialist League (LSTI) of Peru

Internationalist Revolutionary Nucleus of Colombia

Adherents of the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International (FLTI)

July 29, 2019

Special motion to the 57th International Anti-War Assembly of Japan

Let us deepen the international struggle for the freedom of all political prisoners in the world and for justice for the martyrs of the working class!

Comrades:

For years we have been fighting together against the governments and regimes of the powerful who are dedicated to imprison and persecute the workers and oppressed who "dare" to face their anti-worker plans, as we do every December 12, on the International Day of the Persecuted Worker, when one more anniversary of the sentence for life imprisonment and jail to the oil workers of Las Heras (Argentina) is observed.

Today, when imperialism needs working class hostages to deepen its plans against the exploited, it is more necessary than ever that we redouble this fight.

There are the 7,000 Palestinian prisoners in the dungeons of the Zionist occupier, the 40,000 ones in Al Sisi prisons in Egypt and the hundreds of thousands who are tortured in Al Assad prisons in Syria. In Iran, hundreds of fighters populate the prisons of the murderous theocracy regime while thousands of anti-imperialist fighters remain in Guantanamo and the CIA secret prisons. In France, Georges Abdallah, a fighter of the Palestinian cause, remains imprisoned just like Mumia Abu Jamal in the US.

In China, the government of the Communist Party "mandarins" persecutes brutally the workers and students that fight for their demands, as Jasic workers that were fighting for independent unions and were terribly repressed and incarcerated, just as the students that stood in solidarity with their struggle.

The Basque prisoners are hostages in the jails of the Fifth French Republic and also in the Bourbon prisons in the Spanish State, the same ones that keep comrade Alfon imprisoned for participating in 2011 March general strike.

Also, dozens of Mapuche ethnic origin prisoners, such as Facundo Jones Huala, are imprisoned in the dungeons of the Pinochet regime in Chile.

The young anarchists are still imprisoned in Greece, but with the struggle we achieved the freedom of Nikos Romanos, while Giannis Michailidis has conquered his own freedom by escaping from the dungeons of Syriza and Troika.

In Argentina, comrade Daniel Ruiz, a former oil workers' delegate, continues in prison for being part of the revolutionary figh of December 18, 2017, against the theft of the retirement funds. Together with him, 4 former drivers of the East bus line of the city of La Plata (in Buenos Aires province), Emanuel Lazzaro, Sebastian Mac Dougall, Luciano Fiochi and Pablo Varriano are under house arrest for fighting. They were just demanding a snack and a toilet in their 12 hours shift. Also the workers of Las Heras are still condemned by the courts servile to the imperialist oil companies.

In addition, there are already more than 7,500 workers and popular fighters prosecuted, as is the case of Alejandro Villarruel and other persecuted workers of the Río Santiago State Shipyard.

And while the employers' justice persecutes the fighters, it guarantees the absolute impunity of the murderers of the martyrs of the working class such as Rafael Nahuel, and Santiago Maldonado, for whom the next August 1st will be two years after his disappearance and murder at the hands of the gendarmerie and the government of Macri.

Given this, comrades, the task of the moment is to promote an international campaign for the freedom of all political prisoners in the world and for justice for the martyrs of the working class. We have to deepen the solidarity and international struggle over borders! This is the way for all the workers' organizations of the world to take this fight into their hands because we cannot fight with hostages in the jails of our executioners.

Freedom to all the political prisoners in the world!

Judgment and punishment of all repressors and murderers of the working class martyrs!

Slave rebellion is not a crime. It is justice!

Claudia Pafundi, member of the Commission of Convicted Workers, Families and Friends of Las Heras Alejandro Villarruel, for Workers Advance - "Black List" Rio Santiago Shipyard (Argentina) Sasha, for the Youth of "The Fourth" Workers Democracy (LOI-CI) from Argentina

Report from Johannesburg – South Africa

On the foundational Congress of the "Socialist Revolutionary Workers' Party"

THE CALL OF THE FIERCE AND MILITANT WORKERS OF NUMSA TO BUILD UP A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WAS TAKEN TO A GREAT FRUSTRATION BY

CASTROISM-STANILISM

Neither "socialist", nor "internationalist"... turning its back to the rank and file workers. a new appendix of the South African CP has emerged

he foundational Congress of the "Socialist Revolutionary Workers' Party - SRWP" has finished. The leadership of the metal workers union -NUMSA- had called to set it up. This Congress was held from April 4th to 6th.

The requisite to be part of the SRWP is to be Stalinist; in order to be allowed in the Congress you have to wear Chavist beret, a T-shirt with Castro's face on it and swear loyalty to both. If not, you were not allowed in the Congress. Videos show this and I also witnessed it being there as correspondent for the "International Workers' Organizer" covering this event.

Of course the ones who did enter. those who had full access to the Congress and who received tribute there were: the delegates from PSOL. PT and MST from Brazil. the Stalinists and Boli-bourgeoisie who surrendered the anti-imperialist struggle of the Latin American masses, partners of the fascist genocidal al-Assad, the members of the new bourgeoisie of the Cuban CP (who handed over the worker state to the US) as well as the MP of Podemos. servants of the Borbon Monarchy and enemies of Catalonia's independence.

Thus, the Stalinist leadership



SRWP Congress

of NUMSA separated (going in an opposite direction) the nascent

Castroite-Maoist party from the original appeal issued by the metal workers' union on January 1st 2018. Back then the appeal to set up a revolutionary party was made by NUMSA. Such appeal raised the need for the struggle for the most immediate demands of the masses, like wage equal to the cost of living and decent jobs, and it stated the need of breaking with the ANC, denouncing it as servant of the rich and protector of privileges of the white. This appeal defended the right to go on strike and denounced COSATU bureaucracy as well as that from every federation of trade union as traitors to the working class. The appeal called for the nationalization of all branches of the economy and minerals, as well as the need to impose workers' control over the nationalized companies. Together with defending outsourced workers, the appeal called to defend public free education and to expropriate the lands and ended up stating that the power should be in the hands of the working class, since it is the

only one that "can free itself from the Capitalist chains of economic oppression".

This appeal by NUMSA was issued when a pre-revolutionary situation was starting in South Africa: the general strike of April 2018 threatened Ramaphosa's government. It took place two months after the regime was forced to surrender Zuma's head (the president until February), as they were afraid that the masses may overthrow him revolutionarily.

To divert these massive struggles, the ANC regime -supported by Stalinist treacherous bureaucracy of COSATU- called for elections in May. That was the starting point for the Stalinist leadership of NUMSA to start setting aside the appeal to organize the forces of the working class politically on a revolutionary road and move forward towards setting up a party, out of the control of grassroots workers, not only from this union but from all the exploited who fight every day.

The SRWP Congress, held in the 5 Star Birchwood Hotel in Johannesburg, did not count with the presence of thousands of delegates who should have been voted by the workers' grassroots in the factories, communities in struggle, etc. The appeal to set up a "revolutionary party" was made on behalf of NUMSA and when the time to found it came, workers were left aside. Other unions members of SAFTU -the federation of trade unions opposed to COSATU- did not participate either.

The Stalinist leadership of NUM-SA prevented the working class -who is the one really leaving in crisis the infamous regime of the ANC and the black bourgeoisie of selling-out to imperialism- from being a decisive factor of this party, from the streets and strugales in the factories carried out by workers.

The workers who earn miserable wages, working as slaves in mines, fractories and plantations in South Africa- would never make a congress to discuss how to build socialism and defeat the capitalists in a luxurious hotel, like the SRWP leaders did.

As a matter of factr, the leadership of NUMSA (which is a fraction of the old South Africa Communist Party, as it is a 2014 split) based itself in the union just to organize this new Stalinist communist party from the top and super-structurally.

The independence of a Stalinist political apparatus -which departs from NUMSA after using it to call a congress- is expressed in the fact that this leadership claims proudly that the SRWP founds do not come from the rank and file workers. Workers do not spend a part of their wages on building the SRWP as they do for their union. This would have meant that they were the ones in charge of deciding how to set up THEIR own party and with whom.

A proof of what stated before is what Irvin Jim (NUMSA general secretary and also presidential candidate for SRWP) said at the opening speech of the congress: "This is not workers' money. I can assure everyone that the workers' money is intact at NUMSA..." So who pays for this party and this Congress and therefore decided what happened there? Irvin Jim continued: this congress is funded by money raised "locally and abroad"... Seeing T-shirts with Castro face on them, the beret of Chavism and the luxurious hotel where the Congress was held (where many managers of TNCs who visit South Africa stay in), there is no need to be very sharp to realize who is really funding this party and deciding what happens in it. This included the resolution that I, as revolutionary socialists Trotskyist from Zimbabwe, was not allowed to enter nor witness any discussion, even to cover it as correspondent, except from Irvin Jim opening speech, despite the fact we did a political and programmatic contribution to the foundation of SRWP.

Unfortunately the rank and file and the struggling organizations (like NUMSA, SAFTU, etc) were not the ones that imposed their mark and decided the fate of the

Today, from Johannesburg, we must tell the workers the truth: we are not going to announce that a new revolutionary party, an instrument for the seizure of power, has emerged in South Africa. Quite the opposite: a new obstacle has been created against the workers and their struggles.

What has emerged is a new communist party, led by Irvin Jim. He has taken great care that the weight of the enormous struggles with which the workers, poor peasants, students and hungry people of South Africa face the regime of surrender and reconciliation with the white slavers of the ANC are not expressed in that party.

The program of this new party was not voted by delegates over the basis of the 300,000 NUMSA workers and thousands of other members of the SAFTU. Only a few hundred delegates were able to vote and decide, led by a fraction of South African Stalinism and its organization in different communities that, separated from the union and its struggles. operated these days in closed sessions. What was resolved in the deliberations that took place between four walls is a secret also for me. But what is clear is that the leadership of the SRWP will increasingly remove the off from them the influence of the masses fighting in the streets against the regime and the government,



General strike in Southafrica

and will increasingly remove from their program every revolutionary "phraseology".

The foundation of the SRWP took place at a time when the working class of South Africa has entered into a new offensive of revolutionary combats ... A new obstacle against the workers' struggle amerges

From Zimbabwe, we travel every year to rallies for justice for the 34 Marikana miners who were killed by the government's police hordes and the strike-breaking traitors of the bureaucracy of the official unions of the South African regime.

This always reminds us that it was from that heroic Marikana strike of 2012 that this workers' uprising began throughout South Africa. Then the industrial workers entered the fight, with strikes and picket lines. Communities and rural workers have revolted alongside them. Thus arose a powerful General Strike that in 2018 faced the government of Ramaphosa, successor of Zuma, the heir of Mandela. The engine of struggle is wages, decent work, housing, water, education... We are before a workers' rise that threatens to overthrow the hated regime of

the ANC, headed by a millionaire black bourgeoisie, manager of the AngloAmerican.

This pro-imperialist regime has been supported for almost three decades by the official Communist Party, which is trained to strangle revolutions and to disorganize the ranks of the workers.

Therefore, after the 6-month strike of the Marikana miners, the regime tried to rearrange itself quickly. Thus, the first split of Stalinism was promoted from above, to contain the rise of the miners: Malema, the former leader of the Communist Youth, formed the party "Economic Freedom Fighters" that calls for the establishment of a black bourgeois nationalist movement and manipulates the revolutionary anti-imperialist consciousness of the black working class of South Africa to take it to a class collaboration policy. This party has already organized sectors of the black bourgeoisie, preparing, ultimately, a new ANC more to the left, with a demagogic anti-imperialist rhetoric, and in "defence of the black nation" but tightly controlling the miners movement so that they do not return to fight with their assemblies, their bodies of delegates and their strike committees, as they did in 2012.

Malema was in charge of taking all demands for trial and punishment for the Marikana miners to the bourgeois justice, where they saved all the murderers of the people, the CEOs of the transnational mining companies and the bosses who ordered to savagely massacre the workers.

But this was not and is not enough to stop the workers' uprising that has begun. While the official CP has been supporting the ANC, regime, the government and the electoral trap that is being prepared for May to remove the masses from the streets, the bourgeoisie had to control a brave working class. That working class turned to the left and rose up. It broke all collaboration with its executioners, openly confronted the government and was the vanguard of the combat that caused the fall of Zuma and that has faced his follower, the anti-worker government of Ramaphosa.

Today, for example, all the factories of steelmaker Arcelor Mittal are on strike. Their demands are: "No more labour outsourcing! Equal pay for equal work for all workers in the steel industry!". This program and this struggle

> will set the path for the entire working class in South Africa and internationally.

> The bourgeoisie must deal with a workers' movement that began to turn to the left and that is what the new Stalinist party and its "socialist" phraseology is about ... for the electoral campaign.

The leadership of the IWL-FI (LIT-CI) and of the CSP-Conlutas of Brazil conceals the bureaucratic leadership of the planet that is to be portrayed as "revolutionary" in the eyes of the working class

The Stalinist leadership of

THE "NEW LEFT": A CENTRALIZED POLICY AT WORLD LEVEL OF THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST PARTIES, STALINISM AND THE RENEGADES OF TROTSKYISM

In Southern Africa, Stalinism and the bureaucratic leaderships act with an astonishing cynicism. In Zimbabwe, workers have recently rebelled with a huge general strike in January, but our fight against the fierce military dictatorship is unfinished. This is due to the betrayals of union bureaucracies and those who call themselves "socialists", like ISO (International Socialist Organization). On the last presidential election, they called to support MDC, the bourgeois party of the "democratic" servants of transnationals and IMF, plunderers of the nations in the Southern Africa.

While I covered this event, I heard that the ISO in the USA has dissolved. It did not surprise me. They will follow Sanders to the Democratic Party of US imperialist pirates. In Zimbabwe they said that by voting for the MDC against ZANU-PF we would conquer "more democracy" and all they did was covering up the electoral fraud which ended up providing full power to the military dictatorship. In the US they are doing the same, this time with the Democratic Party "against Trump". •

the NUMSA prepared for this occasion for years. In 2013, pushed by the workers who entered the fight against the government, the NUMSA leaders announced that they would break with the ANC and that their objective was to set up a workers' party. The rupture of the working class with the bourgeoisie had begun in South Africa and the workers' rank and file stamped its imprint on the left.

The leadership of the union, in April 2014, traveled to the US to participate in the Labor Notes conference, that is, it met the trade union advisers of the Yankee imperialist Democratic Party's lawyers. There, undoubtedly, they received instructions on how to deal with this fierce offensive of the South African working class against the infamous regime of "reconciliation" with Apartheid.

Months later, in August 2014, the leadership of NUMSA received in South Africa the official delegation sent by the PSTU of Brazil and the LIT-CI to the symposium called by the leaders of this union to discuss the way forward and their proposal for "March to build a socialist alternative". Thus, this Stalinist leadership knew how to conceal itself as "socialist" and "revolutionary" maintaining fraternal relations with the "Trotskyists" of the LIT-CI, which willingly consent to it, as they have done so for example in Bolivia and Chile (see box)

After openly breaking with the COSATU and being expelled from it by 33 votes against 24, in 2015 the leaders of NUMSA met the leadership of the CSP-Conlutas trade union center in Brazil, which is directed by the IWL-FI, in a congress of the IG Metall in Germany, sponsored by the social democracy of that country.

As we can see, the LIT-CI, the PSTU of Brazil and the leadership of the CSP-Conlutas, from the very moment that this process of turning to the left of the masses



Marikana workers 2012

of South Africa began, branded the leadership of the NUMSA as "revolutionary" to grant a "socialist" varnish to the workers in struggle that broke with the ANC.

The LIT-CI cannot claim that they were carrying out a unity-confrontation or united front tactics to work on a centrist phenomenon. This had to be done. But the LIT-CI only had a policy of making "agreements from the top" with the leadership of the NUMSA, dedicating itself to giving it political victuals and whitewashing the Stalinist. In this way, the LIT-CI concealed all the actions of the NUMSA leadership in the wave of struggles that moved South Africa in 2017-2018. No one can deny that after the general strike of April 2018 against Ramaphosa, the way had been opened to overthrow the entire ANC regime at the hands of the masses. This "united front on the top" of the LIT-CI and the CSP-Conlutas, concealed the leadership of the NUMSA that far from promoting this revolutionary policy, went to organize the SRWP, as we see it today, to subdue the workers' vanguard to the electoral trap. This congress that just ended was also about that.

With the collaboration of the renegades of Trotskyism, a third communist party emerged in South Africa to contain the masses on the left

After being covered by ex-Trotskyist currents such as the LIT-CI,

"anti-capitalists" like the PSOL of Brazil and centrist groups of South Africa, the third communist party in this country has been set up. The three that exist (the official CP, Malema's party and now the SRWP) are essential to try to control, manipulate and abort the irruption of the South African revolutionary workers' movement.

In the '90s, imperialism and the bourgeoisie resorted to Mandela to give a "peaceful way out" to the fascist regime of Apartheid, without "bloodshed". They imposed a regime of reconciliation and the "Freedom Charter" to get the masses out from the path of the proletarian revolution. The result of this policy was not more freedom, but the continuation of slavery at the hands of imperialism and a new black millionaire bourgeoisie, now associated to them.

That regime is the one that is collapsing today, with the working class breaking away from it. Those from below have begun the fight, performing maneuvers of revolution. The bureaucracies of the trade unions, the reformist leaderships and the bourgeoisie, in the midst of the economic catastrophe, the crisis in the regime and the irruption of the masses of the city and the countryside, **need** to block the way so that the dual power bodies do not arise and do not arm themselves. Those bodies are already beginning



SRWP Congress, with banners supporting Maduro

to emerge, such as the strike pickets, factory committees and community committees that fight for health and housing. The bourgeoisie and the reformists must prevent the coordination, centralization and armament of all the masses in struggle. If these bodies of those from below arise, history would change quickly.

The role of the Communist Parties is to keep the exploited in new political bantustans that, this time, isolate all sectors of the masses in struggle, prevent their coordination and centralization at provincial and national level. They are prepared to set up all the necessary traps so that the dual power of the exploited does not emerge, whereas that dual power is the only way to set up the organizations of direct democracy and armament of the masses to advance to the revolution and the seizure of power. This is the only path for the socialist revolution: to set up committees of workers, soldiers and poor peasants for the insurrection.

All the words of "socialism" that I heard in this SRWP congress were just that, words. This congress did not instruct the masses to raise the power of those from below. not even to face the electoral trap in May or to unite the working class in concrete struggles throughout South Africa and internationally.

Stalinism manipulates the 1959 Cuban revolution for better deceiving and controlling the working class in South Africa

While I was in South Africa, a public symposium on Cuba and Latin America was held in the main campus of the University of South Africa in Tshwane (Pretoria) on March 29th. Together with the ANC and the official CP, Cuba's Vice-President, Ines Maria Chapman, and Venezuela's Ambassador in South Africa, Mairin Moreno Morida were there. Clearly, they met with the SRWP leaders and maybe, why not, as they said, they received some donations to buy berets, T-shirts and other Stalinist symbols for the Congress.

What caught my attention is the contradiction of this Congress where "socialism" and "internationalism" were proclaimed. But they did it by raising the banners of Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese CP, of brothers Castro and the repressor, anti-worker and coward before the Yankees Maduro; they are all partners with the butcher Putin and the fascist al-Assad, who are in charge of massacring the revolutionary masses of Syria. For the SRWP "Proletarian internationalism" means the unity with the greatest traitors and those who surrender the world revolution.

Their relationship with the scam-

mers of "Bolivarian Revolution" and with the "democratic" Borbons of the Spanish State speaks by itself.

That is the point of this third Stalinist variant named SRWP. Without this new obstacle, the bourgeoisie and imperialism would not be able to contain the sectors of the struggling masses and divert them towards the electoral trap, which wants to legitimize the infamous regime of ANC and Analo-American.

The Cuban revolution is admired by millions of black workers, from Harlem to Missouri to Southern Africa. The workers' state took place in the island while the struggles of national liberation in Africa were taking place. The black workers of Africa saw the victory of their revolution in the Cuban revolution in the '60s.

Back then, Castroism deployed all its forces here. Obviously they did not want to see the victory of the anti-colonial revolution as socialist revolution, but they wanted to prevent it. Even Che Guevara was isolated in Congo and left unarmed for weeks by the old Stalinist USSR bureaucracy, which proves this enormous betrayal.

But world black workers took that revolution and their own. They took it as part of their own combat and that remained as part of their consciousness. This created a fair aspiration of the black masses defending the Cuban socialist revolution, but it also gave Stalinism a tool to manipulate such consciousness.

We cannot forget that Castroite militias went to Africa to defend Rockefeller's oil fields, like in Angola and Guinea Bissau after the Portuguese imperialism was defeated. After surrendering the anti-colonial struggles of liberation, Stalinism manipulated this consciousness of the black workers in Africa for years. Now it does so, when it cannot wear T-shirts with Mandela's face, nor Obama's nor

the black millionaire bourgeoisie and all its agents on it. Now they use T-shirts with Castro's face on it to dress in "red".

This is a paradox, because the manipulation takes place when Chavezism is not laying a finger on imperialism's properties while Trump fences and sieges Venezuela to get all its oil. This is a

contradiction because Castro himself. before he died, said that "socialism does not work anymore, not even in Cuba". The right to inheritance has been re-established there as well as the private property and a "new China" is being imposed by settling up

factory-sweatshops that will work in dock Mariel, in a tax-free area with slave workers earning 18 dollars a month.

Castroism sold out all the conguers of Cuban revolution and their last effords are to support this rotten capitalist system in Southern Africa.

But this deadly trap for workers would not work if it was not for the renegades of Trotskyism of Brazil and Latin America, from the Spanish State, from the USA and South Africa would not have cover up the Stalinist leadership of SRWP.

If so much betrayal and surrender can be settled is yet to be seen. While the Congress of the SRWP took place, in other district of Johannesburg the community of Alexandra fought with sticks and machetes in their hands for decent housing, health, electricity and against repression. At the same time there are hundreds of struggles with strikes and factory occupations, without even going to Hotel Birchwood to say hi to "their" shop stewards and representatives. Most of the exploited struggling have not even heard of this luxurious place, where the Congress was held.

Here I could see the slaves struggling in deep South Africa who could not participate in this Congress, where a bureaucracy and petty-bourgeoisie, openly Stalinists now, without shame and under a sumptuous luxury, founded this third communist party.

This Congress of SRWP did not vote a program for socialist revolution, which would open the road to the masses to set up their dual power bodies. It voted a "socialist" program to be applied "peacefully" from the Parliament, not to split the army and recruit rank and file soldiers and set up workers militias. In there they did not call to dissolve the police, murderers of the Marikana miners.

> Those who funded this Congress "from abroad" are happy. But the workers who have no job or house could not find a solution here. The workers of South Africa, unfortunately, have nothing to celebrate.

> Before this Congress, SRWP leadership prevented any debate with revolutionary currents of the continent. We, revolutionary socialists of Zimbabwe, sent a critique and contributions to the appeal for setting up the SRWP. We had no answer. Silence. The same silence that struggling masses suffered as they could not participate in this Congress. Revolutionaries could not either.

> The true struggle for the socialist revolution is in the embryo bodies of dual power of the masses, which are emerging in South Africa. The struggle for proletarian internationalism of the South African workers is side by side with the revolutionary masses who are fighting today in Algeria, Tunisia and Sudan; those who are resisting in Syria and in Palestine; those who are fighting in the imperialist countries like the Yellow Vests of

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> This Congress, while it cheered brothers Castro, did not call the black workers of the USA to coordinate a common fight organized and centralized to strike as one single fist against Wall Street pirates. imperialist Frankfurt banks and

London City.

The counterrevolutionary partners of the Chinese CP were the ones that participated in this Congress. The Chinese CP has become a new millionaire bourgeoisie, which enslaves the largest working class of the world. Furthermore, they dedicated a room of the Congress to their leaders, Mao Tse Tung and his followers. There were the biggest surrederers of world socialist revolution.

The SRWP threatened with expressing this enormous process of radicalization of the South Africa working class directly, particularly the metal workers. Hundreds of thousand workers were looking forward to it. This process was seen with sympathy from many countries around Africa. Stalinism destroyed the initiative of grassroots workers of NUMSA of imposing a political and revolutionary way out to their combats and prevented the revolutionary regrouping of workers' ranks that those of the bottom need to win.

When the Congress was about to finish, we heard that there was certain resistance to this policy imposed. Different delegates did not understood why there were so many words of "socialist revolution", when all the tasks of this party were organized around the elections in May. In different interventions, a tiny sector of delegates tried to unmask this program is not to be conquered through revolution but through the scam of the "peaceful way to socialism".

Also, during the Congress I saw a total submission to the discipline of the new communist Stalinist party from those who up to yesterday claimed to be revolutionaries. I witnessed how they put on Chavez's beret, a T-shirt with the picture of Fidel Castro and swore them loyalty. This talks about the crisis of our party, the Fourth International, sworn enemy of the treacherous leaderships Stalinism, which caused countless defeats and sufferings to the world working class.

It is unbeliavable that those who have been members of Trotskyism for years, confused or not, are claiming today that Trotskyists and Stalinists can be in the same party. After the USSR was handed over and after the historical betravals to world working class by Stalinism, attempting that the banners of the Fourth International can march together with those of the Communists Parties -traitors of world revolution- is an offense to the legacy of the world revolutionary movement.

Defending the massacred working and peasant Syria, and say nothing about it in this party of al-Assad and Putin's partners, means breaking away from Trotkyism openly.

We, the Trotksyists, have intervened in this progressive phenomenon of layers of the working class turning left. We did it during the '30s, the after WWII and also from FLTI and revolutionary socialists of Africa have done it with this process in South Africa since the beginning. We proclaimed the program of NUMSA and this initiative of the militant unions of setting up a revolutionary party as the way to be followed by all the exploited of the tormented Africa. We share their internationalist statement to the workers' vanguard of Zimbabwe. Mozambique and internationally. Also, we stated our position and critique on the limits that the centrist program had. And we constantly exposed the policy of an opportunist leadership that threatened with taking this working initiative to a dead end, as it finally happened.

This struggle will be patrimony and landmark to be conquered by workers led by a revolutionary leadership. As it has been proved, Stalinism promises victories and it will only bring defeats. This is what has to be avoided.

Neither revolution nor the combats of the workers of Africa reached Brichwood Hotel, let alone those of the world working class

The masses of Alexandra are far from this Congress, who are still without water and food; the immigrants and their women coming from all over Africa, kept working as slaves; workers remain claiming for justice for their partners.

I thought about my siblings of Zimbabwe and Mozambique who suffered natural catastrophes and capitalists' voracity and I also thought about the tormented masses of Angola and Guinea Bissau, who could not be part of this Congress. I thought about the miners of Hwange and their brave women who will remain separated from their siblings of Marikana. I thought about the little vendors who will remain unemployed in Zimbabwe or slaved in South Africa without the support of workers organizations. I thought that once again we have been divided.

As I walked around the streets of Johannesburg lalso thought: "How much water the AngloAmerican's regime and its lackey bourgeoisie need to put down the revolutionary fire that threatens with setting on fire South Africa!" The grass is dry and could be set on fire. The masses want concrete solutions: they want bread, decent jobs, land and stop living in shacks in the country of the gold. Following the path of the masses of Sudan, Algeria and Haiti, the exploited of South Africa have taken to the streets to conquer their demands with their own struggle.

The revolution starts to arise. It tries doing so, but so many treacherous leaderships prevent it. The main obstacle that the working class and masses have is the crisis of leadership, which prepares a new betrayal today as the one used to expropriate in the '90s the great revolution of the slaves of South Africa. This time the masses will not clash against Apartheid and the white like back then, but against "Capitalist Apartheid" of Anglo-American and of a black millionaire bourgeoisie, supported by three treacherous party, which allows them to live among a sea of black slaves.

The last word has not been written yet and probably it will not be. The revolutionaries must fight for it. Our first task is to tell workers the truth: who their allies are and who their enemies are. And the Congress of the SRWP has not become an ally of the socialist revolution. Actually our allies are in the fierce working vanguard who do not let the exploiters or the treacherous leaderships that betray them to live in peace, neither in South Africa nor internationally.

James S., correspondent in South Africa for IWO With the collaboration of Jussa K. and Julián Juárez

April 8th 2019

South Africa: an example

THE RENEGADES OF TROTSKYISM DISSOLVED THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL DEFINITIVELY IN UNIFIED PARTIES WITH STALINISM

What happened in South Africa is neither by chance nor new: CSP-Conlutas' leadership and the LIT-CI, like NUMSA, supported from the left any bureaucracy trying to disguise itself in deep red to have a better position inside the working vanguard, which is turning left at world level. Particularly, they do so with all Stalinist fractions trying to get legitimacy to control the working class and its struggle closely.

From Brazil, this leadership is devoted to whitewash any union bureaucracy trying to be an "alternative" to the old discredited bureaucracies. The LIT-CI varnishes them as "Trotskyists" and then "left" bureaucrats emerge ready to set up new obstacles, deceiving the workers who struggle fiercely against the system and its regimes and who want to build their struggle organizations to confront their en-

The same has happened in Bolivia recently. There, LIT-CI supported ORO Front (Revolutionary Workers' Organization) in the union election in Huanuni mine. This front called itself "militant"; it boasted about being "independent" from the Bolivarian government of Morales and claimed the need of building "proletarian internationalism". But as soon as they took office, the leadership of ORO Front became an appendix of the government and the class collaborationist COB bureaucracy; and it even called the Armed Forces and the police to militarize the mine to "defend" it from the unemployed workers, whom they accuse of "thieves of minerals", as if the imperialist transnationals were not the true plunderers of minerals in

Bolivia. Four unemployed workers have been already murdered by the Armed Forces in Huanuni. We are still waiting LIT-CI's statement about it...

Another example is the experience in Chile. There a new Stalinist trade union emerged. Their leaders had disguised as working class purists in CSP-Conlutas Congress in 2017 (where they assisted as LIT-CI's guests) and they ended up founding an organization not very different from CUT controlled by the CP.

This is an international policy of the so-called "New Left", where its left wing -as the "anticapitalists" and former trotskyists -this time called LIT-CI and "International Union Network"- have legitimized the dying and rotten leftovers of old Stanilism or joined them in unified parties.

This is not new either. This is what happened with Partido Obrero (Argentina), EEK (Greece) and DIP (Turkey). They have set up an International with two Russian Stalinist sections, both of them supporters of Putin and fascist al-Assad. They have done so by vindicating the Third International –which led by Stalin- ended up like a rotten body, like the Second International, betraying the world proletariat and surrendering the workers' states.

The same happens with the "anticapitalists" inside Syriza and Podemos. In the meantime, other currents have became neo-stalinist, like PTS (Argentina) which is breaking away from the IV International and Trotkyism and embracing Gramsci's Stalinist pseudo-theories.

Other groups talk about re-founding the old Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, where Mensheviks and Bolsheviks shared ranks... A tragedy: the Trotskyists entering unified parties with Stalinism, under whatever excuse they can find to destroy the Fourth International and its parties, not leaving stone over stone of them.

How can Bolshevism join Social Democracy, which has supported world counterrevolution since 1914, together with Stalinism? How can they move backwards the wheel of History, joining the filthy semi-corpses of Social Democracy and Stalinism, the latter still alive thanks to the renegades of Trotskyism? -

This people think that the Fourth International has been a historical misconception. For them, Trotsky should have



BOLIVIA: The ORO front meets with the government and the police chief to agree on the militarization of the Huanuni mine

remained in the Third International with Stalin, at times when the latter imposed the pseudo-theory of "socialism in one country", strangled the Chinese revolution in 1927 as well as the road to general strike in England; and also later on when he allowed Hitler's victory in Germany, propelled the policy of Popular Front in France and Spain and sent a fifth column to the Spanish Civil War.

Until WWI, the Russian Marxists and their different fractions were all together inside the Second International. The Social Democracy's voting of the war credits transformed it into a stinking dead body. Revolutionary Marxism proclaimed that imperialism reproduced itself and could endure by splitting socialism, that is to say, buying off a layer of labour aristocracy and bureaucracy. Therefore, after 1914, Lenin raised the need to found the Third International, after the conferences of Kienthal and Zimmerwald. The Second International had died.

Attempting to re-unify the counterrevolutionary forces, direct agents of the bourgeoisie (such as Stalinism), together with the Trotskyists in a common party today is to subjugate Trotskyism to the treacherous leaderships of the working class, and what's even worse, to be their supporters. It also means to openly liquidate the Fourth International, which was founded in 1938 by calling the working class to perform the political revolution, a civil war to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and thus recovering the workers' states.

Pabloism had dissolved the Fourth International in the second post war under the excuse that the USSR would enter into a world civil war against US imperialism. This turned out to be a falacy. The passage of the bureaucracy as a direct agent of imperialism in 1989 ends all discussion on the matter.

Now, the pretext to liquidate the Fourth International turns out to be "don't be isolated from the masses". It is inconsistent. The ones that are isolated from the masses are the Stalinists and, with the coverage of the renegades of Trotskyism, hava managed to white-washing themselves and gain credit before the world working class once again.

Undoubtedly, without the renegades of Trotskyism covering the left flank, NUMSA leadership would not have been able to wear "socialist" clothes before the masses.

This story of surrendering and capitulations will end with this Stalinist variant of South Africa getting rid of the "pseudo-socialist" clothes to show its real face: the beret of Chavism -who surrendered Venezuela- and their T-shirts displaying Castro -who surrendered the heroic Cuban revolution.



Mitina, from UCP, participating in the Workers Party of Argentina



Stalin, Churchill and Roosvelt in the Yalta meeting

During their Congress they did not even paid homage to Haiti's slaves who, sick of eating mud, took to the streets with revolutionary actions and where killed by UN troops daily. In the luxurious conference facilities, this joint party of Stalinists and renegades of Trotskyism did not give room to the heroic Syrian revolution, or to the more than 600,000 workers and exploited slaughtered by al-Assad and Putin, who are both supported by the world Stalin-

Someone has brought a Stalinist "Lazarus" back to life and they are the renegades of the Fourth International.

Julián Juárez

May 10th 2019

ELECTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

After the battles of the Marikana miners, the general strikes that overthrew Zuma and the struggles against the current governments...

THROUGH THE ELECTIONS TRAP AND THE VICTORY OF RAMAPHOSA...

THE ANC AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY IMPOSE A MOMENTANEOUS DIVERSION ON THE MASS STRUGGLE FOR BREAD. WORK AND FREEDOM

They want to give a breath to the "Reconciliation" regime, besieged by the exploited's hatred

The struggle of the "Free Born" youth, vanguard of the proletariat, called not to vote: It proves that the confrontation against imperialism and the capitalists is not over

he general elections this year gave the majority "again" to the ANC (in the government of South Africa for 25 years). The current president Ramaphosa "has won". He ratified his

presidency after he took office in advanced, due to the fall of the deposed president Zuma. But the number of votes for the ANC was the lowest in this party's history. This causes concern to the bourgeoisie that during the latest years have suffered the mass uprisings against the government and hated "Reconciliation" regime.

These elections, a true fraud against the fair aspirations of the poor South African people, imposed a deflection to the exploited's fights. The shortages, repressions, and misery suffered by exploited people in the past under the racist criminal Apartheid regime are the same nowadays under the ANC and his "reconciliation" with the white imperialist masters, those who stained the

... these elections were a true trap imposed by imperialism, the native bourgeoisie and the treacherous leaderships in an attempt to divert the rise of the exploited fight, and give a breath to the ongoing crisis...

nation with blood.

Taking into account the election as a "globular count of forces" we can say the **convulsive situation** of the country's class struggle was expressed in a distorting way. Since 2012 from Marikana workers' huge struggle and their picket lines (with 34 miners assassinated by the ANC police) till nowadays vast layers of the proletariat and masses have been breaking with and confronting the ANC and the hatred "reconciliation" regime. By this way, they have been pushing in every combat to open the road towards revolution.

This process left a brutal crisis in the bourgeois government and regime, which is still ongoing today. The process was expressed inside the worker organizations and trade unions through the split of NUMSA (among other unions) and SAFTU (The South

African Federation of Trade Unions) with COSATU bureaucracy and the ANC. The former president Zuma fell due to the mass revolutionary actions -general strikes and street combats- that shook the South African nation as well as the Anglo American and its junior partners, the black bourgeoisie.

That's why we affirm that these elections were a true trap imposed by imperialism, the native bourgeoisie and the treacherous leaderships in an attempt to divert the rise of the exploited fight, and give a breath to the ongoing crisis experienced by the government and slavers regime that is under besieged by millions of exploited. We af-



Cyril Ramaphosa

firm that if this trap can be set up was thanks to the leaderships at the head of the organizations of the worker movement and popular masses. Since the leaderships were in charge of putting in the ballot boxes the hopes of the workers and poor people to save the bourgeoisie.

We do not have any doubt that a brave call made by the worker organizations to continue the path of the general strike, with which we overthrew Zuma and cornered his successor Ramaphosa, will place us before a concrete possibility of defeating the pro-imperialist government of the ANC by a street fight. A call launched by NUMSA, SAFTU, and all the fighting and anti-bureaucratic trade unions to centralised the fights to strike as a single fist against the ANC, a call for the rank and file of COSATU to break with the collaborationist leaders. a call on the "Free Borns" and rank and file soldiers for conquer a true congress of the entire mass in struggle....it would place us at the door to conquer the power of those bellow...it would be in better conditions to fight for expelling the imperialism, recovering land for the South African people and expropriating capitalists and conquering all their demands.

The South African working class. through hard fights per factory, and its vanguard, the "FREE BORNS" fighting against the electoral trap by calling for NOT TO

VOTE shows there are enough forces and energies to end so many years of torment and oppression. If the unions had placed at the head of the struggle outside the parliament promoted by the "Free Borns", by calling NOT TO BE PART OF THE ELECTIONS, this trap would have fallen in a second and the crisis in the regime and the government would have been deeper.

The elections gave a partial super-structural victory to the bourgeoisie and now it must settle it in the class struggle, where nothing is over yet. The bourgeoisie is defensive. With traps and deceits, it is seeking to divert the pre-revolutionary situation, stopping it from advancing and open a revolution.

Ramaphosa, the candidate of the ANC and the imperialist pirates, won with the lowest amount of votes that Mandela's party got in history

What do the numbers say? 26 million people vote, out of 36 million people available to do so. Bearing in mind that in South Africa the vote is not compulsory, the abstention was the highest since 1994 (the "end of Apartheid") up to now. 10 million people did not vote and 6 million of them are estimated to belong to the "Free-Borns", youth between 20 to 30/35 years old that had grown and survived under the torments of the ANC government.

Out of the 26 million votes total, the ANC (an alliance made by the African National Congress, the Communist Party and the Stalinist bureaucracy of COSATU) got 57.67% of the votes. It was the winner of the elections. However. as the figures seem high, those numbers actually show that the ANC got the lowest votes in its history (even when it manages the state apparatus to rig elections). This question keeps the great moguls of the transnational companies and imperialist banks. such as Goldman Sachs, worried. as it is mentioned in the international bourgeois press.

On the other hand, the Democratic Alliance, the party settled in the white bourgeoisie and the most reactionary sectors of the country, kept its number of votes with 20.64%. It does not need more. The ANC knows how to guarantee and defend the profits of the Anglo American and the other imperialist gangs by shooting (as it did in Marikana against the miners that confronted Lon-

The "Free Borns" by calling NOT TO VOTE were the electoral expression of the mass uprising that undermined the pillars of the pro-imperialist South African bourgeois regime

The "Free Borns" are becoming the true ghost haunting imperialism and the local bourgeois partners. They head the majority of the demands of the exploited and are the ones -together with their siblings and parents- that confront labour slavery and the thirst for profits of the enslaver bosses. They know each other from the barricades, schools, universities and mainly the streets, where there are too many unemployed that have nothing lo lose.

That's why in these elections, as not being represented by any party, the "Free Borns" called not to vote, making a campaign under the ironic hashtag #IwannaVote-But leaving each one to complete their reason not to vote.

Hundreds of thousands, through social media, said they would not vote because "despite the government change their characters (speaking of Zuma leaving and Ramaphosa taking office, leading the ANC) the life of the people never change". Besides of denouncing they have no access to education, as it is private and a luxury only available to the wealthy sectors, many said they would not vote because "they missed their parents", making reference to the massacre of the Marikana miners.

The "Free Borns" expressed the feelings of millions of South African in their campaign. The ANC keeps 27% of the workers unemployed, while 55.5% of South Africans live beneath the datum poverty line. About poverty, "the figures in each race change radically, the white is only 1% while the black is 64%" (El Pais Newspaper, May 8th 2019). The same source claims "the black only have 14% of the board in every company, despite being 80% of the economically active population, and only 3% of the major corporations belong to black citizens".

That is to say, in these 25 years of ANC rule, the black population is still separated from the wealth created by their work and inherited from the natural resources of the land, just as it happened in the Apartheid. The structural democratic problems, such as expelling imperialism, that is to say the white bourgeoisie, recover the land and making a true black nation to rise, were not solved. The workers and poor of the farms and the cities make this known to all those who speak on behalf of "socialism" and turn their backs on the true aspirations of the masses that have no place in the ballots of the ANC and the renew of the reconciliation regime. This regime, with the new rich black

bourgeoisie, has expropriated the anti-colonial revolutionary struggle against Apartheid and tied the black nation with new shackles to the white imperialist pirate domination.

With election demagogy and against white imperialism rhetoric, the party of the "Economic Freedom Fighters" of Malema was another major player to subordinate the left wing of the masses to the electoral trap and strengthen the ANC government

As we have said above, the black population in South Africa suffers the miseries caused by the capitalists. The **EFF** (Economic Freedom Fighters) grew up electorally, reaching 10.5%, about 2.5 million votes, because their leader, Malema, forced by the struggle of the large masses, in its electoral demagogy, had to denounce the "white imperialism" and demand to "share the land for the black", to "create jobs for the black", "formation projects for the black and management jobs for the black" and "progressive tax system on the white's fortune".

This way, this party, which emerged from a SACP split, has channelized into elections an important layer of the disposed that cannot stand the ANC anymore nor the white bourgeoisie that manage the large resorts of the

South African economy, or the "rich black caste" that live over a sea of slaves. This rhetoric, of a fraction of the black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie that was left out of the businesses in South Africa, is just a speech to subordinate the workers and the poor to the election trap, helping the "reconciliation" regime and Ramaphosa's government to take a breath from the suffocating breath generated by the workers struggles.

The SWRP, founded in the last minute by Castro-Stalinism, with the support of renegades of Trotskyism, with their "socialist platform" under brothers Castro and Maduro, was not believable for the workers, as they did not vote for a minor copy of the **ANC**

Meanwhile, the SRWP, recently founded by a Castro-Stalinist leadership, supported by trade union bureaucrats and renegades of Trotskyism (which we may call a third South African Communist Party) had a failed election debut with only 0.14%, less than 20,000 votes. It is almost a non-existent figure, if we take into account that the SRWP leadership is also the leadership of NUMSA, the union of metalworkers, which has over 300,000 industrial workers affiliated. This is because this party was not the expression of any strug-



ANC congress calling to vote Ramaphosa

gle and did not call the workers to continue their struggles against the ANC government in the path of the General Strike of April 2018 that threatened to overthrow Ramaphosa, repeating the history of Zuma, and opening the South African revolution.

The new party's flourished announcements of "fighting" for "socialism" had no repercussion in any fraction of the working class, because it is not believable to speak of "socialism" under the banners of Castro, which advance in restoring capitalism in Cuba. It is not believable to speak of "socialism" under Maduro who gave up before the US master and defended the business deals of the Bolivarian bourgeoisie and the imperialist vultures, at the expense of starvation, misery and huge suffering of the Venezuelan poor.

This kind of "announcements" may attract opportunists and careerists but not the workers that fight for their demand every day. Only the workers and socialist revolution can provide a solution to their most felt problems.

Now, why would the masses vote for the SRWP if it supports the new Cuban bourgeoisie, emerged from

the Communist Party, and to the Venezuelan bourgeoisie, as the ANC does, when the ANC is hated by millions of exploited that want to defeat it? Furthermore, the worker that still has illusions in the scam called "socialism of the 21st century" of Castroists and Chavezists would never vote for the SWRP led by Castro-Stalinsm, as the ANC has the same policy and is bigger. To tell the truth, it is clear that by using the word "socialism", Castro-Stalinism has created a new "socialist" appendix of the ANC to deceive and contain the vanguard of the industrial proletariat, and prevent it from leading a struggle called by the "Free Borns" to not to vote and continue

the fighting in the streets against Ramaphosa, the ANC and the infamous regime.

Unfortunately, currents that claim to belong to Trotskyism, such as WIVP, and others such as the British SWP (which has long ago broken away from the program, strategy and theory of the Fourth International) were part of the foundation of that party under the banners of Castro-Stalinism. They have aligned themselves with the current that handed over the workers states (like USSR, China, the Eastern European nations and now Cuba) to capitalism. They betrayed every revolution. They are true enemies of the struggle for socialism. They are the murderers of Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik-Leninists and the fighters of and for the Fourth International.

From WIL Zimbabwe and the FLTI we are a supporting point to group cadres for fighting against Stalinism and the renegades of Trotskyism that are setting up new international re-alignments and parties to strangle the struggle of the workers and the people.

The South African working class has to know who are their allies and their enemies, in order to prepare the next combats, defeat the treacherous leaderships and guide the black masses to victory by overthrowing the bourgeois power and state and raising the power of the exploited, with the method of the proletarian revolution. From WIL Zimbabwe and the FLTI we are a supporting point to group cadres for fighting against Stalinism and the renegades of Trotskyism that are setting up new international re-alignments and parties to strangle the struggle of the workers and the people. We are convinced that the Trotskyists

and the revolutionary proletarian vanguard will help the masses, by their own experience and fights, to set up the revolutionary internationalist leadership they deserve and need for victory.

From the workers of NUMSA and SAFTU, from the "Free Born" youth and all the mass organizations in struggle:

Centralize the forces of the workers and the exploited together with the rank and file soldiers in a true workers and popular congress, to set up the power of those from below, conquer the revolutionary general strike and sweep away with the ANC and the "reconciliation" regime

> Two programs and two strategies are facing each other in the African continent in general and today in South Africa in particular. On the one hand, the treacherous class collaboration policy imposed by Stalinism and the renegades of Trotskyism, supporting the national bourgeoisies when they posed as "anti-imperialist" or "democratic". On the other hand, the theory-pro-

gram of the Permanent Revolution, which says "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses."

It is a matter of life or death for the working class and the militant youth to defeat the policy of the Castro-Stalinist currents and of those nationalist bourgeois fac-

tions that have divided us and subordinated to the electoral farce, to guarantee a breath for the ANC and the "reconciliation" regime.

The current situation in South Africa puts, as a first order task, to prepare the working class for the next class clashes that will inevitably come. Together with the militant unions, it is needed to set up the structures to centralize all the masses that enter to the fight fighting for water, wages, houses, education and so on.

It is needed, as an emergency, that NUMSA and SAFTU workers boldly call the Free Borns and all the workers and popular organizations (COSATU workers in the first place) to break with the bourgeoisie, to expel the class-collaboration leaders and to set up a National Congress of the Exploited. It should include a call to the **privates** (which were taken to the black bourgeoisie by Stalinism before) to set up their rank and file committees and fight together with the workers and the poor to conquer the REV-**OLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE,** defeat Ramaphosa, the ANC and the "reconciliation" regime.

It is about conquering the power of those from below, breaking with imperialism, the native bourgeoisie and their servants. It is about conquering a provisional revolutionary workers and peasants government. This government would be the only one able to expel imperialism and expropriate the capitalists, to recover the land, bread, work, freedom and true national independence... fighting for the workers and socialist revolution.

This is the way forward to advance to the Black Republic, the Bantu Republic, which will once again emerge in history by conquering the Federation of Workers Socialist Republics in the entire Southern Africa! •

August 23rd, 2019

SEVEN YEARS AND STILL NO JUSTICE FOR MARIKANA FAMILIES

The families of the 34 mineworkers killed by police in Marikana are still looking to obtain justice and to be compensated by the government. The case around the compensation of the miners was far from being settled. They is not a tragedy, but it was and it is how the bosses treats workers.

This comes as the country on Friday 16th August 2019 marks seven years since the massacre that occurred in the North West mining area. But families have yet to see justice.

34 workers lost their lives in the Marikana Massacre in 2012 in a the mass shootings at two sites around a koppie where workers had gathered during their strike, demanding a minimum salary of R12 500 a month.

To this day, there have been no prosecutions of senior officials or role players involved in the shooting. The mineworkers and their family have yet to see justice.

Seven years on, Marikana residents still live in dire conditions. The company's Lonmin failure to live up to its promise to build 5 500 houses for workers. It only built three. This created a situation living hell in which large numbers of Lonmin workers live in





squalid informal settlements, creating an environment conducive to the creation of tension, labour

unrest, disunity among its employees or other harmful conduct. The mineworkers were promised that life would change after the blood of so many was spilt. People who were fighting for more wages. It was promised that they would have it by 2017, but nothing.

The President of Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) Joseph Mathuniwa honored the fallen 34 who tragically lost their lives in the massacre in 2012 by building the families of fallen comrades homes.

The miner Edwaerd of the Marikana Fighting Committee says they still have no running water and electricity. He believes the koppie needs to be turned into something to help remember those who died.

Today the COSATU bureaucracy can no longer speak on behalf of the workers. Each time their role as agent of the bourgeoisie becomes clearer. They have sold out the workers of Marikana. It is the working class conquering its own democracy which must sweep away the servile leaders, accomplices and executors of the capitalist slave schemes. Only then will the workers be able to conquer the long-awaited and longed-for unity of their ranks and Justice.

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

Worker's must put end to the government of Ramaphosa and the parliament where evil plots are combined at the backs of and against the poor people and all laws are voted against the workers, all of which are previously concocted in the embassies of the dominant powers between the CEO's of the AngloAmerican and other imperialist gangs, and the local bourgeoisie.

Workers must conquer a program of revolutionary action to unify the ranks of the workers and prepare a superior fight against Ramaphosa, the ANC, the imperialist pirates and the infamous regime of the capitalists! Against the power of those at the top, the power of the exploited must be upheld.

The demands that unify us are those that were raised in each of the mobilizations that shook South Africa on the 16th August 2012. The time has come to unite our ranks in a single list of demands and to organize and prepare a struggle superior to that which we have already starred in. It is about strengthening all those enormous energies deployed by the exploited in all these years of battles against the bourgeoisie and the state of the oppressors and showing them a path to victory.

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

To conquer bread, jobs, wages; land, housing; cheap credit for the ruined middle classes: Out with imperialism! Out with the IMF!

Expropriation without compensation and under workers' control of the transnationals, the Anglo-American, the mines, the land and the banks!

Only the working class expropriating both imperialism and the new black bourgeoisie can guarantee an emergency worker's plan and thus remove suffering from the masses.

The true struggle for the socialist revolution is in the embryo bodies of dual power of the masses, which are emerging in Southern Africa. The struggle for proletarian internationalism of the South African workers is side by side with the revolutionary masses who are fighting today in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Sudan; those who are resisting in Syria and in Palestine; those who are fighting in the imperialist countries like the Black Vests of France.

#NeverAgain #RememberMarikana #JusticeForMarikana

For a Worker's and Socialist Black Republic in Marikana South Africa

Jussa Kudherezera

September 8th, 2019

SOUTH AFRICA: 10 DEAD AND 400 WOUNDED AFTER BRUTAL ATTACKS AGAINST IMMIGRANT WORKERS

Organized by Anglo American, the ANC and COSATU treacherous union bureaucracy... Fascist gangs attack workers from Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana... who do the worst jobs in gold mines and the farms

A campaign of Xenophobia to divide workers' ranks and attack conquests of all the exploited of South Africa

The true foreigners who steal our wealth, wages and jobs in South Africa are TNCs and imperialist bankers and their partners of the new millionaire bourgeoisie of black enslavers

ONE CLASS, ONE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, CAPITALISTS AND THEIR **GOVERNMENTS!**

Self-defence committees of unions, workers and popular organizations to smash the fascist beast that is trying to rise!

For the unity of the working class from Congo to Mozambigue, from Harare to Cape Town! Out with imperialism! For a Federation of Black Worker and Peasants Republics in the entire Southern Africa!

The International Workers International League of Zimbabwe condemns the brutal attacks that by the barbarian transnationals, victimization, murders, wounded and intimidation suffered by immigrant workers in South Africa. They work in the gold and platinum mines, and harvest the fields. Immigrant women are forced to live their families and children to work as servants in rich families. Immigrant workers are chained and sold as slaves to the capitalists in Europe. They are brought to South Africa to do the worst jobs and when the economy enters recession -by capitalist thieves and imperialist plunder- are killed and murdered by gun men paid by big companies and the government to expel to their countries.

The capitalists in South Africa, TNCs and imperialist bankers use slave labour force of immigrants to guarantee profits and also plunge workers' salaries in South Africa and slave them even more. Labour aristocracies and bureaucracies fuel xenophobia to blame immigrant workers and not imperialism -the true promoter of slavery, hunger and misery- for the sufferings of exploited of South Africa.

The working class of South Africa can only fight and triumph if they unify their ranks and welcome immigrant workers to their unions and workers organizations fighting for "Equal work, equal pay!" "We are one single working class!" The enemies are the white bourgeoisie and imperialism, which control the best lands, mines and all the wealth of South Africa. There is a gang of black millionaire bourgeoisie who are their partners, who keep workers enslaved with their whip. A few years ago they slaughtered the miners of Marikana without asking which nationality they were, as they demanded a decent wage of R12,500. They persecute workers in the car and steel industry when they fight for better wages and defend their jobs.

The immigrants are part of the working class; they are abandoned to their fate by the union

bureaucracy and left at the mercy not only the most brutal exploitation -with outsourced or temporary jobs- but also they are the reserve army of labour in nations plundered by imperialism in the entire Africa. Black workers are killed in USA: they drown in the Mediterranean Sea trying to get to Europe; and in South Africa the bourgeoisie of Pretoria and their hired gun men kill us when they do not need us anymore.

The ANC government and its murderous police organize these gangs of gunmen and fascists who attack immigrants from the backstage. They say that we, immigrants, are the reason for unemployment and that we steal jobs. Thus, they want to prevent the working class from uprising -like happened during the general strikes against Zuma's government- and confronting the government, workers' true enemy. But the truth is that capitalists have plunged the country in this crisis. Imperialism has plundered the nation and its wealth. They are

firing thousands of workers, like in Arcelor Mittal. They hire immigrant without papers in conditions of precarious jobs with miserable wages and they blackmail the entire working class to either accept low wages and super-exploitation conditions or to be fired and replace by immigrant workers. Imperialism, bosses, their governments, their repressive forces and their lackeys are the propellers of "Xenophobia"!

Let's unite the workers' ranks to face the government, the capitalists and the bosses! Down with COSATU union bureaucracy!

Imperialism, the bosses and their government of the ANC and Stalinism have organized these true fascist pogroms against immigrants to have social base to deepen the attack on workers. COSATU union bureaucracy is an accomplice; they stand with the government who organize them. Immigrants are not part of its ranks and COSATU does not defend them. They are abandoned to their fate to suffer the worst over-exploitation by the bosses. who take advantage of this situation to plunge workers' wages and fuel hatred towards the immigrants by telling the workers "the immigrants are to blame for wage reductions and loss of jobs." There is nothing strange about this, since these bureaucrats are partners of social-imperialist British TUC, which raised the program of "British jobs for British workers" a few years ago. Today they allow the policy of "South African job for South African workers" in that country and then they issue statement lamenting the events of violence and calling to raise consciousness and solidarity... Crocodile tears! They request meetings with different organisms to discuss the topic, while they keep refusing to enroll immigrants and fight, first of all, for full rights for them and to fight together for jobs for all and wages equal to the family basket.

The COSATU union bureaucrats are enemies of organizing workers ranks and transforming their organizations in the spike to open the borders and conquer equal pay for equal job for all the workers, cutting down working shifts and with decent wages for all. They are enemies of organizing and centralizing the struggle against labour flexibilization and against the attack on the gains of the working class that big capital has launched internationally. They are far from propelling an international fight of the working class, like the ones in the late 19th Century and early 20th to conquer 8-hour shifts. The biggest defeat and tragedy suffered by world proletariat has been that this excrescence of the working class -namely union bureaucracies, labour aristocracies and their parties- have destroyed militant internationalism, when it necessary more than never to face bankrupted capitalist system. Down with COSATU union bureaucracy!

SAFTU, a trade union that broke away from COSATU and confronts the government, has issued a statement against xenophobic attacks. It has an enormous authority since it has been confronting Ramaphosa, but they have not organized any self-defence committee or struggle for the immigrants yet. The steel workers of NUMSA, one of the biggest union and main member of the mentioned trade union, have not done it either. Leaders of this union set up the Socialist Revolutionary Workers' Party (SRWP) a few years ago and they have issued a statement but not any actions yet. These trade unions and leaderships of the working class have the real chance of organizing now self-defence committees to defend immigrants and smash fascist gangs! Let's call the grassroots workers of the unions enrolled in COSATU to break away with the union bureaucracy and join these committees and the struggle against the xenophobic gangs!

For self-defence committees! Let's stop the xenophobic attacks now!

Today they are coming for the immigrant workers, like they did in Marikana. In the future they will come for the entire working class. We cannot allow it! We are one working class, one nation: the black Nation, Bantu Nation! If a sector of the labour aristocracy allows this brutal attack against immigrants, they will be selling their soul to the devil, because the government is coming for all the workers. They know the struggle class against class and that they crisis must be paid by the entire working class and the exploited. That is why: One class against one enemy: the TNCs, the capitalists and their government! Papers and full right for all the immigrants! Equal pay for equal job! Let's expel the real "illegal immigrants" plunderers of our wealth: the Anglo American, miners and imperialism! The government of starvation and selling out ANC is the guarantor of a new regime of Apartheid against the working class and exploited people, this time commanded by black rich, junior partners, managers and foremen of the imperialist TNCs. Enough with TNCs which steal our wealth! Out with imperialism from Africa!

The attack against immigrants in South Africa brings up an immediate need of unifying workers ranks in Africa and fight together. For a Congress of all the unions of Southern Africa, with grassroots delegates voted in assemblies to coordinate and centralize our struggle! Let's organize unemployed workers committees in every union of Southern Africa for this combat! Enough union bureaucrats kneeled before the bourgeoisie, both black and white!

Against unemployment, we must fight for: Decent jobs for all! Sliding scale of wages and working hours! All available hands must produce! Cutting down shifts hours, for 6-hour shifts for everybody, one more shifts in every factory and companies! Full payment of wages for the unemployment until they get a new job! For a plan of public Works and progressive taxes to the big fortunes to build hospitals, schools and houses, so everybody can have jobs! The crisis is here: May it be paid by capitalists, bankers, TNCs and corrupted politicians! In order to conquer bread, job, decent wages, houses and health: Let's expropriate the TNCs, bankers and landowners, first of all Anglo American, without compensation and place under worker control!

Enough with black rich in a sea of slaves! Enough with governments of Ramaphosa, Mnangagwa and other lackeys of imperialism!

a Federation of For Black Republics without bankers. TNCs nor slaver bosses. Our war cry against slavery must run through the tormented Africa and reach imperialist Europe and USA. Thousands of us drown in the Mediterranean Sea, while Trump organizes fascist gangs of white supremacist to attack black

workers in the USA. They are the xenophobes and organize fascist gangs against immigrants! But also in Europe and the US our allies live. They are the black workers who fight in Black Live Matters in USA and the Black Vests who have taken to the streets in France. The fight against fascist pogroms in South Africa is the struggle of black immigrant working class taken as slave to the 5 continents!

Continued from back cover

detention centers and all others.

To abolish prisons for foreigners!

We do not fight only for the documentation, but against the system that created the undocumented.

We will not pay more to a teller or to a counter officer to get an appointment.

We do not want to have to negotiate with the Interior Ministry and its prefectures any more.

WE WANT TO SPEAK WITH PRIME MINISTER **EDOUARD PHILIPPE, NOW!**

We will stay here until the last one of us has the papers and for the ones that will come after we get the freedom to stay!

To all those who revolt here, in Sudan or in Alge-

To our comrades, to all those who fight against the exploiters.

To all those who think that no human being is illegal.

To all those who got fed up with being the prev of the extreme right every 5 years.



And those who are convinced that the fight against racism that is coming is the fight against racism now.

Papers and homes for everyone!

Freedom of movement and permanence!

Long live the fight of the Black Vests!

Black Vests in Struggle

Rights ahead!! And Collective The Standing Chapelle

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One single working class in the 5 continents and one single enemy May capitalism and its murderous states diel WEAREAULIMERANTSI

July 2019

THE DEAD ONES STAND UP!

Today we, immigrants and those without papers, inhabitants of social housing, tenants of the streets, are occupying the Pantheon.

We are the undocumented, the voiceless, the faceless for the French Republic. We've come to the grave of your great men to denounce your desecrations of the memories of our comrades, of our fathers and mothers, of our brothers and sisters in the Mediterranean, on the Paris routes, in the shelters and prisons. France continues slavery, in a new way. Our parents died for France. And those who are dead are dead. The responsibility is that of the ones who live, those who have power today. And may the dead rest in peace.

Before yesterday, we attacked the border occupying Air France's terminal at Charles de Gaulle Airport. This is where the French police take us on planes to Algiers, Dakar, Khartoum, Bamako or Kabul. It's from which Djiby was deported!

Yesterday, we invaded the Elior Tower in La Defensa and the General Directorate of Labor.

We went to tell the bosses that humiliate and exploit us: fear moved to the other side! Today,

we continue to beat the State and its racism, in France and in Europe.

We come to defend our dignity! We will not plead with anyone else and we will take our rights by struggling!

We've come to tell you that for the foreigners, France's motto is humiliation, exploitation, deportation. France makes war there, loots our resources and decides for and with our corrupt States.

France makes war on us here.

We occupy

Because there are 200,000 empty houses in Paris and our people sleep under the road intersections. Yesterday, the mayor's office surrounded the streets of the Wilson Avenue camp in Saint Denis.

Because in the refuge of Thiais as in all the others, the police comes in the morning to take the inhabitants from the rooms.

To demand the release of our fellow Black Shirts (as the undocumented are called, TN) prisoners locked in It continues on page 31