

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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Thousands of South African platinum miners exploited by the Lonmin mining company went on strike to demand a living wage in August 2012. They had seen other striking miners demanding and getting big wage increases in neighboring mines. The South African National Union of Mineworkers refused to take their demands to Lonmin, and Lonmin refused to speak to them unless they negotiated through the NUM. During the days of the strike, they were shot at by NUM officials and by the police. On 16 August - in a bloodbath now known as the Marikana miners' massacre - the South African police mowed down 34 of them with automatic rifle fire. Jacob Zuma released

the South African government's official inquiry into the massacre (led by Judge Farlam) on 26 June. The picture above is of the meeting between wounded and arrested miners, the widows of the slain, and their lawyers to discuss their response to the inquiry. The Farlam Inquiry, like so many state investigations into state violence (Bloody Sunday, Orgreave, Hillsborough) blames the victims for their own deaths. From the outset it condemns the miners for having an "unprotected" strike, and for their "violence" - in the same way that Thatcher's government justified unleashing the most savage state violence against the British miners' in 1984-85.

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WORKERS INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Political and theoretical journal of
Workers International to Rebuild
the 4th International
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WRP Namibia fights for its constitutional rights

The Workers Revolutionary Party of Namibia contested the November 2014 elections in the country and won 13,328 votes, entitling the party, under the constitution and electoral law, to two seats in the National Assembly and certain funds and facilities to enable it to carry out its work. We reproduce here a series of documents which map the WRP's struggle to have access to the facilities and resources to which it is entitled.

As the former soldiers on the Central Committee of the WRP say in their statement of 14 May 2015: "It is clear that the Government is now working with individuals outside the WRP to destroy the party to stop it from taking the demands of the working people forward in parliament"

Workers Revolutionary Party to Rebuild the Fourth International

Report regarding the nullification of WRP parliamentary funds and meeting with the Speaker of Parliament - Professor Peter Katjavivi

13 May 2015

Since the opening of parliament the Secretary of the National Assembly failed to provide offices to the WRP. The funding of the WRP was also delayed until Monday, 11 May 2015 when it was outright nullified.

This morning, 13 May 2015, I the authorized representative of the WRP went to Parliament to enquire from the Secretary of The National Assembly and the Speaker as to the reasons for the delay both in the provision of offices and the payment.

I met with the Secretary first who informed me that payment was suspended due to a letter from one of the parliamentarians who requested him to do so. He would not display the letter to me. I asked him on what legal basis he could do so as I was the authorized representative. He informed me that it was their responsibility to solve issues like this amicably.

I asked him whether he subscribed to the statutes which authorize only the authorized representative to deal with the Parliament and the Electoral Commission. I asked him on what legal basis did he want to resolve internal party matters? He replied that he would consult with his legal advisors. I put it to him that there was no need to do so as he was fully aware that he could only deal with me as the registered authorized representative.

I was made to wait for a considerable time to meet with the Speaker who was in consultation with the Secretary, one Mr Oupa Britz and a lady not known to me.

The Speaker took the same patronizing line of being obligated to resolve the WRP's internal problems before payment. I asked him on what legal or religious basis he sought to resolve the WRP's internal disputes or issues. He ignored the repeated questions.

I asked him repeatedly whether he ascribed to the parliament own Acts such as the Electoral Act of 2014 by subjecting himself to the fact that I was the authorized representative. He would not answer.

I then asked him whether he does not subject himself to the fact that he should only deal with me as the authorized representative. He did not answer.

It then emerged from the disclosures of Britz and Jacobs that they including the Speaker were in daily contact by written communication with a group including Benson Kaapala a WRP parliamentarian led by one August Maletzky and one Harry Boesak. They quoted from written communiqués which they would not display that this group is to hold a meeting on Sunday, 17 May 2015 to elect a new leadership for the WRP. This group would then submit the list of its leadership to them for recognition.

The Speaker eventually affirmed that he would not consider my communication as authorized representative and they would neither make any payment to the WRP nor would they give us offices.

It became clear from further communication that the Secretary and the Speaker were in agreement with Maletzky and Boesak to organize an alternative organization. Benson Kaapala had to furnish the signatures of the communiqués in this regard.

The Secretary was caught out lying about the receipt of the letter from Maletzky, Boesak and Kaapala, nullifying the payments. He said he received it at 5 p.m. yesterday while he had received it some days earlier at the time when August Maletzky sent cell phone and email messages around to persons.

These communications had direct relation to my letters to the Secretary and the Speaker as the authorized representative. By obligation these communications should have been relayed to me and the WRP.

The entire scope and origins of these intrigues between the Maletzky group and the Speaker were clarified this morning in a weekly paper called the *Informante*. It was a perversely distorted article titled "Woes pile up for Beukes couple" clearly intended to frame and personalize the WRP leadership by fantastic lies: It is stated that we Hewat and Erica Beukes opened up

bank accounts in our name for the funds destined for the WRP; They threatened the President Geingob.

This last bit is particularly ominous.

The article omits that the complaints against Geingob were amongst others, the murder of a 10-year old boy Winston Ford as reprisal for his mother, Martha Ford's criticism of the rape of young girls by the SWAPO leadership; the enslavement of a young girl Priscilla van Wyk in Zambia who fled arrest in Namibia; the confinement of Martha Ford in squalor in Angola after independence in 1990; the refusal to account for the remains of the murdered Winston Ford and Walter Thiro.

Geingob to this day did not respond to these deadly serious issues, but instead boasted about his power to go any place in Namibia as President including Sam Nujoma where the Beukes and Thiro families did not want him.

The nature of the conspiracies is reflected in the triumphant but extremely lewd and seedy emails and cell phone messages sent around by Maletzky. I attach two hereto. It serves no purpose to publish numerous other lewd and abusive messages. Maletzky

was never a member of the WRP or active in any of its activities and campaigns. Boesak was a member of the WRP and now a member of the Marx Read group.

The intention to wreck the WRP's presence in parliament began immediately after elections. The Secretary's office advised recalcitrant persons to take the WRP to court, which would draw out these cases for years. In this last effort they threw all pretense overboard due to a vengeful President.

The group on which the Speaker relies for legal advice are:

Jakes Jacobs, a former National Party member from Pretoria;

Oupa Britz, was a magistrate in a case, *Beukes and Another v CIC Holdings Ltd* (SA 24/2003), in which he destroyed tapes of the court record and Judge O'Linn in the Supreme Court pronounced himself on Britz's gross irregularities. He remarked that Britz did not understand himself.

Professor Katjavivi himself was the flytrap in the 70's in Europe when he was SWAPO's Western European representative misinforming young people sending them back to Zambia to their deaths or to jail. He is now using the

same methods to deny the WRP its funds and offices.

Hewat Beukes
Leader

Hewat Beukes you called me an inveterate criminal, and apologized after I compelled your sorry ass to. Well, Hewat Beukes, your sorry ass days are numbered. Do the right thing now, face the inevitable consequences. Freaken fool, thank your stars for having your teeth intact. Your dream is about to be shattered. Hungry Poes..

August Maletzky 08/05/15 20:04

Hewat Beukes, your boundless stupidity is about to backfire big time. How come you call yourself the leader of the WRP? Who gave you the right to: Besides, why don't dos lose the raging discontent about your legitimacy as WRP leader on FB? Isn't it laughable that the constitution of the WRP was signed by you and Josob? You are not the leader of WRP! And we shall prove it to you

From: August Maletzky 10/05/15 22:01

Workers Revolutionary Party to Rebuild the Fourth International

Open statement to the Secretary of the National Assembly

By the former soldiers in the Central Committee of the WRP

We the undersigned former soldiers and members of the Central Committee of the WRP herewith make the following statement.

Besides the six of us, the following former soldiers were members of the Central Committee:

1. George Smieer;
2. Benson Kaapala;
3. Armandu Emanuel;
4. Immanuel Samakupa;
5. Christian Eiseb.

They out of own free will left the party. They are no longer members of the WRP.

All former soldiers joined the party on the agreement that we will work in terms of a manifesto expressing the struggles, demands and objectives of the whole working class not only for the demand to redeem our stolen pensions. Two former soldiers Salmon Fleermuys and Benson Kaapala filled the two seats

of the WRP. They had undertaken to bring the manifesto into parliament.

Salmon Fleermuys, Jan Frans Narib and George Smieer established a movement amongst former soldiers to campaign for the pension stolen by the SWAPO Government in 1990.

In September 1998, Salmon Fleermuys accompanied by Pastor Joseph Gomoseb led a delegation of ex-soldiers to President Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, whom they personally met to demand full recognition as South African Military Veterans. President Mandela caused an Act of Parliament, Military Veterans Act 17 of 1999 to be promulgated to include former South West African Territorial Force members.

President Zuma in 2014 repealed this Act clearly on the request of the Namibian Government.

Salmon Fleermuys is at present the WRP Chief Whip in Parliament in which capacity he has repeatedly raised the demand of the former soldiers and the working class as a whole.

Given the role of the Chief Whip, it was shocking to learn that the Secretary did not at least communicate the purported letters from persons requesting the suspension of our payment and offices. It was clearly done to damage our party.

It is clear that the Government is now working with individuals outside the WRP to destroy the party to stop it from taking the demands of the working people forward in parliament.

The illegal refusal of the Secretary of the National Assembly and the Speaker to make the payments of the WRP is meant to destroy the party.

The party cannot be destroyed. We demand that you stop to work with

persons such as Mr August Maletzky and Harry Boesak who were not soldiers and not members of the WRP to destroy our party. We demand that you pay out the payment and to communicate solely with our authorized representative on party matters and our Chief Whip on parliamentary matters.

Signed by the former soldiers in the Central Committee 14 May 2015
Salmon Fleermuys
Jan Frans Narib
Sageus Tjihenuna
Bernhard Gerhard Strohdike
Alfeus Itikua
Pastor Joseph Gomoseb

**Workers Revolutionary
Party to Rebuild the
Fourth International**

PO Box 3349 Windhoek, Fax:
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Workers Revolutionary Party to Rebuild the Fourth International

International Updated Report

15 May 2015

An investigation into the operations of a strike force set up by one August Maletzky, Harry Boesak, Willem Beukes, and Benson Kaapala in cooperation with the Speaker of Parliament and the Secretary of the National Assembly to dismantle the Workers Revolutionary Party and set up a surrogate has produced the following insight:

The Speaker and the Secretary as far back as 8 May 2015 went into verbal and written communications with the said group regarding efforts to dismantle the WRP and to set up an organization with the same name.

On 9 May 2015 the group sent a group to a WRP Politbureau meeting at the house of Hewat and Erica Beukes where one of them threatened to shoot Cds Jacobus Josob and Sageus Tjihenuna, and anyone who worked with Hewat Beukes. He had to be restrained and dragged out of the house where he continued his threats both physical and politically. Most of the group were unknown lumpent elements.

The seriousness of these threats became only clear when it came to light that this group was operating under the direction of the Speaker, Professor Peter Katjavivi, Secretary Jakes Jacobs, a magistrate Oupa Britz, August Maletzky and Harry Boesak.

This group scheduled a meeting at the Safari Motel for 17 May 2015 for a meeting with persons to come from all over the country. The meeting alone will cost at least R60,000.00.

The following extracts from August Maletzky's email and cell phone messages which he sent around regarding his new masters and afterwards his tirades and threats carried to practicality by his operatives against Hewat Beukes shows clearly to what extent and lengths the Speaker, Professor

Peter Katjavivi would go to connive against the WRP.

It is a statement of character spanning the entire exile era.

Maletzky used the crudest and the most uncouth language against the Professor's party associates, but he does not wince for a second. Maletzky upon agreements turns right around and directs his total and absolute lack of culture against Hewat Beukes without a murmur from the Learned Professor.

The crude swearing of Maletzky constitutes *crimen injuria*, but our lawmaker has no qualms to associate himself.

The fact that he uses legitimate objections against the SWAPO whilst having no qualms to make a 180 degree turn-around shows the unprincipled character of the person:

"Hewat Beukes you called me an inveterate criminal, and apologized after I compelled your sorry ass to. Well, Hewat Beukes, your sorry ass days are numbered. Do the right thing now, face the inevitable consequences. Freaken fool, thank your stars for having your teeth intact. Your dream is about to be shattered. Hungry Poes.."

August Maletzky 08/05/15 20:04

"Hewat Beukes, your boundless stupidity is about to backfire big time. How come you call yourself the leader of the WRP? Who gave you the right to: Besides, why don't dos lose the raging discontent about your legitimacy as WRP leader on FB? Isn't it laughable that the constitution of the WRP was signed by you and Josob? You are not the leader of WRP! And we shall prove it to you"

From: August Maletzky 10/05/15 22:01

August Galax

8 May at 19:51 ·

"Swapo's dirty panties on display: Utoni Nujoma, freaken kont! This is especially for you and your disgraced dad, Sam Nujoma:)"

August Galax

8 May at 11:43 ·

"The Truth will always prevail Swapo's betrayal of their own freedom fighters disclosed by non other than Mihe Gaomab. They, Swapo, are a disgrace and an insult to humanity. That is why they like parasites, survive by rigging elections!"

We call on our members and our international comrades to support us in our struggle against the perverse and contemptible methods used by the Namibian Parliament to threaten the lives of our leaders, destroy the WRP and deny the Namibian electorate the right to elect their own representatives. We call on them to make their aversion to this perversion of Universal Franchise known to the world and the Namibian Parliament.

The bourgeoisie backslap and award these anti-democrats for sending the Namibian Nation deeper into the abyss. These are crucial actions by the imperialists to legitimize their surrogates.

Kindly make the contrary statement.

We call on our members and our international comrades to support us materially and financially to mobilise our defence against this vicious enemy and to exercise the right to build our party.

We assure you that nothing will deter us!

Signed:

Hewat Beukes

Authorised representative

Letter

To Mr. Hewat Beukes / Honourable Mr. Benson Kaapala, Leaders (*sic*) of the Workers Revolutionary Party, 21 May 2015

Attention: Mr. H. Beukes and Hon. Mr. B. Kaapala

Funding of the Workers Revolutionary Party in terms of Electoral Act, 2014 (Act 5 of 2014)

1. The Office of the Speaker of the National Assembly is in terms of section 156 of the Electoral Act, 2014 (Act No. 5 of 2014) responsible for the payment of the allocated funds in terms of section 155 of the Electoral Act, 2014 to the represented political parties.

2. For your convenience an extract of section 156 of the electoral Act is cited below as follows:

“156 Payment of allocated funds to political parties

1. The Secretary of the National Assembly must, upon the confirmation – (a) by the Treasury of the availability of the funds; and (b) by the Chairperson of the Commission that there is no any impediment disallowing the funding of a given political party, notify the Speaker of the National Assembly in the prescribed manner and under the direction of the Speaker cause to be paid to the political party concerned the allocated funds in accordance with section 155.

2. Funds to be paid to a political party under subsection (1) are deposited in a separate banking account opened by the political party concerned with a banking institution in Namibia.

3. Honourable Calle Schlettwein, the Minister of Finance, when he tabled the determinations to be issued by the Minister of Finance under the Electoral Act, 2014, in the National Assembly, summarised the purpose of political party funding as follows:

“2. When the Electoral Act was passed in this august House at the end of last year, we have realised that political parties and candidates need access to money in order to reach out to the electorate and explain their goals and policies, and receive input from people about their views. We also recognised that political finance has a positive role to play in our democracy: (a) it helps strengthen political parties and candidates, and (b) it provides opportunities to compete on more equal terms. Indeed, sufficient access to funding is crucial to the overall vibrancy of an electoral and democratic system, which helps citizens believe in (and trust) politics and politicians.”

3. It has become clear that within the Workers Revolutionary Party, there is discord as evinced from the various correspondences and meetings with each faction claiming its entitlement to the political funding made available under the Electoral Act, 2014.

4. As a result, as Speaker of the National Assembly, I have resolved not to authorise any disbursements to any of the factions within the Workers Revolutionary Party, given the ongoing discord, and would like to herewith request the Workers Revolutionary Party factions to consider referring the matter of how and where the funds ought to be disbursed to mediation by an independent third party, and thereafter, reverting to the Office of the Speaker with a united position on the matter.

5. I would like to suggest that such a mediation be conducted and concluded no later than 21 days from the

date of receipt of this letter by the addressees, and if I may further suggest, the Ombudsman Mr. John Walters, alternatively the Chairperson of the Public Service Commission, who are both non-partisan constitutional office bearers that could be approached for their facilitation of a mediation. Alternatively, kindly refer your disputes to an expedited arbitration process under the Arbitration Act, 1965 (Act No. 42 of 1965).

6. Hopefully, as leaders, we may realise that the Speaker only takes this position with a view to assisting the Workers Revolutionary Party to resume its functions of representing its electorate as opposed to delving further into disputes, and at the same time, the Office of the Speaker is kept out of the fray of party funding disputes.

7. I therefore look forward to receiving your united directive as to how the allocated political party funding of the Workers Revolutionary Party will be disbursed. Similarly, I look forward to receiving a united directive from the Workers Revolutionary Party confirming its representation in the National Assembly.

8. Please accept my regards and hope that the Workers Revolutionary Party will pass through this temporary impasse to resume the function of participating in the activities of the National Assembly with a clear mandate from the rank and file of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Yours sincerely,
Hon Professor Peter H. Katjavivi (MP)
Speaker of the National Assembly

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL PAMPHLET
Back to mass poverty

The ‘future’ the bourgeoisie wants

“... To halt the bourgeoisie’s general offensive, we need to mount a united struggle on a comparable - Europe-wide - scale. When it comes to blocking those attacks on the rights and gains working people have achieved, and driving the offensive back ... struggles confined to individual countries one after another in isolation are doomed to fail”.

Available from Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International, PO Box 68375, London E7 7DT, UK
Price £2. Cheques payable to “Correspondance”

Two resolutions

22 May 2015

I

The WRP Central Committee resolves as follows:

1. We are part of the United Front with NUMSA and the South African working class.
2. We resolve to fight for a united party of the Working class of Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa.
3. We are a member of the Workers International to rebuild the Fourth International.
4. The only way we can fight this attempt by the SWAPO regime to destroy the WRP is to mobilise the workers and struggle with them such as at the Manganese mines and other places of struggle. This is also the only way we can have a proper Congress in the first week of September this year.
5. We return to the regions to build the party immediately.
6. We thank our international comrades for their unselfish assistance and

we ask socialist and democratic lawyers to assist us in their struggle against the robbing of our legitimate place in parliament and our right to the resources available for the other capitalist parties.

(Signed by 19 members of the Central Committee)

II

The WRP Central Committee resolves as follows:

Who elects the leaders of a political party?

Who gives the Speaker of the National assembly the power to choose a party's leader, on behalf of the Party's supporters?

The illegal, unwanted, unwelcomed and unprofessional action taken by the Speaker of the National assembly is a pure sign and symptom of complete incompetence aimed at the "Divide and Rule" doctrine used by the colonialists in the "Old Days". The "Whip-Blanket" strategy of the government ruled by

SWAPO, is to demoralise the WRP, its true opposition.

Can the Speaker prove legal appointment of those he equalises with the Authorised Representative for the WRP? No!

Does the Speaker have the right to appoint an authorised representative for the WRP? No!

We reject the actions of the Speaker of the Parliament of Namibia as illegal and it exposes the elections as meaningless. Because when a party raises the demands of the working class it is ejected by the SWAPO regime through its Speaker.

The Working Class is not welcome in parliament!

We demand the immediate reinstatement of the WRP's duly appointed authorised representative and the disqualification of the Speaker's actions.

(Signed by 21 members of the Central Committee)

Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International

Two letters

To Benson Kaapala
1 June 2015
Mr Kaapala,

Your letter dated 28 May 2015 regarding in particular cd Hewat Beukes refers.

We are the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International, an international Marxist organization of which the Namibian WRP is a member. Cd Hewat Beukes its leader is an Executive member of the Workers International.

We attach hereto a response from the WRP itself which forms part of our reply.

We also attach a letter from the TCL Workers Committee regarding your statement that cd Hewat "continues to steal from their meager monthly state pensions by making them contribute towards his "expenses" for almost a decade now." We note in this regard that cds Didhard Mparo, Issy Mukuve,

and Paulus Mangundu of the TCL Workers Committee are members of the WRP Central Committee.

We are aware that you have met and indicated that you would join the WRP only on 29 October 2014, last year. Prior to that you did not have any contact with or knowledge of the WRP and the Workers International.

Until present you have not taken out a membership card neither have you paid your monthly contributions although you have signed a WRP code of conduct only on 5 March 2015. In this code you undertook the following:

1.1 accept my obligations and rights as set out in the Constitution of the Party;

2.1 will observe party discipline as set out in the membership agreement with the Party;

3.1 will strictly execute the party decisions to be taken into parliament

through motions and discussions and parliamentary activity;

4.1 will at all times be attentive and subject to the collective spirit and decisions of the Party;

5.1 will make the monthly monetary contribution from my parliamentary salary decided by the Party;

6.1 will subject myself to the conduct and decorum in the parliament the Party expects from me in parliament;

Despite this you have not taken out a membership card.

Until 5 March 2015 you, the Secretary of the National Assembly and the Speaker of Parliament have accepted cd Hewat Beukes's authority as authorized representative of the WRP in terms of the Electoral Act of 1992.

From the above letter it is clear that you, the Secretary of the National Assembly and the Speaker also accepted the WRP address, its emblem,



WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY TO REBUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

P.O. Box 3349 Windhoek Fax: 088641065 Tel: 061-260647

hewatbeukes@yahoo.co.uk

5 March 2015

Mr J. Jacobs

The Secretary of the National Assembly

Parliament

Windhoek

Dear Sir,

Kindly accept our nominees to fill our two parliamentary seats to be sworn in on 21 March 2015:

Salmon Fleermuys, and

Benson Poniso Kaapala

We trust that this in order.

Yours faithfully,

Signed, Hewat Beukes

Authorised Representative”

in totality its letterhead as the registered identification of the WRP.

You did that at least until the 5th March 2015. You also accepted your inauguration as member of parliament on 21st March 2015 on the strength of the authorization by cd Hewat Beukes.

On 13 March 2015 the WRP Central Committee with you included decided on a Congress to be held in the first week of September 2015 with you voting for it.

Your remarks about the Europeans having been kept hostage are blatant lies: Cd. Mirek Vodslon has stayed with cd Hewat and his family, but has had free contact with yourself and the rest of the Central Committee. Nick Bailey and Wendy Pettifer have stayed at a rented accommodation. Cd Bronwen Handyside has stayed with a different family.

It is clear that your entire letter is libellous and undignified and in gross violation of your signed undertaking in paragraph 6 of the Code of Conduct: “I will subject myself to the conduct and decorum the Party expects of me in parliament.”

Given the rules of parliament and its stated principles it would appear that the Speaker should have interest in your conduct displayed in this letter: it is a clearly criminally defamatory and libellous document consisting only of lies. In this regard, we note that you have copied the letter to the Secretary of the National Assembly.

On 15 May 2015 cd Beukes informed the Speaker on behalf of the Party that you are no longer a member of the party: It appears from correspondence with the WRP that the

Speaker disregards in spite of the rights of the Party.

You are not a member of the Workers International.

Your statement that cd Hewat is a petty criminal is applicable to yourself rather than to him as is clear from your letter and as we have pointed out above.

Cds Hewat, Erica and Josob are known internationally as fighters for socialism. You cannot succeed in libelling them. They have expended their own resources, and their lives in the struggle for what is right within Namibia and internationally.

They are respected leaders in the Workers International and in the world’s workers’ movement.

We stand in defence of the WRP in Namibia against the clear attack on them from the Namibian State. It is an attack on the Workers International. Our organisation comes out of the

struggles to amongst others support the independence of Namibia. In 1982 our cd Hewat successfully moved for a motion at Leicester University to materially support the struggle for independence of Namibia. SWAPO was the prime beneficiary of that motion. The leadership of the WI has unwaveringly supported that struggle politically and materially for a democratic and civilised Namibia.

We are shocked to find that no rule of law in relation to democratic rights are upheld in present-day Namibia.

The WRP with its programme was registered by more than 500 people. More than 13,000 workers voted it into parliament. It appointed you as one of its representatives on the honourable undertaking to uphold its manifesto and code of conduct.

It is clear from your letter that you have no respect or regard for your undertakings and that you have by deception and fraud obtained your parliamentary nomination.

The fact that the Speaker disregards the authorised representative and upholds your illegal position raises the spectre that there are no elections in Namibia, that elections are staged and a farce.

We demand that the rights of the WRP be restored, its authorised representative be recognised and your nomination be cancelled.

We moreover demand protection from the Speaker against this abusive communication from Mr. Kaapala. We aver that it is not becoming of the dignity of the institution.

Wherefore, we direct this reply to both you Mr Kaapala and the Speaker.

Bob Archer,

Secretary, Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International.

Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International Pamphlet

**Stop the destruction of social gains!
March separately-strike together**

By Balazs Nagy

places the attacks on working peoples’ rights across Europe in their historical context and proposes a continent-wide movement to place the slogan of a “Working Peoples’ Europe” at the forefront of political action.

Available (£2) from Workers International, PO Box 68375, London E7 7DT or email info@workersinternational.info.
Cheques payable to “Correspondance”

Sir,

We write to you in great concern about a campaign of slanders and threats, including death threats, which is targeting several members of our Namibian section, the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The authors of these criminal acts are members of a group around lay lawyer August Maletzky and former member of parliament Benson Kaapala. August Maletzky took this campaign to its highest point to date on Wednesday, 10 June, at about 18H30 when he shouted several times across the street at the house of our member and the legal representative of the WRP, comrade Hewat Beukes, that Hewat Beukes would be killed.

These threats by the Maletzky-Kaapala group have been multiplying and intensifying since you, Mr Katjavivi, as Speaker of the National Assembly, chose to promote this same group of violent and dishonest elements around Maletzky and Kaapala as a "faction" of the WRP on equal footing with WRP's legitimate leadership and its only legal representative, comrade Hewat Beukes. You choose to ignore the fact that comrade Hewat Beukes is indeed the only legal representative of the WRP, a fact that is legally binding for everybody and especially for you in your function as Speaker of the National Assembly.

This is evidenced by your letter of the 21st of May, 2015, Ref 3/1/5/1, published by the Workers Revolutionary Party, by which you try to justify withholding from that Party the funds and offices to which it is entitled by law and by the votes of 13,328 Namibian citizens. Your arbitrary and illegal decision treats WRP voters as some second-class citizens whose political choice, embodied by the WRP and formulated in its electoral manifesto, are not entitled to be fully represented in the National Assembly and in the political life of Namibia.

That the Speaker of the National Assembly deems feasible such a blatant breach of law and such a massive denial of elementary democratic rights sheds a crude light on Namibian democracy. That the victims are the supporters of the sole workers party in Namibia shows unequivocally that the Speaker of the parliament of Namibia especially does not consider workers as worthy of being fully represented in that parliament.

We are sure that this lesson will not be lost on the workers and the poor peasants in Namibia and in other

Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International

Letter

To Mr. Peter Katjavivi, Speaker of the National Assembly of Namibia. 15 June 2015

countries. But our primary concern at the moment is for the safety of our comrades. Obviously your promotion of the Maletzky-Kaapala group emboldens this group to ever more daring attacks on our members.

We ask you to rein in this group immediately. The first step to do so is to immediately start acting according to the law and release the funds and offices due to the WRP. Indeed, it is only your illegal stance on this question that entertains Maletzky-Kaapala group's hopes to lay hand on funds and offices and thus encourages it to proceed with its dangerous, fraudulent and criminal activity.

We hold this group to be an instrument with which your party, SWAPO, tries not only to deprive the WRP, its voters and supporters of their democratic rights, but also to destroy the WRP politically and physically.

We inform you that not only our international organisation but the working class movement in Namibia and in several other countries hold your party and you personally responsible for all consequences past, present and future of your continued promotion and usage of the Maletzky-Kaapala group and of all other attempts to silence and destroy the WRP and the working class of Namibia.

We are certain that none of your actions, Mr Katjavivi, takes place without the knowledge and approval of your party and its supreme representative President Hage Geingob to whom we therefore send a copy of this letter.

Yours Sincerely,
for the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International,
Bob Archer
Secretary

Marxist Considerations on the Crisis: Part 1 by Balazs Nagy

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The Hungarian Marxist BALAZS NAGY originally planned this work as 'an article explaining the great economic crisis which erupted in 2007 from a Marxist point of view'. However, he 'quite quickly realised that a deeper understanding of this development would only be possible if I located it within a broader historical and political context than I had anticipated ... it would only be possible to grasp the nature and meaning of this current upheaval in and through the development of the economic-political system as a whole'

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Notice of Motion

In the National Assembly of Namibia



Former TCL workers meet to discuss their campaign

NOTICE OF MOTION

Salmon Fleermuys:

Motivation

About 70 households in the Greenwell Matongo residential area in Katutura stand to be affected by intended ejection by the National Housing Enterprise (NHE) due to alleged arrears and/or non-payment of instalments of their housing loans.

These households are part of the mining households of whom the breadwinners lost their jobs in the 1998 miners' strike at the former Tsumeb Corporation Limited (TCL) mines at Tsumeb, Kombat, and Otjihase.

The mines closed, but the workers found that their pension fund was stolen.

They appointed a committee called the TCL Mineworkers Committee to trace what had happened to their pensions.

In 2008 assisted by the Workers Advice Centre they eventually found how their pension fund had disappeared: In the period 1996 to 2003 the following happened: The mining management of TCL with one Bob Meiring its Managing Director and Momentum – the administrator of the pension fund – in collaboration with the Pension Fund Registrar Frans van Rensburg

tried to withdraw the fund's money in South Africa. The South African registrar of pension funds refused to approve the withdrawal as it was illegal. They then had the fund transferred to Namibia where the registry of pension funds allowed money from the fund to be withdrawn illegally.

In 2002 Meiring - now a board member of the Namibia Financial Institutions Supervisory Authority (NAMFISA) - was appointed as the liquidator of the fund and he took N\$70 million.

The total money known to the Committee was around N\$200 million. The full amount they do not know. However, with interest the known amount would now amount to about N\$1 billion.

In 2008 in response to protest marches by the miners, the Cabinet appointed Messrs Peter Iilonga and

Tjekero Tweya as a committee who met with the miners and undertook to investigate the matter fully and report back to the miners' committee. In February 2014 the TCL Workers Committee wrote to the President to complain about the failure of the Cabinet to conclude the investigation and report back. This was after many unanswered letters from the miners' committee to the Cabinet and its committee.

The President referred the matter to the Minister of Labour who undertook to resolve the issue with Cabinet.

To date, no report-back was made to the miners.

In the meanwhile the NHE harassed the miners' who held housing loans. It demanded immediate payment. The miners requested the NHE at various times to hold back until their pension fund issue was resolved with parliament. It complied with this request until a few weeks ago.

The NHE started issuing red letters to the homeowners demanding full payment immediately to avoid ejection from homes.

The methods used were chaotic and even criminal: It issued ejection orders without court orders; While it had issued summonses to homeowners to appear before court on 14 July 2015 it soon afterwards issued ejection orders to be executed by the deputy sheriff on 14 July 2015; It raised arrears within 2 weeks fantastically from N\$54,993.98 to N\$98,591.50 within 2 weeks and principal debt from N\$129,860.22 to N\$178,764.53 for example.

Miners ask the rhetorical question if the State publicly declares that it wishes to erase homelessness, how come it seeks to eject families in mass.

WHEREFORE, I request all members of the house to support the miners' demand that a moratorium be placed on the ejection from their homes until the pension issue is resolved by Cabinet and the illegal methods used by the NHE be investigated by public inquiry.

I so move, Honourable Speaker and members of the House.

It is with deep sadness that Workers International members learned of the death of the lifelong Trotskyist worker and revolutionary

BILL HUNTER

A future issue of Workers International Journal will include our appreciation of Bill's life and contribution.

The Theses of Pulacayo

As the leading elements in the South African working class struggle over key points in the revolutionary programme of Marxism, such as the role of the working class in the revolution, how they relate to other classes, how they should work in government and politics, how to organise at the workplace and in the community, how to plan to develop the national economy and industry, how to organise politically as a party and in a United Front, the *Pulacayo Theses* provide an essential guide for a way forward.

In 1946 the Bolivian Miners' Federal Trade Union (FSTMB) was a centre of a profound debate between political tendencies which culminated in the *Pulacayo Theses* submitted by the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party (POR). Now nearly 70 years old, these Theses stand up astonishingly well as a practical and theoretical guide to action.

Workers International Journal strongly recommends a study of these theses to all those who strive to build the movement demanded by the NUMSA special congress of December 2013.

I Basic principles

1. The proletariat, in Bolivia as in other countries, constitutes the revolutionary social class par excellence. The mineworkers, the most advanced and the most combative section of this country's proletariat, determine the direction of the FSTMB's struggle.

2. Bolivia is a backward capitalist country; within its economy different stages of development and different modes of production coexist, but the capitalist mode is qualitatively dominant, the other socio-economic forms being a heritage from our historic past. The prominence of the proletariat in national politics flows from this state of affairs.

3. Bolivia, even though a backward country, is only one link in the world capitalist chain. National peculiarities are themselves a combination of the essential features of the world economy.

4. The distinctive characteristic of Bolivia resides in the fact there has not appeared on the political scene a bourgeoisie capable of liquidating the latifundia (large landed estate) system and other pre-capitalist economic forms, of achieving national unification and liberation from the imperialist yoke.

These unfulfilled bourgeois tasks are the bourgeois democratic objectives which must unavoidably be realised. The central problems facing the semi-colonial countries are: the agrarian revolution, that is, the elimination of the feudal heritage, and national independence, namely, shaking off the imperialist yoke. These two tasks are closely inter-linked.

5. "The specific characteristics of the national economy, important as they may be, are more and more becoming an integral part of a higher reality known as the world economy.

This is the basis for proletarian internationalism." Capitalist development is characterised by a growing interlinking of international relations, expressed in the growing volume of foreign trade.

6. The backward countries are subjected to imperialist pressure. Their development is of a combined character. These countries simultaneously combine the most primitive economic forms and the last word in capitalist technology and civilisation. The proletariat of the backward countries is obliged to combine the struggle for bourgeois democratic tasks with the struggle for socialist demands. These two stages-democratic and socialist-"are not separated in struggle by historic stages; they flow immediately from one another".

7. The feudal landowners have linked their interests with those of world imperialism and have become unconditionally its lackeys.

From this it follows that the ruling class is a veritable feudal bourgeoisie. Given the primitive level of technology, the running of the latifundia would be inconceivable if imperialism did not support them artificially with scraps from its table. Imperialist domination is inconceivable without the aid of the national governments of the elite. There is a high degree of capitalist concentration in Bolivia; three firms control mining production, the heart of the country's economic life. The class in power is puny and incapable of achieving its own historic objectives, and so finds itself tied to the interests of the latifundists as well as those of the imperialists. The feudal-bourgeois state is an organ of violence destined to uphold the privileges of the landowners and the capitalists. The state, in the hands of the dominant class, is a powerful instrument for crushing its enemies. Only traitors or imbeciles

could continue to maintain that the state can rise above the classes and paternally decide what is due to each of them.

8. The middle class or petit bourgeoisie is the most numerous class, and yet its weight in the national economy is insignificant. The small traders and property owners, the technicians, the bureaucrats, the artisans and the peasantry have been unable up to now to develop an independent class policy and will be even more unable to do so in the future.

The country follows the town and there the leading force is the proletariat. The petit bourgeoisie follow the capitalists in times of "class peace" and when parliamentary activity flourishes. They line up behind the proletariat in moments of acute class struggle (for example during a revolution) and when they become convinced that it alone can show the way to their own emancipation. In both these widely differing circumstances, the independence of the petit bourgeoisie proves to be a myth. Wide layers of the middle class obviously do possess an enormous revolutionary potential - it is enough to recall the aims of the bourgeois democratic revolution - but it is equally clear that they cannot achieve these aims on their own.

9. What characterises the proletariat is that it is the only class possessing sufficient strength to achieve not only its own aims but also those of other classes. Its enormous specific weight in political life is determined by the position it occupies in the production process and not by its numerical weakness. The economic axis of national life will also be the political axis of the future revolution.

The miners' movement in Bolivia is one of the most advanced workers'

movements in Latin America. The reformists argue that it is impossible for this country to have a more advanced social movement than in the technically more developed countries. Such a mechanical conception of the relation between the development of industry and the political consciousness of the masses has been refuted countless times by history.

If the Bolivian proletariat has become one of the most radical proletariats, it is because of its extreme youth and its incomparable vigour, it is because it has remained practically virgin in politics, it is because it does not have the traditions of parliamentarism or class collaboration, and lastly, because it is struggling in a country where the class struggle has taken on an extremely war-like character. We reply to the reformists and to those in the pay of the *rosca* (the Bolivian term for the oligarchy and the civil servants, politicians, judges, journalists and intellectuals who serve it) that a proletariat of such quality requires revolutionary demands and the most extreme boldness in struggle.

II The type of revolution that must take place

1. We mineworkers do not suggest we can leap over the bourgeois democratic tasks, the struggle for elementary democratic rights and for an anti-imperialist agrarian revolution. Neither do we ignore the existence of the petit bourgeoisie, especially peasants and artisans. We point out that if you do not want to see the bourgeois democratic revolution strangled, then it must become only one phase of the proletarian revolution. Those who point to us as proponents of an immediate socialist revolution in Bolivia are lying. We know very well that the objective conditions do not exist for it. We say clearly that the revolution will be bourgeois democratic in its objectives and that it will be only one episode in the proletarian revolution for the class that is to lead it.

2. The proletarian revolution in Bolivia does not imply the exclusion of the other exploited layers of the nation; on the contrary, it means the revolutionary alliance of the proletariat with the peasants, the artisans and other sectors of the urban petit bourgeoisie.

3. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the expression at state level of this alliance. The slogan of proletarian revolution and dictatorship shows clearly the fact that it is the working class who will be the leading force of this transformation and of this state. On the contrary, to maintain that the bour-

geois democratic revolution, as such, will be brought about by the "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie, and that the future state will be a government of national unity and concord, shows a determination to strangle the revolutionary movement within the framework of bourgeois democracy. The workers, once in power, will not be able to confine themselves indefinitely to bourgeois democratic limits; they will find themselves obliged - and more so with every day - to making greater and greater inroads into the regime of private property, in such a way that the revolution will take on a permanent character.

Before the exploited we, the mine-workers, denounce those who attempt to substitute for the proletarian revolution, palace revolutions fomented by various sections of the feudal bourgeoisie.

III The struggle against class collaboration

1. The class struggle is, in the last analysis, the struggle for the appropriation of surplus value. The proletariat that sells its labour power struggles to do this on the best terms it can and the owners of the means of production (capitalists) struggle to seize the product of unpaid labour; both pursue opposite aims, which makes their interests irreconcilable.

We must not close our eyes to the fact that the struggle against the bosses is a fight to the death, for in this struggle the fate of private property is at stake.

Unlike our enemies, we recognise no truce in the class struggle.

The present historical stage, a period of shame for humanity, can only be overcome when social classes have disappeared and there no longer exist exploiter and exploited. Those who practise class collaboration are playing a stupid game of words when they maintain that it is not a question of destroying the rich but of making the poor rich. Our goal is the expropriation of the expropriators.

2. Every attempt to collaborate with our executioners, every attempt to make concessions to the enemy in the course of the struggle, means abandoning the workers to the bourgeoisie. Class collaboration means renouncing our own objectives. Every conquest by the workers, even the most minimal, is obtained only at the price of a bitter struggle against the capitalist system. We cannot think about reaching an understanding with our oppressors because, for us, the programme of tran-

sitional demands serves the goal of proletarian revolution.

We are not reformists, even when putting before the workers the most advanced platform of demands; we are above all revolutionaries, for we aim to transform the very structure of society.

3. We reject the petit bourgeois illusion according to which the state or some other institution, placing itself above the social classes in struggle, can solve the problems of workers. Such a solution, as the history of the workers' movement, nationally and internationally, teaches us, has always meant a solution in accord with the interests of capitalism at the expense of the impoverishment and oppression of the proletariat.

Compulsory arbitration and legal limitations of workers' means of struggle, in most cases mark the onset of defeat. As far as is possible, we fight to destroy compulsory arbitration.

Social conflicts should be resolved under the leadership of the workers and by them alone!

4. The realisation of our programme of transitional demands, which must lead to proletarian revolution, is always subject to the class struggle. We are proud of being the most intransigent when there is talk of making compromises with the bosses. That is why it is a key task to struggle against and defeat the reformists who advocate class collaboration, as well as those who tell us to tighten our belts in the name of so-called national salvation. There can be no talk of national grandeur in a country where the workers suffer hunger and oppression; rather we should really talk of national destitution and decay. We will abolish capitalist exploitation.

War to the death against capitalism! War to the death against the reformist collaboration! Follow the path of class struggle towards the destruction of capitalist society!

IV The struggle against imperialism

1. For the mine workers, the class struggle means above all the struggle against the big mining trusts, against a sector of Yankee imperialism which is oppressing us. The liberation of the exploited is tied to the struggle against imperialism.

Since we are struggling against international capitalism we represent the interests of the whole of society and our aims are shared by the exploited the world over. The destruction of imperialism is a pre-condition to the introduction of technology into agricul-

ture and the creation of light and heavy industry.

We are an integral part of the international proletariat because we are engaged in the destruction of an international force, imperialism.

2. We denounce as declared enemies of the proletariat the "leftists" who have sold out to Yankee imperialism, who talk to us of the greatness of the "democracy" of the north and its world wide domination. You cannot talk of democracy in the United States of North America where the sixty families dominate the economy, sucking the blood from semi-colonial countries, ours amongst them. Yankee dominance throws up a vast accumulation and sharpening of the antagonisms and contradictions of the capitalist system. The United States is a powder keg, waiting for just one spark to explode it. We declare our solidarity with the North American proletariat and our irreconcilable enmity towards its bourgeoisie who live off plunder and oppression on a world scale.

3. The policies of the imperialists, which dictate Bolivian politics, are determined by the monopoly stage of capitalism. For this reason, imperialist policy can mean only oppression and plunder, the continued transformation of the state to make it a docile instrument in the hands of exploiters. "Good neighbourly relations", "pan Americanism" and so on, are just a cover which the Yankee imperialists and the Criollo feudal bourgeoisie use to dupe the Latin American peoples.

The system of mutual diplomatic consultation, the creation of international banking institutions with the money of the oppressed countries, the concession to the Yankees of strategic military bases, the one sided contracts for the sale of raw materials etc., are so many devices used by those who govern the Latin American countries to shamefully divert the riches of these countries for the profit of voracious imperialism. To struggle against this embezzlement and to denounce all attempts at imperialist plunder is a fundamental duty of the proletariat.

The Yankees won't just stop at dictating the composition of cabinets; they will go much further: they have taken on board the task of directing the police activity of the semi-colonial bourgeoisie. The announcement of the struggle against anti-imperialist revolutionaries means nothing less than that.

Workers of Bolivia! Strengthen your cadres in order to fight Yankee imperialist plunder!

V The struggle against fascism

1. Our struggle against imperialism must run parallel to our struggle against the embezzling feudal bourgeoisie. Anti-fascism, in practice, becomes one aspect of this struggle: defence and attainment of democratic rights and the destruction of the armed bands maintained by the bourgeoisie.

2. Fascism is a product of international capitalism. It is the final stage of the decomposition of imperialism but, in spite of everything, it does not cease to be an imperialist phase. When state violence is organised to defend capitalist privileges and to physically destroy the workers' movement, we find ourselves in a regime of a fascist type. Bourgeois democracy is a costly luxury which can only be afforded by those countries which have accumulated a great deal of fat at the expense of other countries where famine rages. In poor countries, such as ours, the worker will at one time or another will find himself looking down the barrel of a rifle

No matter which party has to resort to fascistic methods the better to serve the interests of imperialism, one thing is sure: if capitalist oppression continues to exist, it is inevitable that those governments will be characterised by violence against the workers.

3. The struggle against the fascist bands is subordinated to the struggle against imperialism and the feudal bourgeoisie. Those who, under the pretext of fighting fascism, peddle confidence in equally 'democratic' imperialism and the 'democratic' feudal-bourgeoisie are only preparing the ground for the inevitable advent of a fascistic regime. To eliminate the fascist peril once and for all, we have to destroy capitalism as a system.

In the fight against fascism, far from artificially dulling class contradictions, we must sharpen the class struggle.

Workers and all the exploited, let us destroy capitalism in order to definitively destroy the fascist peril and the fascistic bands! It is only by the methods of proletarian revolution and within the framework of the class struggle that we can smash fascism.

VI The FSTMB and the present situation

1. The revolutionary situation brought about on July 21 (the overthrow of Villarroel) by the irruption onto the streets of the exploited, deprived of bread and liberty, and by the combative defensive action of the miners forced to defend the social gains and to extract further gains, has allowed the representatives of the mine owners to construct their state apparatus thanks to the treachery and collu-

sion of the reformists who have made a pact with the feudal bourgeoisie. The blood spilled by the people aided its executioner to consolidate its position in power. The fact that the governmental Junta was a provisional institution did not in anyway modify this situation. The mineworkers were right to adopt an attitude of distrust vis-à-vis those in power and to demand from them that they oblige the companies to comply with the law. We cannot and must not solidarise with any government which is not our own, that is, a workers' government. We cannot take this step because we know that the state represents the interests of the dominant social class.

2. "Worker" ministers do not change the nature of bourgeois governments. As long as the state is the defender of capitalist society, "worker" ministers become common pimps in the service of the bourgeoisie. The worker who is weak enough to swap his battle station in the revolutionary ranks for a bourgeois ministerial portfolio, joins the ranks of the traitors. The bourgeoisie has created "worker" ministers the better to dupe workers and so that the exploited will abandon their own methods of struggle, giving themselves over heart and soul to the guardianship of the "worker" minister.

The FSTMB will never enter a bourgeois government, because this would mean the most bare-faced betrayal of the exploited and the abandonment of our revolutionary class struggle line.

3. The next elections will install a government in the service of the big mining companies, because there is nothing democratic about these elections. The majority of the population, the indigenous [Indian] people and an enormous percentage of the proletariat are, by means of obstacles created by the Electoral Laws and because they are illiterate, refused the right to take part in elections. Sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, corrupted by the dominant class, have the decisive weight in the outcome of elections.

We harbour no illusions about the electoral struggle, we workers will not come to power by stuffing a ballot paper in a ballot-box, and we will get there by social revolution. That is why we can assert that our behaviour towards the future government will be the same as towards the present Junta in power. If the laws are complied with, so much the better; that's what governments are supposed to do. If they are not, the government will find itself up against our most strenuous protest.

VII Transitional demands

Each union, each mining region has its particular problems and the trade unionists in each of these must adapt their day to day struggle to these particularities. But there are also problems which affect worker militants throughout the country and create the possibility of uniting them: growing poverty and the bosses' boycott, which are becoming more menacing each day. Against these threats the FSTMB proposes radical measures.

1. *Establishment of a basic minimum wage and sliding scale of wages*

The suppression of the pulperia barata (company store) system and the enormous gap between standard of living and real wages, demands the fixing of a minimum wage.

A scientific study of a working class family's living needs must serve as the basis of indexation for the minimum wage, i.e. of a wage which would allow that family to live a human existence.

In line with the decision of the 3rd Miners' Congress (Catavi-Llallagua, March 1946), this wage must be complemented by a sliding scale of wages. In this way we can ensure that the periodic adjustment of wages is not nullified by rising prices.

We will put an end to the ceaseless manoeuvres which consist of swallowing up wage rises through devaluation and the hiking - almost always artificial - of the cost of living. The unions must take charge of the checking of the cost of living and must demand from the companies the automatic increase of wages in line with this cost. The basic wage, far from being static, must rise in line with the increase in the price of basic necessities.

2. *Forty hour week and a sliding scale of working hours*

The introduction of machinery into the mines has resulted in the intensification of the work rate. The nature of work underground itself means that the eight hour day is in fact longer and that it destroys the workers' vitality in an inhuman way. The very struggle for a better world demands that we free, however little, man from the slavery of the mine. That is why the FSTMB will fight to win the forty hour week, complete with the introduction of the sliding scale of working hours.

The only way to struggle effectively against the constant danger of a bosses' boycott is to win the sliding scale of working hours which will reduce the working day in line with the number of unemployed. Such a reduction must not mean a cut in wages, since the latter is

considered to be the minimum living wage.

This alone will allow us to avoid the situation where worker militants are crushed by poverty and where the bosses' boycott artificially creates an army of unemployed.

3. *Occupation of the mines*

The capitalists attempt to contain the rise of the workers' movement with the argument that they are obliged to close unprofitable mines: they attempt to put a rope round the necks of the unions by invoking the spectre of layoffs. Moreover, temporary suspension of extraction, as experience shows, has only served to make a mockery of the real potential of the social laws and to re-employ workers under the pressure of hunger in truly shameful conditions.

The big companies use a double accounting system. One is intended for the consumption of the workers and for when it comes to paying taxes to the state; the other is used to establish the rate of dividends. For that reason, the figures of the accounts books will not make us give up our legitimate aspirations.

The workers who have sacrificed their lives on the altar of the companies' prosperity have a right to demand that they are not denied the right to work, even in periods where this is not profitable for the capitalists.

The right to work is not a demand aimed against such and such a capitalist in particular, but against the system as a whole; that is why we cannot let ourselves be stopped by the lamenting of certain bankrupt small manufacturers.

If the bosses find they cannot give their slaves one more piece of bread, if capitalism, in order to survive, must attack the wages and gains won, if the capitalists immediately reply to all demands with the threat of a lock-out, the workers no longer have any other option than to occupy the mines and to take in hand, on their own account, the management of production.

The occupation of the mines, in itself, goes beyond the framework of capitalism, since it poses the question of who is the true master of the mines: the capitalists or the workers? Occupation should not be confused with the socialisation of the mines: it is only a question of avoiding the situation where the success of the bosses' boycott, condemns the workers to die of starvation. Strikes with mine occupations are becoming one of the central aims of the FSTMB.

From this point of view, it is obvious that the occupation of the mines can

only be considered illegal. It couldn't be otherwise.

An action which, from all points of view, goes beyond the limits of capitalism cannot be catered for by already existing legislation. We know that in occupying the mines we are breaking bourgeois law and we are on the way to creating a new situation. We know that from now, the legislators in the service of the exploiters will give themselves the task of codifying this situation and will try to smother it by means of regulations.

The Supreme Decrees of the junta in power forbidding the seizure of the mines by the workers, does not affect our position. We knew in advance that it is impossible in such cases to count on government support, and we are aware that we are not operating under the protection of the law. Therefore, no other perspective remains to us but the occupation of the mines without conceding the slightest compensation to the capitalists.

In the course of the occupation of the mines there must emerge mine committees formed with the agreement of all the workers, including those who are not unionised. The mine committees will have to decide the future of the mine and of the workers involved in production.

Mineworkers: to thwart the bosses' boycott-OCCUPY THE MINES!

4. *Collective agreements*

The law of the land states that the employers are free to choose between individual and collective contracts. Up till now, because it suits the companies, it has not been possible to win collective agreements. We must fight for the implementation of only one type of work contract: the collective contract.

We cannot allow the individual worker to let himself be crushed by the power of capitalism. In fact, he is unable to give his free consent since such a thing cannot exist while domestic poverty forces the acceptance of the most ignominious work contracts.

To the organised capitalists, who pull together to rob the worker through individual contracts, we oppose collective contracts of the workers organised in trade unions.

a) The collective work contract must above all be revocable at any time by the wish of the unions alone.

b) It must be obligatory for all, including non-union members; the worker who is going to sign a contract will find suitable conditions already established.

c) It must not exclude the most favourable of the conditions which may

have been won from individual contracts.

d) Its implementation and the contract itself must be under union control.

e) The collective contract must be built upon our platform of transitional demands. Against capitalist extortion: **COLLECTIVE WORK CONTRACTS!**

6. *Workers' control of the mines*

The FSTMB supports every measure which takes the unions on the path towards the achievement of real workers' control over all aspects of mine work. We must disclose the bosses' business secrets, their secret accounting, their technological secrets, the processing of minerals, etc, in order to organise direct intervention into these secret plans by the workers themselves. Because our objective is the occupation of the mines, we must turn our attention to throwing the light of day onto the bosses' secrets.

The workers must control the technical management of the mines, the accounts books, must intervene in the assignment of the different categories of work and, especially, they must make known publicly the profits drawn by the big mining companies and the fraud they perpetrate when it comes to paying taxes or contributions to the workers' Insurance and Savings Fund.

To the reformists who talk of the sacred rights of the bosses, we oppose the slogan of **WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE MINES.**

5. *Trade union independence*

The realisation of our aspirations will only be possible if we are able to free ourselves from the influence of all sectors of the bourgeoisie and its "left" agents. "Managed" trade unions are a cancer in the workers movement. When trade unions become appendages of government, they lose their freedom of action and lead the masses on the road to defeat.

We denounce the CSTB as an agent of government in the ranks of the workers. We can have no confidence in organisations which have their permanent secretariat in the Ministry of Labour and who send their members out to propagandise for the government.

The FSTMB is absolutely independent from the different sectors of the bourgeoisie, from left reformism and from the government. It practises a revolutionary trade union policy and denounces as treason any accommodation with the bourgeoisie or government.

WAR TO THE DEATH AGAINST GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED TRADE UNIONISM!

7. *Arming the workers*

We have said that, as long as capitalism exists, the workers will be constantly threatened with violent repression. If we want to avoid a repetition of the Catavi massacre we must arm the workers. To repulse the fascist bands and the strike breakers, let us forge suitably armed workers' strike pickets. Where are we going to get the arms? The fundamental task is to convince rank and file workers that they must arm themselves against the bourgeoisie, which is itself armed to the teeth; once that conviction is driven home, the material means will be found. Have we perhaps forgotten that we work every day with powerful explosives?

Every strike is the potential beginning of civil war and we must approach it with arms adequate to the task. Our objective is victory and for that we must never forget that the bourgeoisie can count on its army, police and its fascist bands. It falls to us, then, to organise the first cells of the proletarian army. All the unions must form armed pickets from the younger and most combative members.

The trade union strike pickets must organise themselves militarily and as soon as possible.

8. *A strike fund*

The mining company stores - pulpierias baratas - and low wages are the companies' means of keeping in check the workers, whose daily wage is their only resource. Hunger is the worst enemy of the striker. So that the strike can come to a successful end, we must relieve the striker of the burden of a starving family. The unions must reserve part of their income to build up strike funds, so that they may grant, as the case arises, the necessary aid to the workers.

Break the burden of hunger which the bosses impose on strikers; organise strike funds right away!

9. *Control of the abolition of the pulpieria barata system*

We have already seen that the pulpieria barata system made possible the unwarranted enrichment of the bosses at the expense of workers' wages. However, simply doing away with these shops is only worsening the situation of the workers and is turning into a measure contrary to their interests.

So that the elimination of the pulpierias baratas fulfils its function, we must demand that this measure is accompanied by a sliding scale of wages and recognition of the basic minimum wage.

10. *The elimination of "a contrato" work*

In order to get round the legal daily maximum hours of work and to exploit the workers even further, the companies have dreamed up different methods of work called *a contrato*. We are obliged to thwart this new capitalist manoeuvre aimed at increasing their spoils. Let us establish a single system of daily wages.

VIII Direct mass action and the parliamentary struggle

1. Amongst the methods of struggle of the proletariat, direct mass action occupies a central position for us. We know only too well that our liberation will be first and foremost our own work and that to win it we cannot count on the help of any forces other than our own. That is why, at this stage of upturn in the workers' movement, our preferred method of struggle is the direct action of the masses, that is to say the strike and the occupation of the mines. As much as possible we must avoid striking for insignificant reasons in order to avoid squandering our strength. We must go beyond the stage of localised strikes. Indeed, isolated strikes allow the bourgeoisie to concentrate its forces and attention on a single point. Every strike must start off with the aim of becoming generalised. What is more, a strike by the miners must spread itself to other sectors of workers and to the middle class. Strikes with occupation of the mines are on the agenda. The strikers, from the outset, must control all key points of the mines and, above all, the explosives depots.

We declare that in putting the direct action of the masses to the forefront, we are not denying the importance of other forms of struggle.

Revolutionaries must be everywhere where social life throws the classes into struggle.

2. The parliamentary struggle is important, but in periods of upturn in the revolutionary movement, it takes on a secondary character. In order to play an effective role, parliamentarism must be subordinated to the direct action of the masses. In times of retreat when the masses abandon struggle and the bourgeoisie takes back the positions it has abandoned, parliamentarism can play a prominent role. In general, bourgeois parliaments do not resolve the essential problem of our epoch: the fate of private property. This question will be resolved by the workers in the streets. Although we do not renounce parliamentary struggle, we subject it to definite conditions. We must send to parliament tried and

tested revolutionary militants who are in full agreement with our trade union activity. Parliament must become a revolutionary tribune: we know that our representatives will be in a minority, but we also know that they will undertake to expose, from inside the assembly itself, the manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie. But above all the parliamentary struggle must be tied to the direct action of the masses. Worker deputies and mineworkers must act according to one line only: the principles of these theses.

In the course of the next electoral struggle, our task will consist of sending to parliament the strongest possible workers' bloc. We stress that, while we are anti parliamentarists, we cannot, however, leave the field free to our class enemies. Our voice will be heard in the parliamentary arena as elsewhere.

To the electoral manoeuvres of the left traitors, we counterpose the formation of the **PARLIAMENTARY BLOC OF MINERS!**

IX To the bourgeois demand for national unity, we oppose the workers' united front

1. We are soldiers of the class struggle. We have said that the war against the exploiters is a war to the death. That is why we will destroy every attempt at collaboration within the workers' ranks. The door to betrayal opened with the famous popular fronts which, drawing away from the class struggle, united the proletariat with the petit bourgeoisie and even with certain sectors of the bourgeoisie.

The policy of popular fronts has cost the international proletariat many defeats. So called "national unity" is the most cynical expression of the negation of class struggle, the abandonment of the oppressed to their executioners, and is the end point of the degeneration which the popular front constitutes. This bourgeois demand has been launched by the reformists. "National unity" means the unity of the bourgeoisie and their lackeys with the aim of muzzling the workers. "National unity" means the defeat of the exploited and the victory of the rosca. It is impossible to talk of "national unity" when the nation is divided into social classes engaged in a fight to the death. As long as private property reigns, only traitors or paid agents of imperialism can dare to speak of "national unity".

2. To the bourgeois demand for "national unity" we oppose that of the Proletarian United Front. The uniting of the exploited and the revolutionary elements in one unbreakable bloc is imperative in order to destroy capital-

ism which is, itself, united in a single bloc. Because we use the methods of proletarian revolution and because we do not step outside the framework of class struggle, we will forge the Proletarian United Front.

3. To counteract bourgeois influences, to achieve our ambitions, to mobilise the masses towards proletarian revolution, we need the Proletarian United Front. Revolutionary elements that identify with our declarations and proletarian organisations (factory workers, railway workers, printers, lorry drivers, etc.) all have their place in the Proletarian United Front. Lately, the CSTB has been calling for a Left Front. Even now, we do not know for what purpose such a front is to be formed. If it is only a pre-electoral manoeuvre, and if they seek to impose a petit bourgeois leadership on it - the CSTB is petit bourgeois - we declare that we will have nothing to do with such a Left Front. But if it will allow proletarian ideas to be dominant and if its aims are those of these theses, we would rally all our forces to this front which, in the last analysis, would be nothing other than a proletarian front with minor differences and under a different name. Against the united front of the rosca, against the fronts which the petit bourgeois reformists think up almost daily:

Let us forge the Proletarian United Front!

X Union confederation

The struggle of the proletariat requires a single command structure. It is necessary to forge a powerful **UNION CONFEDERATION** [*Central Obrera*]. The history of the CSTB shows us the way in which we must proceed if we are to succeed in our task. When federations turn themselves into docile instruments of the petit bourgeois political parties, when they begin to make pacts with the bourgeoisie, they cease to be the representatives of the exploited. It is our duty to avoid the manoeuvres of the trade union bureaucrats and sections of craft workers corrupted by the bourgeoisie:

The Confederation of Bolivian Workers must be organised on a truly democratic basis. We are tired of fiddled majorities. We will not stand for an organisation made up of about a hundred craft workers being able to have as much weight in the electoral balance as the FSTMB which numbers about 70,000 workers. The decisions of majority organisations cannot be overturned by the vote of almost non-existent groupings.

The proportional influence of the various federations must be worked out on the basis of the number of members.

PROLETARIAN, NOT PETIT BOURGEOIS, IDEAS MUST TAKE PRIME PLACE IN THE UNION CONFEDERATION.

Moreover, our task is to furnish it with a truly revolutionary programme which must take its inspiration from what we put forward in this document.

XI Agreements and compromises

1. With the bourgeoisie we must make neither bloc nor agreement.

2. We can form blocs and sign agreements with the petit bourgeoisie as a class, but not with its political parties. The Left Front, and the Union Confederation are examples of this type of bloc, but we must take care to fight to put the proletariat at its head. Faced with attempts to make us follow the petit bourgeoisie, we must refuse and break these blocs.

3. It is possible that many pacts or compromises with different sectors will not come to fruition; nevertheless, they are a powerful instrument in our hands. These compromises, if they are undertaken in a revolutionary spirit, allow us to unmask the betrayals of the petit bourgeois leadership and draw their base towards our positions. The July pact between workers and university staff is an example of the way in which a broken agreement can become a formidable weapon against our enemies. When certain academics without any standing launched an attack on our organisation in Oruro, the workers and revolutionary elements from the University attacked them and so gained some influence amongst the students. The declarations made in this document must form the starting point of any alliance.

The success of a pact depends on us, the miners, initiating the attack against the bourgeoisie; we cannot expect petit bourgeois sectors to take such a step.

The leader of the revolution will be the proletariat. The revolutionary collaboration between miners and peasants is a central task of the FSTMB; such collaboration is the key to the coming revolution. The workers must organise peasant unions and must work with the Indian communities.

For this the miners must support the peasants' struggle against the latifundia and back up their revolutionary activity.

It is our duty to bring about unity with other sectors of workers as well as with the exploited sectors of artisans: journeymen and apprentices.

After the referendum and the capitulation:

What next for Greece - and Europe?

THE SYRIZA-led Greek government made a bid to reverse the appalling and humiliating conditions laid upon the country by the Troika (European Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund).

The fiasco that followed deserves careful consideration by all trade unionists, socialists and working people more broadly.

SYRIZA is a coalition built around forces coming from the Euro-Communist sector which several decades ago split from the old KKE (Greek Communist Party). They promised a new kind of “left” politics, breaking the mould of sectarian wrangling over ideological shibboleths. (In the process they junked a number of political principles also, in particular the understanding of the basic conflict in society between capital and labour).

With the shock of the country’s bankruptcy and the fateful “Memoranda” reverberating around Greek society, with masses of people going, in real confusion, into semi-permanent occupation of the city squares, it was the coalition which became SYRIZA which captured the popular mood.

They drew from the intellectual tool-kit of Keynesian theory the idea that the economy could be launched into a new period of growth by the correct policies on the part of governments and the EU.

They presented the matter as an intellectual debate with an “elite” seduced by neo-liberal dogmas which had somehow reached political power pretty well everywhere, whether in the hands of formerly “socialist” or frankly conservative politicians.

Enough popular support mobilised for a “better” capitalist policy, in the SYRIZA view, could reverse the situation and kick-start growth and protect living standards.

There are also attractive sides to what SYRIZA was offering: an attempt to find what united people instead of what divided them, a listening ear to what people were saying rather than the sectarian propagandist broadsides, a very practical approach to dealing

with the mass poverty and collapse of welfare structures which followed government acceptance of the Memoranda.

The Solidarity Clinics and cost-price farmers’ markets and food and toy banks in working class districts were both very much needed and started to generate a cadre of party activists. The Solidarity For All welfare network at the same time created a framework for an international solidarity movement with the people of Greece.

From a ramshackle coalition of left groups, SYRIZA became an organised political party with a political programme of socially progressive measures and the aim to reverse the Troika-imposed economic destruction of the country (The Thessaloniki Programme).

On this basis the party provoked a general election in February of this year in which they won enough seats, together with a small conservative anti-austerity grouping, ANEL, to form a government. (Certainly not a single one of the groups claiming to be Marxist revolutionaries could have come even close to dislodging the vile bunch of puppets masquerading as a Greek government up to that point).

The problem is, the leaders of the European Union are not simply an accidental grouping with this or that ideological outlook. They are the political representatives of a particular social class – the bourgeoisie. In capitalist society, this is the class which owns (and actually personifies) the big concentrations of capital.

“You might as well have sung the Swedish national anthem”

It is their position as the public spokespersons and administrators of capitalist society which gives these monsters their utter conviction that they are right and that the biggest popular majority vote in the world is wrong. How do these masters of the work know they are right? The money tells them. They put into words and action what finance capital actually means.

In the current issue of the British Labourite magazine *New Statesman*, the

main Greek negotiator trying to persuade in the bourgeoisie to make some concessions, Varoufakis, describes:

“... the complete lack of any democratic scruples, on behalf of the supposed defenders of Europe’s democracy. The quite clear understanding on the other side that we are on the same page analytically – of course it will never come out at present. [And yet] To have very powerful figures look at you in the eye and say ‘You’re right in what you’re saying, but we’re going to crunch you anyway’ ... there was point blank refusal to engage in economic arguments. Point blank. ... You put forward an argument that you’ve really worked on – to make sure it’s logically coherent – and you’re just faced with blank stares. It is as if you haven’t spoken. What you say is independent of what they say. You might as well have sung the Swedish national anthem – you’d have got the same reply. And that’s startling, for somebody who’s used to academic debate. ... The other side always engages. Well there was no engagement at all. It was not even annoyance, it was as if one had not spoken.”

To try to “make the other side engage”, the SYRIZA government sought popular support in a referendum. Already repayment deadlines had been missed without any new agreements being reached, and the supply of liquidity to Greek banks was switched off. The referendum was held under conditions of a fiscal blockade which threatened to gradually strangle the country as effectively as any naval blockade in history. Nevertheless a 61% vote to reject the Troika’s exactions represented a high-water-mark in SYRIZA’s popular support.

But it only made the EU “institutions” more intransigent. Prime Minister Tsipras himself now went to the EU with a set of proposals which represented abject surrender.

He promised to reform the tax system, accept increases in Value Added Tax (VAT), increase the pension age, increase employee pension contributions, cut back on early retirement

and do away with benefits for the very poorest pensioners, sell off remaining state assets, cut state spending and take steps to destroy trade union rights.

But it now was not enough for the European bourgeois leaders. They were furious that the Greeks had had the gall to elect a government which rejected their measures for Greece; they resented the fact that the SYRIZA government cracked open a chink in the curtain of capitalist "austerity" and gave working people even the hope of something different. This had to be stamped out completely.

They insisted on a much clearer set of commitments on all these issues, spelled out in chapter and verse, and the right to have their creatures sit in on the drafting of the legislation to be rushed through the Greek parliament (using the votes of opposition parties, who of course had always supported these measures).

Why do the bourgeois leaders of the world who pull the strings which move the EU institutions – including Europe's national governments and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) – insist on nothing less than abject surrender?

Why would they risk the possible repercussions, which could include Greece defaulting on her debts and even the break-up of the euro currency bloc? We know this from the fact that the IMF (no doubt egged on by the US government) warns that Greece's debt burden is devastating and beyond recovery.

It is their own crisis of the capitalist system which urges them on regardless of the consequences. The upheavals in the world of finance which surfaced after 2007 were a huge systemic shock, but they were a real expression of the underlying crisis of imperialism.

By some estimates, the total amounts lost in, around and following the crash were truly massive.

On October 1 2012, the Wall Street Journal summarised the assessment of the former chief credit officer of Standard and Poor's rating agency Mark Adelson:

"An attempt at sizing up the economic impact produced varied and sobering results, with losses attributed to decline in world gross domestic product and household wealth, and other measures focused on the financial sector including bank write-downs and the increase in government support.

"The \$10 trillion to \$12 trillion drop in value of world stock markets and the \$5.7 trillion to \$12.8 trillion plunge in US output in the decade to 2018 give the best overall look at the costs, how-



A message of solidarity with Greece from London's Trafalgar Square in early July

ever, he said. "These numbers suggest total costs likely to run \$5 trillion to \$15 trillion ..." (blogs.wsj.com/economics/2012/10/01-total-global-losses-15-trillion)

The only solution which the capitalist masters of the world can find is to turn on the masses of working people and strip them of all the progress they have gained in the past.

By the way, the "bailout money" from the institutions mainly does not end up in Greece. As economics correspondent Philip Inman wrote in the UK *Guardian* newspaper on 29 June 2015:

"Only a small fraction of the 240 billion euros (£170 billion) total bailout money Greece received in 2010 and 2013 found its way into the government's coffers to soften the blow of the 2008 financial crash and fund reform programmes. Most of the money went to the banks that lent Greece funds before the crash. Unlike most of Europe, which ran up large budget deficits to protect pensioners and welfare recipients, Athens was then forced to dramatically reduce its deficit by squeezing pensions and cutting the minimum wage".

Capitalist society works through the creation of surplus value by labour and the "valorisation" of that surplus value, its conversion into new capital re-invested into new ventures for yet more profits.

This social formation – capital – which historically played a progressive role in the development of the productive forces, has now for a century been at the heart of the economic crisis as a barrier to their further development. That crisis rumbles on; it has not been overcome. In the attempt to solve it, the

bourgeoisie must try to increase the portion of surplus value which it pockets at the expense of the portion which is claimed by the working class and working people more broadly.

Working class struggle has wrested significant concessions from the ruling class in terms of wages, welfare and pension rights, and normal expectations that the state will provide health, education and legal rights and facilities and the chance of a decent home in a reasonably healthy environment.

All these things were enshrined in political and legal arrangements through which workers and others could assert their needs.

So in order to be able to strip working people of the share of surplus value which they have been able to take previously, either in the individual wage packet or as a "social wage", the bourgeoisie has to attack, undermine and de-nature all these arrangements, which include socialist (or Labour) political parties and, where they can, trade unions.

And this has been the basis for the degeneration of reformist socialist parties across Europe. Greece's PASOK, the German SPD, the Parti socialiste in France, Labour in the UK and all their like have been politically hollowed out and de-fanged over decades.

But the decline of reformist parties has not been matched by a collapse in the illusions and expectations of masses of people in Europe.

Despite nearly forty years of continuous attack, despite the massive and savage increase in productivity and the closure of many industries relocated overseas, in many respects the assault of capital is only beginning.

One has to envision the depth of what the new Conservative government is planning in the UK to have any grasp of the scale of social conflict the bourgeoisie is proposing across Europe: savagely stripping away the vestiges of a welfare system; systematically re-engineering the health and education services to turn them into objects of profit for business; massively depriving people of access to a decent home; ongoing destruction of the whole legal system which provided some sort of safeguard for the poor and the weak; an onslaught on human rights legislation.

"Austerity" is a word often bandied about, but it hardly covers what is actually proposed. The way working class life and communities have been undermined and the decay and collapse of social-democratic and "Communist" political parties has led to a tendency to accept that "there is no alternative" and often a backward scapegoating of claimants, the unemployed and migrants.

Individualism has made progress among working people who a generation ago would have stood (and did stand) firm in defence of class rights. Old working class areas of the UK have shown an appetite for voting along nationalist lines. Social fragmentation

weakens the possibility of resistance and undermines traditionally powerful methods of struggle.

In the economic and social witches' brew that is Europe, the initial steps in the political recovery of the masses has been marked by these factors.

Loudly denouncing the sell-out on the part of social democracy, the leaders of the new formations such as SYRIZA, the section of the French Communist Party which re-engineered itself as the Parti de Gauche, PODEMOS, Die Linke and the rest demand very little that is not – traditional social democracy, pure and simple!

As (generally) followers of the late John Maynard Keynes, they do not call for a socialist revolution, but capitalism with its contradictions contained, smoothed over, managed and regulated by state intervention.

Their critique is not of capitalism as such – they are indeed not at all interested in abolishing it – but of "neoliberal ideologues" who have allegedly inspired all the problems we face for some subjective reason.

Nevertheless, precisely because of this actually very moderate outlook, these parties are the vehicles through which the working people of Europe have started their political revival.

People are obliged to enter the path of struggle, but their first steps are hampered by profound illusions on the one hand and a profound disillusionment caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union and of hopes of a socialist future on the other.

They will have to overcome both handicaps, but that will only be achieved along the road of resistance they are increasingly adopting.

The challenge for Marxists is to identify and put forward proposals for action which lead the way to a confrontation with the system as a whole.

The future revolutionary leadership of the masses will be built in the unity and mutual struggle of the Marxists and the forces who come forward to conduct the present fight which is focussed most sharply on Greece.

This leadership will have to free itself from illusions that working people "share" any "values" with a bourgeoisie whose true values are exposed every minute in their relentless drive to impoverish, disarm and disempower us.

Bob Archer
July 2015

Bosnia-Herzegovina

International workers' fund in solidarity with Bosnia-Herzegovina

The DITA workers' poignant appeal from Tuzla to the international workers' community faces us with an obligation to respond quickly and positively.

Bosnia-Herzegovina was the cradle of the 1941-1945 Yugoslav revolution. For half a century it has been at the heart of that revolution.

The reactionary, chauvinist and even fascist forces who drove the break-up of Yugoslavia picked on this tolerant country with its traditions of multi-secular mutual toleration between different nationalities and religions as their most tragic battleground.

The Dayton Agreement ended the fighting, but the country slipped into *political paralysis, economic bankruptcy, unemployment and corruption*. Not a single one of her factories produces enough profits to satisfy the

finance capitalists' limitless greed. The working class faces "relocating" to non-existent soup kitchens and the graveyard. It is totally and brutally impoverished. Unemployment is above 50%.

The working class in Bosnia simply does not have any political prospects, its struggles are isolated and its initial reactions are marked by despair, with hunger-strikes, outburst of fury, suicides ...

As workers and working-class activists, internationally and especially in France, we have to do everything we can to assist them to keep going so that tomorrow they can take their fate back into their own hands.

We appeal first of all to political organisations which claim to be internationalist and trade union bodies which have solidarity across frontiers inscribed in their statutes. We have set

up an international Solidarity Fund with the Bosnians to which individuals or groups can make regular weekly, monthly or annual standing order payments according to their means. For the price of a couple of packets of cigarettes a month, you can help our comrades, just as people already do for the solidarity clinics in Greece. We will provide signed receipts.

Our contact in Tuzla is the militant trade unionist Emina Busuladzic. We have already sent aid to her and we trust her absolutely.

Nancy, 25 April 2015,
Eric Perochon and Radoslav Pavlovic

Please contact Eric Perochon, 8 rue de l'Eglise, 5470, Arroye en Han, France. to arrange contributions to this fund.

The rout of the British Labour Party (LP) in the May 2015 General Election is a milestone in the decline of social democracy and its betrayal of the working class.

In a situation where rejection of the Conservative (Tory) Party's austerity policies is widespread and growing, the LP was only able to win 232 seats – 99 fewer than the Tories and 26 fewer than they themselves had won in the last General Election in 2010.

The employers, bankers and every assorted representative of capitalist interest could scarcely believe their luck. They will waste no time in cheering on what will be a class-war government.

The LP's failure defeat the Tories raises urgent questions for anyone in the Trade Union and labour movement looking to social democracy to defend the past gains of the movement in housing, the National Health Service, trade union rights, jobs and much else.

Almost all of Scotland has been handed to the Scottish National Party (SNP) – in part due to the LP's prolonged neglect of its working class support base and in part to the obnoxious decision to work hand in glove with the Tories in the 'No' campaign over the Scottish independence referendum.

Last November, Unite the union backed Neil Findley, a candidate more aligned with the workers' movement, in the election of leader of the LP in Scotland. In fact the right wing Blairite Jim Murphy won the election with the support of the national LP leadership. Calling Murphy the "candidate of reheated Blairism", denouncing him for backing austerity, privatisation, (university) tuition fees and the Iraq war, Unite's General Secretary Len McCluskey warned at the time that his victory would be the "kiss of death" and would be "all the SNP's Christmases come at once."

The contest in Scotland was indeed highly significant for the LP, as it duly lost all but one of its seats north of the border to the SNP and thus lost any chance of forming a majority government.

Unite the Union prepared for the election by rallying its members to the LP on class issues and working for the adoption of principled working-class candidates in as many constituencies as possible. But despite all their efforts there was no settling of accounts with the Blairite/ 'New Labour' people within the LP, and the party's mixed up paradoxical quality simply continues and deepens.

UK elections

A little anti-austerity is a dangerous thing

By Nick Bailey and Bob Archer

For the General Election, the LP put forward a program of "austerity lite" dressed with some tinsel such as capping energy prices for a bit and getting rid of the "bedroom tax" (an invidious measure of the previous coalition government which docked the housing benefits of claimants living in accommodation with what appeared to be a "spare" room).

In the event Labour's programme was enough to frighten off the middle classes in the prosperous Southern counties but failed to convince the mass of workers and others to vote for it. One of the explanations, it seems, for the inaccurate pre-election polls was an over-estimation by the pollsters of the labour voting turnout. On the day, sections of workers either voted UKIP or weren't convinced to vote.

Aspects of the election

In the working class areas around London and other metropolitan areas the Labour vote increased, as did that of the Greens.

In areas in the north and midlands, where industrial working class communities have been devastated by closures of factories, steelworks and coalmines and workforces decimated by technical developments as in printing and port work, there is a dangerous rise in support for the anti-immigrant / nationalist UK Independence Party (UKIP). They obtained 3.8m votes (12.6% of the total) and came second in the poll in many areas, but have only one seat.

These people will have great reason to feel unrepresented. By contrast the SNP gained 1.45m votes (4.7% of the total) but have 56 seats.

The Labour movement has to face up to the fact that parties standing on a socialist platform received a tiny vote. For example the Trade Union and Socialist Coalition (TUSC) gained 36,327 votes (0.1% of total votes cast across the entire country). At the moment, outside of a small group of people, the socialists are not perceived as the way to advance the fight against austerity.

The rout of the Liberal Democrats (Lib-Dems) reflects a polarisation. Workers and middle-class people who lived in constituencies with a sitting

Lib-Dem Member of Parliament have been forced to opt for one of the two main parties. Most, it seemed, reverted to the Tories. The claim by the Lib-Dems to have "moderated" the Tory attacks were seen for what they are: pure cant.

A growing number of people (over 40%) were opposed to the programme of "austerity" but the expression of this opposition was divided into a number of illusory choices ranging from those nostalgic for "Old Labour" (Labour, Green Party, Left Unity and others) right through to "blame the foreigners" with UKIP.

The Blairites in the LP have lost no time in going on the attack within the party. By Sunday 9 October Tony Blair was writing in the Observer newspaper urging readers to "hug a capitalist" (<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/09/tony-blair-what-labour-must-do-next-election-ed-miliband>). There were similar comments from leadership hopeful Chuka Umunna on the same day (<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/09/labours-first-step-to-regaining-power-is-to-recognise-the-mistakes-we-made>)

What we need to do:

The working class will need to recover as fast and as firmly as it can from Labour's election defeat. The movement is divided into small and ineffective grouplets, each with its own nostrum for taking the movement forward. Even the Greens get most of their inspiration from a kind of socialism.

To recover from the catastrophe of the 2015 General Election defeat, a set of policies is needed which expresses what working people need and around which a force that is currently dispersed around various initiatives and groups can effectively unite.

We Trotskyists in the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International put forward the following issues for discussion in the movement:

1. Work:

Every adult below retirement age should have access to regular work at a rate of pay which can fund a full life. It is ridiculous to have millions sidelined out of work (and training for work) while others have to work exces-

sively long hours to meet the rising cost of housing, to pay for food, transport, clothing and recreation. There should be a sliding scale of hours in the working week so that everybody has access to work and at the same time can enjoy adequate leisure and recuperation. The minimum wage should be set at a level above the poverty line and no-one should be forced into a zero-hours contract under duress on the excuse that there is no full-time work available. All young adults leaving the education system should have access to an apprenticeship on the job.

2. Housing:

Everyone should be able to live in a secure, well-built and well-maintained home with adequate space for their needs at the time and in a well-planned environment. Providing housing should not be an object of profiteering or speculation. A thriving building industry could train and employ many who are currently denied proper work.

3. Health:

Everybody should have access to the medical and care services which they need. These should be available to all comers and be free at the point of need, including social care. The National Health Service must be restored. Direct responsibility for the health service should once more be vested in a Secretary of State for Health. All aspects of operating the NHS should be under democratic public control. Everyone should have a right to health and social care paid for by general taxation. For too long the pharmaceutical companies have sucked money out of the health service. They should be obliged to plough back their earnings into developing new treatments including the new range of antibiotics which have become necessary as the existing ones have been abused and over-used for profit.

4. Education:

Our state must offer a school place for every child and a place in further and higher education for all suitably qualified students. These places should be free and all these costs met out of taxation. All state-funded schools should be run democratically, and in the UK this usually means under the immediate control of an elected local authority. All school students should be taught by a qualified teacher or one undergoing a course leading to a teaching qualification. Classes should certainly never be larger than 30 pupils, and in many cases should be considerably smaller. The school curriculum should be broad and balanced and

afford access to an artistic, musical, physical and sporting education to all pupils. It should enable every student to make the very best possible start in life.

5. Welfare:

Unemployed people and their families need an adequate unemployment benefit to meet all the needs of a modern life. The physically and mentally ill, the infirm and those with any disability should be provided with a home, the means of sustenance and whatever care and treatment their circumstances require. Current arrangements in the UK to assess disability through private firms are a vile and cynical joke at the expense of the sick and disabled. The state has a clear duty here as a representative of the population at large to provide and fund welfare arrangements directly.

6. Pensions:

State provision alone can guarantee an adequate old age pension which working people can access from 65 onwards. Only state provision paid for out of taxation can secure the level of social care which older people need and the rights of the workers who provide it.

7. Environment:

The headlong hunt for economic "growth" and the unabashed search for profit at any cost is destroying our planet. It is not the "consumption" of the masses which is a problem, but the presumption that higher profits for the few is the only path to greater happiness for the many. In order for humanity to re-assert control over its relationship with nature and avert a catastrophe, society as a whole must re-assert control over itself by impose democratic control over capital.

8. Equality:

None of the above can be sustained in a world where masses of people are denied one or more of the essential conditions of life. The aims outlined here are valid everywhere in the world and must be achieved everywhere in the world. That is the only way they can be guaranteed. "Globalisation" has become a dirty word because it has been carried out in the interests of the few to make super-profits at the cost of the many. Real globalisation would start by assessing the needs of all people and what is needed to satisfy them. That would involve democratic control of production. Stop international arrangements such as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership which enshrine the privi-

leges of private corporations to impose their wishes on elected governments.

9. Workers' rights:

All the progressive changes which have happened over past centuries have been won by mass movements centred on the trade unions and political parties of the working class. No wonder that everywhere these conditions come under attack, the spearhead of that attack is directed against the rights of workers and trade unions to campaign and take action. Workers should have the right to organise, campaign and act together in the interests of society as a whole. Laws which limit the rights of trade unions, either industrial or political, are reactionary and should be opposed.

By and large, most people know what is needed for a civilised life in the modern age. We outline the basic necessities above.

For decades, the rich and powerful have used their wealth to campaign against such social progress, in order to maintain their privileges. They put their own interests against those of society as a whole. Because they can buy the media, academics and intellectuals, politicians and political parties, they have powerful levers for forcing their views through. (They have also been assisted by the long list of socialist and communist and trade union leaders who claimed to be working towards these goals but have in one way or another fallen short of their promises.)

The checklist above should serve as a counter to their propaganda. Why in the second decade of the 21st century does it seem so impossible to achieve even modest progress in the quality of life?

Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International proposes an answer to that question. We believe that the capitalist system has reached a point in its decay at which it cannot solve a single one of the issues we mention above. We believe a change is long overdue, a change to a socialist way of life, a way of life where the power of capital is broken, where society democratically decides how to shape itself, not for individual profit but to meet the needs of all.

But we will work with everybody striving to defend and take forward the issues we raise in the list, whether or not they agree with us overall. We ask all our partners in this struggle to assess thoughtfully the experiences they undergo along the way and what can be learnt from them.