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email: ftinternational@ymail.com

Here we present the documents that concentrate the lessons and the programme for the Bolivian revolution. The workers were touched by this revolution that fought against the popular front, the counter-revolutionary pacts and fascism. Secondly we present the articles on Zimbabwe explaining how this revolution was betray, making a polemic against ISO of Zimbabwe and its international current, led by the SWP of England. We also publish the documents of the huge fight given by the revolutionaries in the Black Continent against the popular front of the African National Congress in South Africa.

The organizations that have merged in the ILTF fight against the international reformist leaderships, which are in a trencher opposed to the revolutionary masses. After that common fight, we can say that we've past the test against the siren singing of the popular front and the fascist terror.

BOLIVIA: A REVOLUTION BETRAYED



Workers and peasants in El Alto in a mobilization against the Media Luna fascist attack

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THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED
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THE TRAGEDY OF THE BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION

ON THE BRINK OF BEING STRANGLING AND EXPROPRIATED BY THE POPULAR FRONT AND MASSACRED BY FASCISM

Statement of the Leninist Trotskyist Fraction, originally published in "El Organizador Obrero Internacional" # 10 - October, 2008, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF, in July, 2009.

In August 2006 the class collaboration government of Eva Morales –a supporter of the Totalfina, the Repsol and the transnational companies of the Mercosur and their governments– imposed the recall referendum.

The triumph was at the expense of the submission of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie by the collaborationist leadership of the COB, the COD and the COR.

The 5th of August, "the popular" government of Morales repressed brutally Huanuni mineworkers: its murderous army murdered two new martyrs: Luis Hernán Montero Claro and Roberto Cáceres.

Handicapped people asking for benefits, health workers, teachers fighting for better salaries were repressed by the police and the "ponchos rojos", Morales' rich-farmer followers.

The leadership of the COB launched a caricature of fight-plan which objective was... pressuring the parliament to vote its demands, that is: "*favorable laws for the workers*".

While the working leadership subdued the working class and the popular masses to the "friendly" government of Morales, while the popular front smashed every working-class protest in the Bolivian Altiplano, the Fascists and the oligarchy of Santa Cruz - the "one hundred families" that are Bolivia's landowners, British Petroleum, Exxon, etc., backed by US Embassy also achieved victory with the referendum as it also confirmed and legitimized all the fascist Prefects and their armed Civil Guards.

The brutal attack against the masses in the Altiplano by the government of French imperialist's Totalfina and the indigenous Bolivian bourgeoisie, was a signal that the time for the fascist uprising in the Media Luna had come.

This is the truth. The popular front, a Government of class collaboration, took the control of the masses, having defeat-



Huanuni miners fighting against the repression of Morales in Caihuasi

ed their more combative sector - the mineworkers of Huanuni- supported in the collaborationist leadership of the COB and in the officer caste of the Banzerist Army.

If anything had prevented, up to this moment, an open uprising of Fascism from taking control of the Media Luna territory it was the fear of a mass reply from workers and peasants.

This fear disappeared when the popular front succeeded in repressing at all costs the mineworkers, the Bolivian proletarian vanguard's heart, and took them to pressure the bourgeois parliament for bread and against the high cost of living.

All "the Bolivarian" left, the Castroites, the Chavistas and the renegades of the IV International openly called the masses to give a political support to the Government of Morales in the referendum, against Fascism.

Thus they are following the old policy of class collaboration of the Stalinism, i.e., supporting the "democratic" Governments and "democratic" fronts against Fascism. A very high price was paid by the world working class because of this policy: the crushing of the Spanish civil war, the tragedy of the French popular front in the '30

and hundreds of revolutionary processes ending tragically for the proletariat, like the working class defeats in the Southern Cone during the '70 and '80.

PSTU (LIT) and CONLUTAS, the unions' left bureaucracy of the continent, all together supported the leadership of the Bolivian COB in the ELAC (An encounter of the unions of all the Americas) in Brazil last July. COB's bureaucracy, responsible for the submission of the proletariat to the bourgeois Government - the agent and servant of the French imperialistic Embassy and the Spanish crown- that repressed the workers who were fighting for their elemental demands as food, better retirements or benefits for handicapped people; it did nothing when the Media Luna Fascists and their armed counterrevolutionary Civil Guards, attacked. The expropriation of the landowners and the imperialistic companies that finance and provide arms to them, is something very far from the Government's intentions.

The popular front played the role of strangling from inside the Bolivian revolutionary process, viciously attacking the left wing of the proletariat, breaking the working and peasants' alliance. Thus it created the best conditions for the bourgeoisie of the Media Luna waging a

counterrevolutionary blow. Morales Government and the officer caste of its Banzerist Army would leave the workers and peasants restricted through this class collaboration policy.

The recall referendum aimed to settle which fraction of the Bolivian bourgeoisie and imperialistic gang would distribute the oil and gas businesses for all the transnational companies in the South Cone, either French Totalfina and Spanish Repsol, allied with Petrobras and the (new layers of the) national bourgeoisie, or the one-hundred families of the Bolivian oligarchy of the Media Luna allied with Exxon, British Petroleum (this latter alliance had been separated from the administration of the daily affairs in Bolivia by the fabulous revolutionary actions of the masses that, in 2003, that overthrow Goñi's Government.

The recall referendum was part of a policy of pacts and an agreement by the imperialistic bourgeois fraction in the Government; it demands from the other fraction that now is out of the core business of the bourgeois state, an agreement based on the democratic legitimacy instituted by the recall referendum.

Feeling triumphant, the bourgeois fraction of Morales has launched now the referendum for the constitution. Its vice-president, (García) Linera, an agent of French Totalfina's, has called the fascist Prefectos (governors) being legitimized by the referendum, to unify their demands of autonomic statutes with the Constitution encouraged by the MAS.

La Rosca which had been defeated by the revolution in 2003 had in Morales Government a guarantor for its untouchability. Neither that clique's properties nor the management of the oil businesses in Bolivia have touched since.

After the recall referendum, with the masses already out of scene, both Bolivian bourgeois fractions started openly to discuss about which imperialist bourgeois fraction was going to manage business. But the pacts and agreements of the MAS and the PODEMOS in the Constitutional Assembly, Morales' clamor about unity, the voiced pact between El Alto y Santa Cruz cities, all of them were useless to assure a smooth settlement.

The oligarchy of the Media Luna shrewdly perceived this situation. On the 11th of September, a riot and a true counterrevolutionary fascist putsch took

place. Its objective was to become again the most important bourgeois fraction controlling business in Bolivia.

La Rosca of the Media Luna had the feeling the popular front had already done its work. It was conscious – under the US embassy control - US imperialism needs to retake the main businesses of its “backyard” to counter the blows of the world-wide economic crisis and the crack in Wall Street. Under these conditions, the fascist riots started producing a working and peasants' bloodshed over Bolivian territory.

The world-wide crack and the crisis of Wall Street has developed an enormous economic dispute among the imperialistic powers for the areas of influence.

French imperialism, associated to Spanish Repsol, and the (indigenous) national bourgeoisie, the expropriators of the heroic workers and peasants' 2003-2005 revolution, taking control over the profitable Bolivian oil and gas businesses in the South Cone, had left out of the business the pro-US clique.

Now, French imperialism enters US backyard with a policy of “New Deal”, “supporting” “the Boliburgueois” Governments which make believe the masses they will distribute the wealth and fight against North American imperialism....

US government answers its own - and the world's- imperialist crisis with warning attacks, to set the limits in defense of its areas of influence against its competitors.

The declaration of “independence” of its protectorate in Kosovo, its agent Uribe's attacks against the CRAF in Ecuador, the Georgian attack to massacre South Ossetia, the entrance of the Turkish troops in northern Iraq before that, all of them are signals of the limits the dominant imperialism establishes in its areas of influence while it is in the work of reestablishing its General Staff facing the crisis of the Government of Bush and the US and global economic crack.

In the same context, once the masses are put out of scene by the popular front with a fascist *putsch* in Bolivia, US imperialism starts a counterrevolutionary counter-offensive, supported in La Rosca of the Media Luna, leaving the national bourgeoisie government of Morales- partner of the Totalfina- before a dilemma: either the US boss distributes the businesses or the popular front Government falls down.

So we affirm that Sarkozy and his bosses the French imperialist butchers - murderers of the Middle East, the Balkans and African people-, are as “democratic” as the Bolivian national bourgeoisie, because bourgeois democracy has allowed them to expropriate the Bolivian workers and peasants revolutions and to run the businesses and the exploitation of the natural resources of oppressed Bolivia supplying energy to all the transnationals in the Mercosur.

The treasonous leaderships of the WSF have guaranteed the submission of the Bolivian proletariat to Morales' Government. Thus, they have created the conditions for the fascist counterrevolution- that posed as “democratic”, as long as the “Bolivarian democracy” of Morales was able to guarantee - as they like to say- “putting again into Pandora's box the demons of the workers and peasants revolution”, but which turned into openly fascist as soon as it was necessary to retake the state control and the management of the businesses at all costs, eliminating any remains of workers and peasants organizations in the territories under its control.

A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FASCIST PUTSCH IN ACTION

On the 11th of September, a real fascist putsch commanded by US imperialism started in Bolivia and in the entire Media Luna. A day after the president of the Civic Committee of Santa Cruz, Branko Marinkovic had arrived from the United States; the Media Luna Prefects' fascist gangs intensified the blockades closing even the borders with Brazil and Argentina. The fascist gangs occupied all the public buildings, went beating workers and peasants, and made the Army withdraw from “protecting” (with orders of “no reply” given by Evo Morales) the public buildings and state organizations. The National Tax Revenue Department, the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) buildings, YPFB (State Oil company) offices and all the Airports of the Media Luna, and also the telecommunications buildings were all occupied. National TV channels and radios were closed. With, barricades, mobilizations and blockades, the fascist militias took total control of all the territory, including the main refineries that supply gas for home consumption and to other countries, creating a sweeping shortage of gas, sup-



Peasants murdered by the fascist gangs in Cobija, Pando

plies, fuel, foods, etc. in the Altiplano (that is, in the rest of the country that is not the Media Luna).

The more acute confrontations took place in Cobija, capital of the department of Pando where the Fascists ambushed those farmers and civil employees that adhered to the MAS, and with “nonexistent guns in the country” they shot them without fear of being punished. It was a real massacre, a massive murder at point-blank range. Many of the bodies had to be rescued from garbage cans; and others are still appearing in the forest or floating down the rivers. The fascist gangs also took hostages 15 farmers who were tortured and beaten inside the local Civic Committee premises.

There were riots in the entire region, from Chuquisaca to Santa Cruz where the Fascists named “new autonomist civil employees” in all the organizations.

Although the policy of the government of Evo Morales during the events was always that of “no reply” and “dialogue” with the Media Luna, sectors of workers and peasants like those in Plan 3000 in the city of Santa Cruz, together with people of the organizations of the petty vendors in the food markets, tried to reply and to resist the fascist riot as they could.

As a result of this fascist putsch, tens of workers and peasants were martyred: **more than 30 exploited were murdered, among farmers, teachers, a young guy of the military service, two children, while hundreds of workers and peasants are still missing.**

THE GOVERNMENT OF MORALES LEANING ON THE OFFICERS CASTE, CALLED AGAIN THE FASCISTS TO MAKE AN AGREEMENT TO FACE THE POSSIBILITY OF A REVOLUTIONARY IRRUPTION OF THE MASSES THROUGH THE CRACKS OPENED IN THE HEIGHTS.

The fascist putsch opened enormous splits in the heights. Panic took hostage the government of Morales and the bourgeoisies of the entire South Cone; the possibility was that among those splits, the masses would rise, squashing Fascism and reopening this way their heroic revolution of 2003-2005. They were terrified it could happen, but this time all over Bolivia, the same that had happened in Cochabamba in 2007, when the workers and peasants went beyond Morales and the MAS and dismissed the fascist prefect Manfred Reyes, carrying out a true semi spontaneous insurrection in that district. (Manfred Reyes was later restored by Morales in the name of “democracy”.)

The bourgeoisie of Morales, the “Bolibourgeoisies” of Latin America and all the dominant classes of the continent were afraid of the possibility that a fascist blow could weaken the mechanisms controlling the masses before they were decisively defeated by the popular front. If that happened they could reopen the Latin American revolution and the anti-imperialist attacks that, at the beginning of century XXI in Argentina, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, Mexico and even in U.S.A., have hit the ruling classes and weaken their regimes

and governments.

The riot of the 11th of September caused workers and peasants attempt to answer all over the Media Luna. The massacre of Pando on behalf of the fascist gangs was also aimed against rural farmers and workers who mobilized to the Congress in defense of what they believed it was “their government”. During the fascist riot the masses of El Alto, led by Patana – the traitor of the COR of El Alto- marched to defend what they also believed it was “their government”; while they were seriously fighting against US imperialism, the only thing Morales did was to expulse US ambassador, a hollow gesture because he goes on keeping all the agreements and pacts of submission to US imperialism.

Thousands of peasants and workers went down from El Alto with the aim of setting fire to the North American embassy. But there, they were brutally repressed and their ranks dissolved by Morales’ police, not allowing them to get near the embassy.

The mineworkers of Huanuni held a wake over the workers murdered by the Army at Morales’ command while the bureaucracy of the COB and the mining federation was shocked by the motion of a mineworkers’ assembly that had voted the destitution of all the leaders of the federation and the COB for having sold out the mineworkers of Huanuni, leaving disarmed and exposed to repression while negotiating a truce with Morales’ Government.

When the blockades began, the working masses and peasants had been willing to enter the combat to confront the brutal massacre by Fascism against the exploited in Pando, Santa Cruz and the rest of the Media Luna.

In order to avoid the fascist putsch from opening inadvertently this nightmare scene, the class collaboration Government of Morales put the officers’ caste of the murderous Army in the center of the scene, to play their role of defenders of the private property. **Therefore, and for the first time since October 2003, the army - the essentials of the Bolivian bourgeois state- was directly in charge of preventing the revolutionary irruption of the masses from coming through the cracks opened in the ruling classes, and reopening the Bolivian revolution with their own methods and program, a revolution that had been expropriated since 2005 by the popu-**

lar front government of Morales.

The class collaboration Government of Morales tries now to set the Army as the “democratic guardian” of the private property of the transnationals and the national bourgeoisie.

As Trotsky said about the popular front Government in Spain in the ‘30s, *“When the bourgeoisie is forced to sign a pact with the working organizations by its left wing, it needs more than ever its officer corps to make counterbalance, since the defense of the private property is the most important thing.”* (Letter to IS about the popular front, July 27th, 1936).

So the government of Morales leans on the officers’ caste and rapidly imposes the state of siege in Pando. Far from helping the attacked, he means exactly to prevent the armed masses of workers and peasants armed, from going in help of those massacred in the Media Luna and smash the fascist reaction, as this not only would have questioned the property of the landowning one-hundred families and the pro US bourgeois fraction, but the whole property of all exploiters of Bolivia as well.

On the subject, Trotsky said: *“The government of Stalin-Caballero, (the government of the popular front, N. Ed.) tries at all costs to give its Army the character of a democratic guardian of the private property. This is, in essence, the popular front. Everything else amounts to hollow phrases... Precisely for that reason the popular front prepares the triumph of Fascism. Anyone who has not understood this is deaf and blind (...). Without a proletarian revolution, the military victory of the democracy means only a detour in the way of Fascism...”* (Leon Trotsky. Is the victory possible? ”, 23/04/1937, bold letters in the original). What is the meaning of this in Bolivia? Morales’ Government leaning on the murderous officers’ caste of its Army guarantees that Fascism – agent in Bolivia of the immediate interests of La Rosca, the oligarchy and Wall Street- is not touched nor defeated by the revolutionary masses. By means of the officers’ caste of the Banzerist Army Morales wants to set limits to be sure that the private property of the entire bourgeois fractions won’t be questioned by any independent revolutionary action of the masses.

To paraphrase Trotsky –with all the

limitations of a historic analogy- we could say that, because the Bolivian armed masses didn’t squash the fascist putsch controlled by the Army – that is to say, by the “democratic guardian” of the private property-, and the state of siege in Pando after the massacre of peasants, the present situation only means a detour in the way to Fascism.

The imposition of a state of siege in Pando on behalf of Morales’ Government had the objective of giving the officers’ caste the control of one of the prefectures of the Media Luna; with a military government it was possible to save the murderous prefect Leopoldo Fernandez and to prevent the concentration of the forces and of the hatred of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants.

During the counterrevolutionary *putsch*, the armed gangs took the control of 50% of the Bolivian territory, massacring whichever worker and peasant they could. As we see, the “democratic guardians” of Capital under the command of the popular front, in more than ten days of fascist riots did nothing to the Fascists. The latter dedicated freely, with their armed brigades to block roads, to take airports, public offices, oil wells and refineries and even the telecommunications and power stations. Had the rebel proletariat done so, it would have been immediately accused of seditious, undemocratic and subversive. And undoubtedly, the same Morales’ “democratic” Army, supported by all the bourgeois Armed Forces and the Armies of the continent would have taken part directly in squashing at all costs, the revolutionary upsurge of the working masses and peasants. This was demonstrated when the mineworkers of Huanuni rallied to demand something as minimum as a worthy retirement at the age of 55 (when, in average, Bolivian mineworkers die of silicosis at 40). Although the mineworkers were completely unarmed, they were brutally repressed by the “popular” Army of Morales which let the Fascists free, with the balance of two mineworkers dead.

Chávez’ stentorian chatter about the Bolivian Army after the fascist riot reached its climax, was an understatement which had the aims of making Morales apply the above mentioned policy and the Army obey it. If not, the armed forces ran the serious risk of breaking apart even at the level of the

rank and file soldiers, who are workers and peasants’ sons under arms (Bolivia’s is a drafted army). And as we said, everyone at the top was petrified at the idea of a revolutionary irruption of the masses.

THE POPULAR FRONT LEANS ON THE BANZERIST OFFICERS’ CASTE, THE ESSENCE OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE

The State boils down, ultimately to a gang of armed men, who defend the interests of the exploiting class against the exploited, Engels said. The essence of this gang of armed men is the officers’ caste.

The traditions and spirit of this officers’ caste in the murderous Banzerist Army was educated and formed during the defeat of the 1952 Bolivian revolution, when the air force and the troops trained in West Point bombed and then entered by fire and sword into the mines of Catavi and Siglo XX, in 1964. They were who later on hanged up Che Guevara’s head as a trophy in the rangers’ officers’ school of Bolivia.

This same officers’ caste which has supported the regime of La Rosca all along, massacring and killing hundreds of workers and peasants in the revolutionary uprisings of 2003 and 2005, is now the supporter of the popular front government to restrain the fascist riot.

This policy of Morales’, however, deserved the support of all the Latin American left. Specially the fake Trotskyists demanded from “the democratic” government of Morales to call for a state of siege and favored his leaning on the Army to squash the fascist riots promoted by the North American Embassy. LIT and its Brazilian branch PSTU, went so far as to express their grievance because, as they say in their declaration: *“... Evo Morales refuses to send troops to all the departments of the Media Luna to recover the public buildings with the justification that he doesn’t want a bloodbath...”*

This people, who have already reneged Marxism and the lessons of Trotskyism, accuse Evo Morales of not leaning, up to the end on the Banzerist officers’ caste to squash Fascism! It looks like saying to Kornilov, to Pinochet or to Videla’s Army... nothing different from that counterrevolutionary Bonapartist den of the Banzerist officers’ caste of the Bolivian Army – which is no different from any other of

the bourgeois Armies-, that under Morales' orders they had to squash the Fascists of the Media Luna! Even Stalin didn't dare as much when he supported the officers' caste of the republican Army in the Spanish civil war!

As Trotsky would say to the leaders of the Spanish POUM: "...they consider themselves as the revolutionary advisors of the leaders of the popular front. This is a sterile and unworthy position for a revolutionary...". This is how Trotsky denounced Nin and its group that already had capitulated to the popular front, in "Is the victory possible? (23/04/1937),

Far from calling to destroy the officers' caste to squash Fascism, far from calling to the COB and the working organizations to break with the bourgeoisie and the front popular government and quickly set up the workers and peasants militias; far from calling to the soldiers to go with their arms and their committees of soldiers to join the workers and peasants organizations to squash Fascism; far from denouncing the state of siege in Pando that only was to preserve and to save the bourgeoisie and its private property of the hatred of the masses; this people, this "third wave of Menshevism" that history has given birth to, the rotten "Trotskyist" renegades, are telling the Latin American and particularly the Bolivian working class that it is necessary "to push Morales" so that he... leans on the officers' caste of the Army and declares the state of siege in all the "rebellious" departments taken by Fascism in Bolivia. If this had happened a general would have taken the control of each department of the Media Luna, not only in Pando, leaving the Fascists safe in their headquarters as they are today in Pando; and, undoubtedly, they would have finished as ministers in the cabinet of Morales or either in Morales' place.

This position of the international reformist left is a total break with the lessons of the tragedy of the Spanish proletariat and the lessons of the revolutionary processes in Argentina, Chile and Bolivia.

In Chile, while Allende announced the "pacific and democratic way towards Socialism" together with Fidel Castro and Stalinism he prevented the workers of the industrial cords from arming to squash the fascist riots. Instead, he named Pinochet Commander-in-Chief of the Army and

Minister of Defense and called him a "democratic minded military". As everybody knows, Pinochet overthrew Allende's Government with a coup d'état in 1973 turning Chile into the grounds for one of the worst massacres of workers and peasants in the history of world revolutions.

This people who in the ELAC supported the treasonous leadership of the COB - that left the workers and peasants defenseless preventing them from smashing Fascism with the methods and the program of the proletarian revolution - had the cheekiness to call "for a retaking of the tradition of the glorious Bolivian revolution of 1952"! The experience of that betrayed revolution was that the Pabloites of the Fourth International and the Trotskyist renegades -like the leaders of the LIT today, the Bolivian POR and all the Latin American left acted as "revolutionary councilors" of Paz Paz Estenssoro's bourgeois government then and Morales' bourgeois government today.

In 1952, the Stalinists and the Trotskyist renegades supported -either openly or critically the government of Paz Paz Estenssoro, that had expropriated the revolutionary upsurge of the Bolivian proletariat.

PE government controlled with his left hand the workers' militia of the COB and with its right hand it sent 500 officers of the Army (that same Army that had been defeated and disbanded by the workers' revolution) to West Point to rearm and reshape the officers' caste in order to defeat the Bolivian proletariat. Then Paz Estenssoro named General Obando as minister of defense, who in 1964 lead the final attack on the miners' movement finishing in a blood-bath, in Catavi and Siglo XX.

This is the real lesson that proletarians must draw from this proletarian tragedy in the past as in the present: if the submission to "the democratic" bourgeoisie imposed by the reformist leadership prevails, the revolution is doomed.

This stingy policy of class collaboration shows all the rottenness of the reformist policy because, no doubt Fascism is an excrescence of the rotten capitalist system in decomposition, the same as is the rotten bourgeois democracy supporting the popular front to expropriate the proletarian revolution.

These "revolutionary counselors" call the popular front to carry out the tasks that the armed proletariat alone,

fighting for the proletarian revolution can do up to the end.

True Trotskyists educated in the legacy and the continuity of the program of the Fourth International were who, in the late '40s and early '50s, in Bolivia, supported in its mineworkers' cells, made vote the Theses of Pulacayo for the Bolivian and Latin American proletariat. Thesis and revolutionary program that say: "...the fight against the pro-fascist elements (to say nothing about a resolute Fascist rise in the Media Luna! N. Ed.) is subordinated to the fight against imperialism and the feudal bourgeoisie. Those who subordinate themselves to democratic imperialism and to the feudal bourgeoisie on the pretext of fighting against Fascism, don't do other but prepare the way for the inevitable coming of a pro-fascist regime...".

And some lines later, the Trotskyists formed in the lessons of Spain, of the popular front and the fight against Fascism, say in the theses of Pulacayo; "...to destroy definitively the danger of Fascism we have to destroy Capitalism as a system. To fight against Fascism, far from soothe artificially the class contradictions we have to enliven the class struggle; Workers and exploited people! Let's destroy capitalism in order to destroy definitively the Fascist danger and the tiny pro-fascist groupings. By the proletarian revolutionary methods alone and only within the frame of class struggle we will be able to defeat Fascism...".

The PSTU, LIT, POR's, etc., gentlemen, all those Messrs. Renegades in the fake Trotskyist currents that called for a vote to Morales and rallied in his support, they must already know that they have broken their teeth against the international proletariat, as they have exposed themselves as they really are: a new batch of Mensheviks; because they are not continuers of Trotsky and his legacy, the Fourth International

In spite of the pretentious cries of the reformists and of the renegades of Marxism, the officers' caste is loyal to its class (the bourgeoisie).

Thus, the high echelons of the Army leaked to the media their concerns about the possibility that the Fascist revolt in the Media Luna could spark a state of revolt and convulsion in the worker and peasant masses, opening the way to a new revolutionary outbreak as in 2003-2005. So according to *Clarín* (an

Argentinean newspaper) of September 16, 2008: *“Nobody ignores that if a right wing rebellion dislodges Evo Morales from power, that almost 70% of citizens from the East and part of the West that voted for him will not stand still. And the fire would threaten to propagate to other countries. The Bolivian armed Forces know that. That’s why another datum from the intelligence report being considered yesterday was that for the military in that country no breakthrough is possible beside Evo”* (our bolds)

The officers’ caste with a total cynicism and clarity, has measured correctly the relationship of forces: when they say *“no breakthrough is possible beside Evo”*, they mean that the conditions are not yet given to guarantee a counterrevolutionary triumph of the Fascists all over Bolivia without running the risk of reopening the revolution. They are saying that they have not yet assured a successful smashing of the fighting masses in the entire Bolivia.

The officers’ caste –which concentrates de bands of armed men and defends the interests and properties of **all** the bourgeois fractions in Bolivia- is **considering, very correctly, that it is still necessary to allow for and support the class collaboration government of Evo Morales, in order that it goes on dealing with and strangling the masses’ fights; but, at the same time, the officers’ caste is very pleasantly applauding with their right hand the counterrevolutionary triumph of Fascism that settles as a true counterrevolutionary dual power all over the territory of the Media Luna.**

Today, through a new agreement with Fascism and the Media Luna –which is now strengthened and controlling territory- a re-discussion on the allotment of the business for each bourgeois fraction is in the works, without risking the private property of everyone. And that is precisely the role of the bourgeois army officers’ caste as concentrated essence of the ruling class’ state: protecting the private property of the bourgeoisie as a whole.

And that is the role of the popular front, as “penultimate bourgeois government before Fascism”. It is forced to prevent the victory of the proletarian revolution. Its objective is flirting the exploited masses, with cheap demagoguery, to disorganize their ranks and annihilate the workers-peasants alliance in order to leave the proletariat with

their hand tied up, submitted to the bourgeoisie and its businesses. In this way the popular front ends up dampening the powder of revolution so that it cannot detonate any more. That is the essence of the popular front and the reason why it is unavoidable for it to close a deal with the officers’ caste. That’s why Morales government did its utmost to present that caste as “democratic”, “popular” and “pro-indigenous” white-washing it after that caste had been responsible of the massacre of more than 100 workers and peasants during the uprisings of 2003.

This is in short the tragedy of the popular front and all the governments of class collaboration: besides that, everything, as Trotsky said, is “phrase-mongering and lies”.

The entire work of Morales government has been to pass the October murderers, the killers of unarmed mineworkers, as “popular, patriotic” armed forces. Evo has tried once and again to enhance their prestige in front of the people... waiting for this moment when they have to be the ultimate guarantors for the private property of all the bourgeois fractions and imperialist powers that are disputing their share in the exploitation of the Bolivian working class; because those armed forces are the last resort to prevent a mass insurrection and the proletarian revolution.

And the officers’ caste decided correctly that the hour for Fascism had come only in the Media Luna, because if it had gone for the entire Bolivia that meant to run the risk of an open civil war. The worker and peasant masses would be free from the control of the popular front and in the case of their staging an insurrection, there was the risk of a break in the lower ranks of the army that are formed by conscripts, that is, workers and peasants who may go to the side of revolution.

For the Media Luna bourgeoisie and US imperialism, this was precisely the moment for an accurate blow to change the relationship of forces between the different imperialist fractions. Thus they wanted to prevent Morales government –as a representative of Repsol and Total- from turning into the absolute general manager of the juicy business of the Bolivian hydrocarbons that are vital for the production of the transnationals set within the Mercosur.

The Fascists had also been re-legitimated “democratically” by Morales’

Bonapartist referendum. Their minimum objective was to impose a new agreement that could improve their status in the businesses. From the point of view of the bourgeois state they wanted that agreement to accelerate the coming of a definitive counterrevolutionary victory against the Bolivian working class and peasants under the command of US imperialism. The latter, as we have already said, is seeking to recoup the businesses it has lost in its backyard, to counter its economic crisis.

But for the officers’ caste of the Bolivian Army, the phrase *“no breakthrough is possible beside Evo”* means that it is necessary yet to extract the last drop of juice from the popular front, to defend the private property and give a very strong blow to the masses and their demands.

So Morales closed a deal with the officers’ caste which prevented the risk of a revolutionary irruption of the masses; he also wanted to force Fascism to make a pact with him, but he only got a sound victory of Fascism which established a true counterrevolutionary dual power all over the Media Luna.

A PROVISOORY OUTPUT OF THE BOLIVIAN DEVELOPMENTS: AN EXTRAORDINARY COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY TRIUMPH FOR THE BOLIVIAN FASCISTS AND US IMPERIALISM. NOW THE POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENT BECOMES FORCED TO DISCUSS AGAIN THE ALLOTMENT OF THE BUSINESSES AMONG ALL THE IMPERIALIST GANGS THAT ARE OPPRESSING AND EXPLOITING THE BOLIVIAN NATION. THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF UNASUR, OAS AND UNO.

The output of the tragedy experienced by the Bolivian exploited and the entire Latino American sub-continent –resulting from their submission to one of the pro-imperialist bourgeois fractions that has expropriated their revolution- is clearly in front of our eyes. The Fascist putsch is now reigning in half the Bolivian territory.

The workers and peasants in Pando, Tarija, Beni, Santa Cruz, that is, all over the Media Luna, are now either on the hold of the Banzerist jackboots of Morales or suffering the counterrevolutionary terror of the Fascist gangs.

That half of the Bolivian territory where the bigger gas resources lay, has

seen the surge and victory of a counter-revolutionary “dual power”, which is not settled on the control of the masses by the popular front (as in the Altiplano region), that is, not under the “laws of the bourgeois democratic regime legality”. That “dual power” is based on the discipline imposed by the Fascist militia that in the Media Luna have taken under their control all the institutions of the state, slaughtering and beating with its armed Fascist gangs every worker and peasant they met in their way in that territory.

How right the Trotskyists in the ‘30s and ‘40s were, when they alerted about the illusory character of a “democratic” military victory without a proletarian revolution! Yes, a military victory of bourgeois democracy is only a detour in the way to Fascism.

This unparalleled advance of the counterrevolution was the fruit of the actions of the class collaborationist leaderships of the workers movement that support (either critically or not) the popular front government. This is the same tragic policy that carried the masses to the deep defeats suffered in the Spanish civil war of the ‘30s, and in the no less tragic experience of the French popular front. In 1936 Stalin signed a deal with the representative of that popular front, Laval (the infamous Stalin-Laval Pact) supporting all the businesses of the “democratic” (French) imperialists. In those years, Trotsky said categorically, in his splendid work about Popular Front and Fascism in *“Whither France?”*:

“...Nothing is so dangerous for the proletariat, especially in the present situation, than the sugared poison of false hopes. Nothing increases the insolence of the Fascists so much as the “flabby pacifism” on the part of the workers’ organizations. Nothing destroys the confidence of the middle classes in the working class as temporizing, passivity, and the absence of the will to struggle.” (Leon Trotsky, *Whither France?*, Merit Publishers, N.Y. 1968, p25)

These lessons drawn by Trotskyism from its combat against the policy of the popular front and overall from the French experience have been obliterated as lessons for the international proletariat to guide their struggles, sealing them with seven seals. That is because the popular front of Stalin-Laval in 1935 expropriated the French revolution, exhausted the revolutionary energy of the masses, blackmailing them



UNASUR summit

with the prospective of the coming of Hitler, unless they supported the “democratic” imperialists...

Far from that, once the revolution was definitively expropriated in 1939, was effectively Hitler with his Army invading Europe and France. Before this, the coward “democratic” imperialist French bourgeoisie –organized in the popular front- named as Premier *Marechal* Petain for the defense of Paris. But it was the same Petain who handed over the keys of Paris to Hitler, what demonstrates that when it comes to defending their businesses and private property, the different bourgeois gangs do not balk at signing agreements and deals.

Such was the immediate understanding of all the bourgeois governments of the region (agents of the different imperialist gangs in Latin America), which, reading perfectly the situation gathered in Chile, in one of their regional institutions, the UNASUR to support Morales, defend “democracy” in Bolivia and call for... a deal, a quick deal among all the quarreling (bourgeois) parts in Bolivia. Thus they tried to avoid that the tremendous crisis in the top, the unrelenting disputes among the different bourgeois gangs could encourage an independent irruption of the worker and peasant masses there.

This new pact, no doubt, sits at the negotiation table the 100 families of Santa Cruz landowners and the triumphant representatives of the Media Luna to discuss in the best conditions the allotment of the business of plundering the Bolivian nation.

This new pact between the government of the popular front and the Fascists of the Media Luna will guaran-

tee the intervention of the Banzerist Army in the Bolivian political life; it also guarantees to Fascism its unchallenged control over the portion of territory they have conquered through the massacre of workers and peasants. These are the kind of “deals”, “pacts”, “agreements” that the Bolivarian governments which depict themselves as “democratic”, “popular”, “nationalist”, promote. These are the deals that the “left” agents of the “national” bourgeoisies in the continent legitimize before the masses with their support for those governments, i.e., a pact between the “democratic” government of Morales –who represses and contains the workers and peasant masses so as to not letting them express their hatred by entering a combat to smash the Fascists- and the very same Fascists in revolt that have smashed those masses by sword and iron.

With this counterrevolutionary pact guaranteed –as guarantor of last resort- by the officers’ caste of the core of the Bolivian state and all the Latin American bourgeoisies supporting the different imperialist gangs that are plundering the region, under the cover of the UNASUR –a new front for the OAS and the Inter American Treaty of Defense- the crisis in the top was closed temporarily. It has put out of the scenes –also temporarily- any revolutionary irruption of the masses; on the contrary the latter are who suffer the consequences, under the counterrevolutionary blows of Fascism.

These lackey governments and their agents are everywhere babbling about “democracy”; but the advanced workers of the world must know and realize that these same Bolivarian governments –true agents of the transna-

tionals- that claim to be “democratic”, would not have had the slightest doubt about intervening with all their armies put together if what had been before their eyes were not a Fascist revolt but a revolutionary upsurge of the worker and peasant, exploited masses that seized power and established an insurrect workers and peasants government in Bolivia.

Chilean Inzulza –secretary general of the OAS- together with the presidents of the countries forming the UNASUR are the guarantors of this “dialogue” between the different fractions of the Bolivian bourgeoisie (and their imperialist masters). While sending to the “dialoguing table” with rebellious Fascism his deputy president (García Linera), Morales was in a head-to-head meeting with Sarkozy –the French imperialist butcher- and the Russian Ambassador –in representation of Gazprom, the Russian (and German) oil giant that supplies the entire imperialist Europe with oil and gas-; they discussed the opening of new explorations in search for hydrocarbons in the Altiplano.

But the oligarchy in the Media Luna is not prone to return even a millimeter of what it has conquered with its Fascist putsch.

In this circumstances the “dialoguing table” is nothing more than a new fence to encircle and suffocate the Bolivian revolution, a fence put up with the clubs and the guns of the Fascists, established on the control of Morales government over the working class; so the working class has not been able to intervene decisively to turn over the relationship of forces on its favor and retake the revolutionary road.

IN BOLIVIA, AS YESTERDAY IN COLOMBIA, WE ARE WITNESSING THE APPLICATION OF A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PACT AMONG THE BOLIVARIAN BOURGEOISIES AND THE DIFFERENT IMPERIALIST POWERS WHERE THE EXPLOITED MASSES AND THEIR BLOOD CHANGE IN THEIR BUSSINES.

The Latin American governments, be them either “Bolivarian” or signatories of FTAs with US imperialism, have constituted a provisory common “general staff” to handle the proletarian revolution and the hatred of the masses, and at the same time to channel their own disputes for the businesses of raw materials in the Latin American sub-

continent: the UNASUR.

Those businesses demand and need “social peace”; there must not remain even the least vestige of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary assaults of the masses in the South Cone that shook the region in the early years of the 21ST century.

This other true den of bandits of the UNASUR –a representative of the transnationals and of all the imperialist powers and their businesses with the native bourgeoisies- had its launching ceremony in Colombia where the Army of Uribe – a true genocidist army, a ruthless killer of the Colombian exploited masses- heavily armed and financed by the US imperialists decided to put an end to the Colombian resistance. It got to the point of bombing the Ecuadorian territory to destroy (one of) the headquarters of the CRAF (the long standing militia of the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces, N.T.)

The counterrevolutionary pact symbolized by the embracing of Uribe and Chavez put an end to the babbling and chatting of the entire “left” serving the bourgeoisie in the WSF.

The dispute around the legitimacy or not of the Colombian Army’s deeds was settled with a cheerful cry: “let’s have business together”, as the projected “Southern Gas Pipeline” that starting in Venezuela was to go across Colombia linking as a chain (Ecuador, Peru), Bolivia and the Southern Cone (Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil and Uruguay, N.T.)

After that, both Chavez and Castro went public to convince the masses that “*there is no room for another Cuba*”. The Colombian resistance is in shambles, having suffered huge casualties; Uribe’s army has settled on the rural regions and... the businesses between “Bolivarian” Chavez and Uribe, Bush’ agent, are doing very well!

This counterrevolutionary pact, where the masses are mere small change for the Bolivarian bourgeoisies and the imperialist powers which are scrambling for the former US backyard in their bargaining with and against US imperialism and its agents, is the same kind of pact that now has been signed on the backs of the massacred and exploited Bolivian workers and peasants between the popular front and Fascism.

The Latin American bourgeoisies, agents of the different transnationals, need to impose peace...the peace of the

graveyards where the Latin American masses are buried, in order to go on with their businesses in the middle of the catastrophe of the “meltdown” of the international financial capital.

The new pact between Morales and the triumphant counterrevolutionary Fascist Media Luna has their blessing. It is a true menace that as a “Damocles’ sword” is pending over the heads of the exploited masses, not only from Bolivia but from all the Latin American sub-continent.

This is the kind of “democracy” defended by Morales, the (Argentina’s present and former presidents) Kirchners, (Brazilian president) Lula, (Chilean president) Bachelet; it is a “democracy” that lets Uribe massacre the Colombian resistance, and Fascism settle down in half the Bolivian territory. Everything is well for that “democracy” as long as the common businesses of the bourgeois gangs are allotted and discussed “in peace”, allowing them to dispute the bounty of the sacking and exploitation of the Latin American working class without the threat of a revolution.

A new counterrevolutionary pact has been imposed all over Bolivia. It is accord to strangle the masses: Fascism is on one extreme of the cord, smashing directly the masses with its counterrevolutionary civil war; the other extreme is occupied by the popular front with its “sugared poison” of hollow phrases, containing, demoralizing and demobilizing the workers and peasants, and also repressing ferociously the left wing of the proletariat –as in Huanuni- for the sake of keeping safe the private property of of all the exploiters against the assaults of revolution.

Thus is the pact MAS-PODEMOS, of the Bolivarian bourgeoisies supported by all the currents of the treacherous left of the WSF, which defends democracy when it is not but a mere detour in the way towards Fascism. This is the present situation, the tragedy of the Bolivian revolution, strangled, stained and trampled on by the popular front and murdered and smashed by Fascism. •

**International Coordination
Secretariat of the ILTF**

The “left” of the WSF submits the proletariat to a “democratic front” with Morales and the “Bolibourgeoisies”. That front is only a detour that prepares de decisive lash out of the Fascist claw.

The tragedy of the workers and peasant revolution in Bolivia boils down to the fact that the proletariat of Bolivia and the entire continent has at their head a bunch of traitors as their leadership. This disorganizes their ranks and submits them to the bourgeoisie.

Statement of the Leninist Trotskyist Fraction, originally published in “El Organizador Obrero Internacional” # 10 - October, 2008, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF, in July, 2009.

One must ask oneself, how was it that this Fascist putsch could go so far, when scarcely three years ago the Bolivian proletariat, at the same time that an anti-imperialist offensive was sweeping Latin America, could shatter the bourgeois Bolivian regime and put against the strings that infamous pro-US clique called La Rosca? How could the Fascist putsch come to the point of taking hold of the Media Luna leaving the proletarians and poor peasants there impotent and massacred? There is one and only answer: The proletariat was subdued to the bourgeois government of Morales thanks to its class collaborationist leaderships in the COB (Bolivian Worker Central), the CORs (Regional Worker Centrals) and the CODs (District Worker Centrals). So the Bolivian proletariat was submitted to Morales government that was depicted by those leaderships as the “friend of the workers and the poor”, though he didn’t give bread to the workers or land to the peasants... nor he broke with imperialism, not to say expropriate the transnationals.

The appearance of the popular front government as an expropriator of the revolution, meant that power had passed from the hands of the old bourgeois cliques of the Media Luna and the pro-US Rosca to another fraction of the native bourgeoisie –now the “indigenous” one- which is supported by the French-German imperialisms and the Latin American bourgeoisies that are junior partners of the different imperialist powers. This new fraction of the native bourgeoisie has now began to centralize the hydrocarbon business for the entire South Cone, riding on the expropriation of the proletarian revolution.

The submission of the proletariat to the popular front government –achieved by the proletarian leaderships- broke the

alliance between the workers and the peasants. The latter ended as the essential sustainers of the bourgeois government of Morales together with the class collaborationist leaders of the COB. The revolutionary assaults of 2003-2005 are now far behind us; those were the times when Morales mobilized the peasant bases with the slogan “50% of the oil royalties for the state” against the 30% of royalties proposed by Mesa’s government, the workers, organized in the CORs and the mineworkers movement came from El Alto to meet that enormous peasant mobilization, shouting “Neither 20% nor 50%, nationalization (for them that meant “without compensation”, N.T.)” and “Out with the transnationals!”. Thus the workers won over the peasants’ movement and became its leaders during the revolutionary days of 2003-2005.

The proletarian leadership’s submission to Morales government liquidated that program of the revolutionary uprising of the Bolivian proletariat with its anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist demands. The proletariat was submitted to the popular front and was kept asking for some alms. The rich peasantry together with the cocalera (coca growers) bourgeoisie became a new native ruling class administering the business of that 50% of the oil royalties for the state, while the poor peasants –the wide majority of the rural exploited- was left without land. Now before the crac, the world economic crisis and the high inflation that shake Bolivia, the workers that put their bodies and blood to the bullets and batons in the combats of 2003, have only achieved a devaluated purchase power for their wages.

This is what happens always with an expropriated, usurped and trampled revolution: the workers put their flesh and their bones in the combat and then

the bourgeoisie is who harvests the utilities with its businesses.

The popular front government strove to achieve agreements and deals with the Media Luna which it tried at any cost to legitimize covering it with the “democratic” mantle of a “popular and national” government. This popular front government of Morales, a bourgeois-democratic government that expropriated the proletarian revolution, with its decrepit old woman of a democracy supported in the officers’ caste of the Banzerist army –comes from the same bowels of private property and submission of Bolivia to imperialism that have given birth to and feed all the ruling classes and the imperialist gangs that plunder the nation, and also the Media Luna Fascism which is another expression of the same system of exploitation.

The Bolivian proletariat was under the leadership of the class collaborationists (Solares, Montes, Patana and the likes, all of them supported and legitimized from the “left” by the Bolivian POR and the renegades of Trotskyism of all over the continent who acclaimed Morales); the only role that was left for it consisted in pressuring the government for some minimum, immediate demands. When the workers went out to the streets for those demands they met the bullets of the “popular and national” army and with the most ferocious repression, as was the above mentioned case with Huanuni mineworkers, as well as with every decisive struggle of the workers in the last years.

This government could never have smashed the Santa Cruz Fascist beast because for that it would be necessary to mobilize and arm the revolutionary masses; but the latter would have ended attacking not only the property of the



Morales with the COB General Staff

100 families of Santa Cruz, the property of BP or Exxon, but also that of Totalfina, Repsol and the own “indigenous” bourgeoisie.

Trotskyism, the only living revolutionary Marxism, has said to the point of saturation that to give the least political support to a bourgeois government; to create the smallest political illusion in the workers about the possibility to obtain anything from that government without a determinate struggle on the part of the same workers, is tantamount to selling the soul to the devil. But what is most dangerous, it means to renounce the struggle to overthrow that government, to renounce the fight for the proletarian dictatorship

As we have said and demonstrated time and again, trying to make the proletariat believe that with the government of Morales and its “democracy” it is possible to confront and defeat Fascism, is more than an utopian pretense, it is a treason against the interests of the proletariat, a betrayal to the fight to smash Fascism. Because that “democracy” supported in the officers’ caste is the “sugared venom” that covers the dictatorship of capital

THE NEFARIOUS ROLE OF THE POR: A STUPID TRADE-UNIONISM, DISGUISED AS “ULTRALEFTISM”, SUPPORTS THE BUREAUCRACY OF THE COB, WHICH IN ITS TURN SUPPORTS... MORALES!

The role of the POR, today scattered in a multitude of small groups originated in its explosion (but carrying on its same politics) was that of a most vicious and stupid trade-unionism disguised in “ultra leftist” verbiage.

Firstly, the POR imposed to the Bolivian proletariat the legitimization

of the entire leadership of the COB which it covered with a false halo of “Trotskyism” (that is, “if the POR says this leadership is revolutionary, it IS revolutionary”, NT) in the same way the renegades of Trotskyism do all over the continent; the maximum expression of this fraud was the ELAC (an Encounter of Latin American and Caribbean Workers) that was held in early July in Brazil.

That is because the Bolivian working class has a Trotskyist tradition; each time in its struggles it retakes the great tradition and experience that the Trotskyist left in the Bolivian workers movement, concentrated in the Theses of Pulacayo which were adopted by the Mineworkers Federation in 1946 and later on adopted as a program for the COB in the revolution of 1952. The POR (a self-proclaimed fake-Trotskyist group around a guru named Guillermo Lora, who expels anybody that has a doubt about his infallibility, NT) and its offspring live on the remains of that tradition.

The POR with its intellectuals gives lectures on “Trotskyism” and “revolution” in the trade unions and legitimizes with a halo of “Trotskyism” and “Socialism” every new bureaucrat that rides the COB to sell out the workers. The POR sits that with Solares, and shared with him the leadership of the CODs and CORs in the uprisings of 2003-2005.

Secondly, the stupid trade-unionism of the POR has reached paroxysm. The leadership of the COB had raised a list of demands which comprised a wage rise, better pensions and benefits for the aged poor. The COB carried that list as a proposal to the popular front government to be included in a bill to be approved by the Parliament. That is, a

policy of pressuring the bourgeois parliament so that it issues “good laws” with small concessions to improve the living conditions of the Bolivian workers. The leadership of the POR devoted itself to give lectures in all the unions even in the student movement, adhering to that proposal of the COB, but “enhancing” it with the addition of the sliding scale of wages and the sharing out of the working hours.

The membership of the POR went to all the unions explaining the advantages of the sliding scale of wages and the sharing out of the working hours for convincing the bureaucrats to put them in the list of demands to be voted... in a bourgeois parliament! A shame. They use the Transitional Program as a bartering tool, so that the workers conquer that program through a list of demands turned into a law by the bourgeois parliament. Reformist alchemy and a trade-unionist utopia!

These gentlemen were telling the proletariat –and that was their way of supporting from the “left” the treacherous leadership of Montes (Solares’ successor, N.T.) in the COB–that the sliding scale of wages and the sharing out of the working hours –which amount to the automatic rise of wages according to the cost of living, and that all the able hands enter production, sharing all the working hours of the national economy– can be conquered through a bourgeois law in this epoch of catastrophe and ruin of the capitalist imperialist world system... that is through a charitable hand-out of the exploiters and not through a revolutionary combat that questions the very existence of the private property, the bourgeois state, regime and government. Pure Kautskyism! Only old Social Democracy had the audacity of saying that nonsense!

The proletariat can only attain the demands expressed in the Transitional Program by breaking with the bourgeoisie, defeating the leaderships that serve it within the worker organizations, preparing and organizing a revolutionary struggle; because for achieving even the most minimum demand in this rotten system that is shattering down, it is necessary to put a foot on the humiliated body of the exploiters; the most minimum gain would be the byproduct of revolutionary struggles of the proletariat.

On the contrary, POR and its offspring are the “Trotskyist” councilors of the bureaucracy of Montes, who

have never called to coordinate the struggles and the thousand and one attempts of the Bolivian proletariat to turn resistance into an offensive; fake Trotskyists that never prepared the vanguard of the working class to defeat the treacherous leadership of the COB, but keep supporting and helping this same bureaucracy.

Thus the POR with its stupid trade-unionism disarmed politically the proletarian vanguard rendering it impotent to fight for the most minimum demands of the masses. And that is so because this popular front government which is disputing fiercely for the sake of Totalfina each dollar of the oil revenues in Bolivia with the Media Luna Fascists, cannot and would not give a cent for the workers' demands. Only defeats could come from relying in it.

That was the sad experience of the Huanuni mineworkers whose leadership was once and again summoned by the POR to lectures about the sliding scale of wages and the sharing of the working hours. So the unprepared mineworkers got to the streets to pressure for the list of demands raised by the COB, with a minimum demand as is "for a retiring age at 55" (their lungs rot after 8-10 years down in the tin mines, so the life expectancy for men is 60 years), and ended brutally repressed and even murdered by Morales' army and left to their fate by the treacherous bureaucracy of the COB.

Due to their stupid trade-unionism the POR refused to challenge the pro-Morales bureaucracy of the COB-CORs and fight for the leadership of the Bolivian proletariat with a revolutionary program (besides, it has abandoned any revolutionary program long ago...) within these workers organizations. The POR was adamantly opposed to convening a national congress of the COB formed by rank and file mandated delegates to defeat the class collaborationist bureaucracy, in order to organize the workers movement with the program of the proletarian revolution, build the workers militia (in a country that has a long tradition of armed workers' militia, NT) to confront Fascism. That would allow the heroic Bolivian proletariat to retake its role of chief of the oppressed nation.

This job of the POR as "left" councilors and escorts of the COB and its list of demands smashed to smithereens when the Fascist putsch began and the leadership of Montes and the COB

abandoned their pressure plans and gave unilaterally a truce of 45 days to the government of Morales to support it in its "confrontation" with Fascism. In that way, the POR ended in a "united front" with Morales and the COB bureaucracy: to the feet of the popular front government.

To the Fascist putsch –which had been strengthened in the last few years with the policies of the popular front, granting the Fascists one deal after the other- the POR responded with the slogan: "*To the Fascist violence, let's answer with the revolutionary violence*". But it was a hollow phrasemongering. How, whom and what with could the masses' violence be counterpoised to the counterrevolutionary violence of Fascism? Evidently for the POR this was achieved through... its support to the list of demands of the COB, so in his turn Montes could present it to the parliament to be voted in favor of the workers. That was the beginning and the end of the "revolutionary violence" of the POR.

On the contrary Fascism (which did want to organize a counterrevolutionary violence seriously) prepared itself carefully. In the offices of the "Juventud Cruceñista" (the Fascist youth groups), in the *prefecturas* (governor buildings) of the Media Luna, the Fascists called the army reserves together with the *Prefectos* (governors of the Bolivian provinces) that wanted to fight against the government. That is, they called all the Fascists and pro-fascist sympathizers who had had a military training during the conscription term, to register to a counterrevolutionary Fascist militia. The Fascist militia has now all over the Media Luna more than 140,000 recruits registered in the *prefecturas* and in the Fascist movement locals, according to the own records of the officers' caste of the bourgeois Bolivian National Army given to publicity. The counterrevolutionary forces that smashed the Bolivian masses in a bloodbath on September the 11th organized and prepared their putsch to the detail, and armed themselves with the weapons that more or less surreptitiously were handed to them by the police, the army and the Fascist cells widespread in the officers' caste.

The stupid trade-unionism of the POR with its policy of pressuring the popular front and supporting the COB leadership prevented the best elements of the workers vanguard to regroup

their ranks, advance to throw down the class collaborationist leadership of the COB, break with the bourgeoisie and call the workers and peasants all over Bolivia to recruit in all the offices and locals of the CODs, CORs and the COB all the reservist workers and peasants that had military training in order to smash Fascism. So they would be preparing the political conditions for the arming of the proletariat with the methods and the program of the proletarian revolution, of the expropriation of the land and the transnationals, of rupture with imperialism; those moves would in turn create the conditions for a new revolutionary irruption of the masses and for organizing a victorious insurrection of the workers and peasants to seize power.

The stupid trade-unionism of the POR, its policy of strategic (long term) united front with the COB bureaucracy was covered by an ultra leftist mantle of verbal abuse on Morales and the Fascists, who they said were "*the same thing*". But while the POR was shouting its insults, in fact it supported Montes who in turn supported Morales and the popular front. Meanwhile Morales' government, once again, was negotiating pacts with Fascism and strengthening it with them.

Besides, contrariwise to POR's sayings, Fascism and the popular front are not "*the same thing*". While the popular front of Morales is supported on its control over the workers and peasants through the treacherous leaderships in their organizations, who are their paid agents to immobilize the masses; Fascism is supported on the physical, immediate smashing of the workers' organizations. Contradictorily enough, though the POR put an "equal" sign between popular front and Fascism, at the same time it did not combat against the popular front –as it was supporting the COB leadership, a friend of Morales'- nor called decisively to the only and alone united front which could smash Fascism in Bolivia (a workers and peasants' militia). This call to a united front against Fascism of the only forces that could combat it, could have strengthened the fight for better wages and the rest of the list of the COB, demands that could have been achieved more quickly through the smashing of Fascism than through a peaceful trade-unionist pressure on the government.

But the POR has indeed long buried

and forgotten in the Bolivian Altiplano his elementary Primer of Marxist algebra. Its yells about “proletarian dictatorship”, “revolutionary violence against Fascist violence”, etc., are as usual hollow phrasemongering that allow them to pose as Trotskyists while never showing the Bolivian workers a course of action. The POR concentrates all that stupid trade-unionism of the reformists and at the same time, all that stupid ultra-leftism of the impotent stale brains that have always been unable to show the workers a revolutionary road much less a revolutionary strategies for seizing power

The ultra leftist phrasemongering serve the POR, however, to cover the stupid trade-unionism (economism) of its daily practice. Did the POR leadership really think that while they were devoting themselves to help Montes write petitions to pressure the government and the parliament, the “violence against Fascism” was to come from those “Red Coronels” that the POR is seeking for long ago with the help of a magnifying glass in the officers’ caste of the Bolivian Army? Let’s recall that Lora has proclaimed to the four cardinal points and during long years that the “Bolivian peculiarities” (which allegedly made this country an exception to the general law of the epoch that states the death of the national programs... NT) included the “exceptionality” of the officers’ caste... That is, here the Army officers that come from the peasants movement and the higher layers of the indigenous bourgeoisie would be, according to Lora, side by side with the workers and popular masses in the trench of the proletarian revolution!

Of course we haven’t seen those coronels of the “Vivo Rojo” (the POR magazine in the Bolivian Army. “Vivo rojo” – red stripe- is the distinctive sign of officers in that Army), friends of Lora, playing any (pro-workers) role when the murderous Army with its officers’ caste at its head was massacring the revolutionary masses in 2003-2005. We haven’t seen those allegedly “progressive, national and popular” officers that Lora dreams for building a “anti-imperialist united front” with, going to help the workers and peasants with their weapons and troops in the trenches of Cochabamba 2007. Where were they, when the revolutionary workers and peasants there made Fascist prefecto Manfred Reyes flee as a rat, if not with him against the masses? What we



Huanuni miners at their martyrs’ memorial, after the repression in Caihuasi

have seen in Cochabamba is Morales government restituting his post to Manfred Reyes in the name of “democracy” and with the help of those officers. Neither have we seen the allegedly “red” coronels preventing the army from massacring the Huanuni mineworkers just a few weeks ago.

The POR is the child of the historic capitulation of **all** the currents in the Fourth International to the government of Paz Estenssoro in the Bolivian revolution of 1952. This government they called to “support critically” as true Mensheviks, hailing its “progressive” measures and denouncing its “negative” measures; so they renounced the fight for “all the power to the COB and its armed militias”, that is, they renounced the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

Today and once more they write a new chapter of the old and long history of that syphilis that corrupted and destroyed the fourth International from inside, Pabloism and revisionism that devoted themselves for nearly 70 years to poison the conscience of the international proletariat, usurping the legacy and the experience of revolutionary Marxism and its continuity that was the Fourth International founded in 1938.

The straw that broke the camel’s back, causing a true strip-tease of not only the POR but of all the renegades to Trotskyism in the American continent was the murdering of the Huanuni mineworkers by the Bolivian Army under the command of Morales, just a few weeks before the Fascist putsch. After the violent repression against the mineworkers and the murdering of two of them, the mineworkers assembly -in front of Morales, Solares (who was ousted some years ago from the COB but has returned as the head of a COD) and all the bureaucrats of the Mineworkers

Federation- voted for **BOOTING THEM OUT** of the leadership of the COB and the Mineworkers Federation for having surrendered the struggle.

During the two weeks following the murder, it was possible to carry that motion of the mineworkers’ assembly to the entire Bolivian workers movement and to all the workers organization in Latin America. (All those organizations had kept quiet before the murders, generally supporting Morales). That would have been the way to prepare the proletariat for a decisive intervention facing the Fascist putsch of September the 11th. That way shown by the heroic rank and mineworkers of Huanuni would have been a way to reorganize the proletarian ranks and get rid of traitors among them. But of course the organizers of the ELAC in Brazil could never have taken that motion as theirs, because that splendid motion by the betrayed Huanuni miners was also against them, who had supported Montes and the Mineworkers Federation. But these heroic miners could not prevent the entire left wing of the workers of the American continent convened in that congress by the Brazilian CONLUTAS from showing them their backs, leaving them and their struggle alone, and supporting the treacherous leaderships instead. That is now the sorry role of the renegades of Trotskyism as a left leg of the WSF and agent of the Bolibourgeoisies in Latin America.

But the Bolivian POR had still another opportunity for breaking with Morales and the COB bureaucracy. Before the Fascist putsch began, it could have transformed the situation of the worker organizations, basing itself in the heart of the mineworkers. Supporting itself in the Huanuni miners’ motion, it could have put the Bolivian proletariat to the level of the

challenge of the Fascist putsch, by breaking with the popular front government and getting rid of the popular front servants within the worker movement and the workers' organizations. With its prestige it could have carried that motion to the factory workers of La Paz, to the fighting teachers, to the revolutionary student movement; it could have disputed the leadership of El Alto from Patana and the rest of servants of the government of Morales. But it didn't do that. The POR was loyal, to the last moment to the strategic united front it keeps with Montes and the entire corrupt bureaucracy of the COB.

But it failed to be what the most advanced and combative layers of the Bolivian working class needed. A true revolutionary attitude from the POR, taking in its hands Huanuni mineworkers' motion, would have encouraged again the combatting spirit of the whole mineworkers; around them the forces of the Bolivian masses would have regrouped. There was the dynamite that in 2003-2005 blew up the governments of Goni's Rosca and that rascal Mesa, servant of the transnationals.

That motion though, was taken in their hands by the small forces of the FLT and spread as a call all over Bolivia and in a number of other places to be taken by the workers movement, as we are eager to continue the combats of the founders of the Fourth International and its legacy.

Let's speak clearly. The renegades of Trotskyism in Bolivia and all over the continent have to comply today with the role they were prepared to play during decades of adaptations and capitulations. That role involves acting as the left wing of the Bolivarian governments; they are in charge of submitting, demoralizing and defeating the most radicalized portions of the proletariat in our continent so that they are subdued to the democratic fronts with the bourgeoisie.

THE POLITICS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL WHEN TROTSKY WAS ALIVE AND ITS COMBAT AGAINST THE POPULAR FRONT, AND AGAINST STALINISM AND ITS BETRAYALS TO THE SPANISH AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS IN THE '30s.

As Trotsky said in the '30s in France: "... to submit the proletariat to bourgeois democracy is tantamount to

declare beforehand the defeat in the fight against Fascism (...) Fascism impresses the officers very much, because its slogans are resolute and because it is prepared to settle difficult questions by means of pistols and machine guns. We have quite a few disjointed reports regarding the tie-up between the Fascist leagues and the army through the medium of reserve as well as active officers, yet we obtain knowledge only of a minute portion of what is going on in reality. (...) The Fascist nucleus in the army under the protection of the General Staff is marching ahead" (L.T., "*Whither France?*", Merit Publishers, N.Y. 1968, p.100, the author's bolds).

How is then the Bolivian proletariat to win over the rank and file of the army composed of workers and peasants under arms, by means of pacifist lamentations in defense of democracy in general, calling for "peace" and "dialogue"? A submission of the proletarians to the popular front government means in advance that they do not intervene in the fight for smashing Fascism. That is the essence of the Bolivian tragedy.

To smash Fascism it was necessary to recruit publicly, openly dozens of thousands of workers under the leadership of the mineworkers movement which had already broken with the class collaborationist leadership of the COB. It was necessary to unite the demand for a sliding scale of wages and the share of working hours to that for the expropriation of the land of the landowners of the Media Luna and the entire Bolivia, of the mines and the Banks; that was the way to unite all the exploited classes and sectors which were entering the fight, so they were fighting for their own benefit and could give the maximum of abnegation and heroism in the combat.

Just a few days before the Fascist putsch of September the 11th the Huanuni miners were massacred by the "democratic" military of Morales. In that moment we said from the LTI of Bolivia and from the FLT that the only alternative in Bolivia was: "... either with the Huanuni miners, the COB, the CODs and the CORs, to retake the revolutionary road of 2003-2005, or with the government of Morales that starves and represses the workers to serve the bosses while it does not touch even a single hair to the Fascist gangs in Santa Cruz and the rest of the Media Luna..." (El Organizador Obrero Internacional

Nº 9, Septiembre de 2008.

The Fascist putsch begins just in a moment the Huanuni miners were still mourning their dead.

We affirm and denounce before the international proletariat that the union bureaucracy of the COB –Montes, Solares, the leaders of the Miners Federation, etc.- which have submitted the Bolivian proletariat to Morales government; together with all those that have supported this rotten and treacherous bureaucracy in their Latin American congresses or that have given a political support to Morales government are responsible for the fact that the proletariat has not intervened already some time ago, with a proletarian politics and with their own methods to smash the Fascists before they felt strong enough to stage their putsch, while Fascism has been strengthening ever more for the last few years under the mantle of Morales "democracy" and with the weapons that the police and the officers' caste of the "national and popular" army were giving its gangs more or less surreptitiously.

For these treacherous leaderships these tasks of controlling and disarming Fascism were left in good hands to Morales government while it was signing pacts with Fascism and attacking overtly every decisive struggle by the working class. Due to the leadership of Patana, Montes, Solares & Co's subservience to the popular front the proletariat was left with its hands tied-up and couldn't intervene with its powerful fighting organizations in the way it had in 2003-2005, when it demolished the power of the pro-US Bolivian Rosca by means of its revolutionary assaults. Each time the Bolivian working class was not subordinated to Morales and the indigenous bourgeoisie and through them to Total-Repsol, they could show very well how the Media Luna's Fascism is defeated; they did it; they triumphed, as when they threw down Goni's government in 2003.

As is shown by the tragic experience of Spain in the '30s, which should be a lesson engraved with blood in the memory of the international proletariat, and the Fourth International said: "*The coalition with the bourgeoisie under the banner of the popular front (if those years in Spain, N.Ed.), the participation in the popular front government, the political support given to a government of this type, renouncing an independent agitation and refusing to organize for throwing*

down the bourgeois government by means of a revolution cannot, in the best of cases but prolong the death agony of bourgeois democracy and facilitate the triumph of Fascism..." ("some answers to questions related to the Spanish situation", September 14, 1937.)

From which Trotsky affirmed that: "... not only the policies of the Stalinists and the Socialists, direct agents of counterrevolution, but also the leaders of the CNT (the anarchists and the leaders of the POUM –renegades of Trotskyism- N:Ed.) has been and continues to be nocive for the interests of the proletariat..." And he continued: "... For the capitalist class the difference between democracy and Fascism is not decisive, according to the circumstances it uses one or the other for its own objectives. But for the petty bourgeois agents of capital (the Social Democrats, Stalinists and anarchists) democracy is the source of their own existence and of their influence... The revolutionary proletariat cannot put both camps that are confronting each other in the same bag: **it must utilize that combat for its own interests. It cannot reach success with a neutral policy but on the contrary, by hitting its enemy number one, Fascism, by military means...**"

And he adds later on: "...With Franco the only combat possible today is a physical combat; with Negrin (the government of the Spanish popular front, N.Ed.) a physical combat is today impossible because the revolutionary elements are a minority and because the physical combat (which will become inevitable) must be prepared politically..." (Idem)

How is it possible, then to act before this Fascist putsch with the working class subordinated to the popular front by its treacherous leaderships? First, it is necessary to break openly and politically with this government, rendering it responsible for the present situation because with its pacts and agreements, and with its submission to the officers' caste and to the international bourgeoisie it has achieved the strengthening of the Fascist gangs that went to the streets to massacre the workers and peasants in the Media Luna.

As Trotsky said we should defend bourgeois democracy with its own methods but with the methods of class struggle, that is, with the methods that prepare its ousting by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But that

would mean not to take any responsibility for the bourgeois democracy, and much less giving support to that government that has negotiated and is now negotiating openly an agreement and a pact with the Fascists after their counterrevolutionary victory all over the Media Luna.

Therefore the class collaborationist leadership of the COB, the CORs and the CODs -after submitting the working class to the popular front government and leaving it unarmed to confront the Fascist putsch- has showed its real face as a agent of the capital and the imperialist gangs that scramble on the hydro-carbon business in Bolivia, disputing them to the pro-US Rosca.

**THE PLENUM OF THE COB
BUREAUCRACY'S SHAMEFUL STATEMENT
OF SEPTEMBER 12TH, LEFT ALONE AND
DEFENSELESS THE WORKERS AND
PEASANTS OF THE MEDIA LUNA AND THE
ENTIRE BOLIVIA UNDER THE
COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY BLOWS OF
FASCISM**

On September the 12th the leadership of the COB issued a declaration with 8 points (which we copy apart) which is a true betrayal to the proletariat. This declaration is no other than the defense of and total submission to the politics of Morales, the indigenous bourgeoisie and the imperialist gangs of Sarkozy and his junior partners of Russian Gazprom under the command of Putin and the German imperialist BASF.

These gentlemen, in the point one of their declaration, **ask the general attorney of Bolivia to investigate and put under judgment with the entire weight of law those guilty of Pando murders.** It asks **the prefectos of the Media Luna to order the immediate withdrawal from the buildings of state institutions and enterprises that had been taken by the Fascist gangs.** And the better part of this jabbering is that these servants of the bourgeoisie **tell the national government to convene the prefectos of the Media Luna to sit down as soon as possible in the same table with the same government to dialogue and find "definitive solutions" to "pacify the country"!** Unluckily enough, Morales had already done precisely that under the auspice of all the presidents of Latin America.

The class collaborationist leadership of the COB –applauded and white-

washed by the "anti-imperialist and combative" encounter convened in Brazil by CONLUTAS and the PSTU- **called to put in place a dialoguing table to negotiate with Fascism and the Media Luna to pacify the country at the same moment Fascism was massacring the workers and peasants in Pando an all over the Media Luna!**

At the same time these treacherous leaderships applauded that the officers' caste were "putting order in Pando" as if it were possible that the murderers of workers and peasants in Morales' army bring justice and bring to the light the responsibility for the ruthless murders perpetrated by Fascism!

The treacherous leadership of the COB submitted the proletariat to Morales bourgeois government and did not take a single measure to save the workers and peasants of the Media Luna from the Fascist gangs, nor for the workers in the Plan 3000 neighborhood rising up to resist in Santa Cruz or the own COR of that district whose members were beaten savagely by the Fascists. Those treacherous leaders did nothing for the hundreds of workers attacked by the Cruceña youth gangs in the Media Luna territory. **THEY ARE TRAITORS**, as well as all those that beautified them and supported them on their shoulders. They are destructors, they have destroyed the COB, the CODs, the CORs, and the rest of the Bolivian workers' organizations because while they were pressuring the government to get some miserable alms, they left the Huanuni miners rending them defenseless; now they bald-facedly allowed the Fascist beast to smash the workers and the poor peasants over half the Bolivian territory, leaving them helpless; and at the same time they were asking for a "dialoguing table" to negotiate with the Fascists, which the only "dialogue" they understand is that of the truncheons, the baseball bats and the machine-guns.

Those policies weaken the COB, the CRs and the CODs and make it easier to Morales government to build another "COB", his own MASist workers central based on the peasant movement and submitting the proletarians to it. In the statement we mention above they call off their scheduled struggles and give unilaterally a truce to the government of 45 days as if it were possible to smash Fascism without calling the workers and peasants to a determinate fight demanding an immediate wage rise against the increase in the cost of living,

the land for the peasants, and the expropriation of all US properties and of all the transnationals in Bolivia which had organized and financed the Fascist putsch. Shame on those traitors to the proletarian cause!

From the government they only demand the destitution of the defense and home affairs ministers and of the councilors to the president because “they have committed some errors”! The ministers and councilors that were advising Morales (among which Sarkozy and the Latin American bourgeoisie representing the transnationals) acted along their own genuine class interests. So they gave Morales very appropriate advice. They allowed Fascism to smash freely the workers and peasants in the Media Luna and now they sit at the “dialoguing table” to allot among all the bourgeois and imperialist factions the Hydrocarbon businesses in Bolivia.

The investigation of the massacre in Pando, where there is now a state of siege imposed by Morales, and the repressor Army is in charge of the provincial administration, was delegated on the bourgeois justice and on the murderous officers’ caste. But the only true justice in Pando and all over the Media Luna could come from the hands of a workers and peasants militia that put in place worker and popular tribunals to judge and punish every Fascist thug that had dared to hurt or kill a Bolivian worker or peasant.

The war cry of the Bolivian proletariat must be, not the destitution of this or that minister but first of all: break any subordination or political support to Morales bourgeois government! The only resignation to be demanded is that of the “ministers without portfolio” of Morales government: the bureaucrats of the COB. And like the motion of the Huanuni miners demand: IMMEDIATE EXPULSION FROM THE COB, CODs, CORs, of the leaderships that didn’t do anything in front of the Fascist massacre and went on subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, to its government and to the officer’s caste of the Banzerist army.

Meanwhile when the Fascists were staging their putsch in Bolivia, the CONLUTAS, the organizers of the Brazil encounter that had as chairmen these same traitors of the COB bureaucrats in the ELAC, organized a rally in Brazil together with the CUT and the PT of Lula and the catholic church, in

defense of... Evo Morales! They did the same as in Argentina the Kirchners and their political apparatuses, the Stalinists in all their variants (who support the bourgeois government there) and the Bolivian ambassador in Argentina. All over the American continent, the Bolivarian leaderships and the left of the WSF were very busy putting in place “democratic fronts” to support Morales. **This solidarity with the Bolivian government that was promoted by the WSF put all the Latin American proletarians and their fighting energy to the service of backing the summits of Latin American presidents, the representatives of the exploiting classes of all the continent gathered in Chile, in the UNASUR.** The mobilization of the entire continental working class in solidarity with their brothers and sisters in Bolivia went to support Morales government and “democracy against Fascism”. Everybody set an encirclement on the Bolivian proletariat so it remained subordinated to “democracy” and could not irrupt with its own class methods and organizations to smash Fascism. Everybody submitted the Latin American working class to their respective bourgeois governments gathered in Chile in the UNASUR, to support Morales and its “democracy” which each time is more and more based in the weapons of the officers’ caste, enemy and murderer of the Bolivian people. So the working class of the continent has been put to the feet of the respective bourgeoisie which back Morales government that meets again with the Fascists –whom it has not disarmed- to negotiate a new pact, acknowledging their military and political triumph. Morales government relies in the intervention of the Banzerist army in Pando, which is staying there more than the legal 90 days (as Morales himself has declared) and meanwhile, everybody is negotiating very eagerly the allotment of the business of the plundering of Bolivia. This is the price paid by the proletariat for the submission to the “democratic front” (i.e., to the bourgeoisie) that its leaderships impose on it.

**THE RENEGADES OF TROTSKYISM
FOLLOW THE PATH OF THE MESHEVIKS
AND STALINISTS AND THEIR POLICY OF
CLASS COLLABORATION**

And all these betrayals to the proletarian cause, the LIT and PSTU of

Brazil, the Mandelite currents and all the Trotskyist renegades do in the name of “the reconstruction of the Fourth International”. This is a true imposture,

Their policies and their program follow the path of the Mensheviks and Stalinists and say: “first we support and back Morales politically; with him and his armed forces we build a democratic front to defeat Fascism; then we press Morales to be truly democratic to the end and to intervene with his officers’ caste all over the Media Luna”. To support and follow this policy the workers and peasants should arm and –as the PTS says- “demand from the democratic government that it opens the army headquarters to receive military training”. In the process the proletariat, as the leadership of the COB likes to do, renounces its demands, and submits itself to the bourgeois political leadership of the democratic front. In this “democratic front” the proletariat renounces the expropriation of the land of all the landowners and of all the properties of the transnationals in Bolivia and leaves these tasks for the moment after Fascism is smashed with the “democratic” army... How sad, how miserable is the role that the Trotskyist renegades have taken for themselves, following the path of the Mensheviks and Stalinists, fighting for the “Andean and democratic revolution” of the “Bolivarian bourgeoisies” who are the small partners of the French-German imperialists disputing to US imperialism its backyard!

Messrs Reformists: Please don’t speak any more in the name of the Fourth International and its legacy, as they have left for us programmatic lessons for the combat and the triumph of the international proletariat, not for its surrender! Don’t speak in the name of our world party, because you have destroyed it! You have long demonstrated that you can only speak in the name of the Stalinist Third International and its policies for servants of the bourgeoisie and the popular front!

In the middle of the Spanish civil war, the Trotskyists that were founding the Fourth International, far from giving their political support to the popular front government, said clearly that “...in the middle of the civil war the popular front government does its best to make the victory ever more difficult...”; and that is what the government of Evo Morales has done. Meanwhile this servant of the blood-thirsty French imperialists goes on as its

small partner in the business of the Bolivian hydrocarbons, while the workers and peasants go on heating their shacks and cooking their meager meals with llama dung, as under the governments of Goni and the Rosca.

On the contrary, the Trotskyists in the '30s said; "... *The worker party that builds and alliance with the bourgeoisie from that same moment renounces fighting against the capitalist militarism. It is necessary to proclaim the necessity for the land, the workshops and the factories to go from the hands of the capitalists to the people. No confidence and no support to the officers' caste and to the bourgeois government, which if they get to defeat Franco militarily, the first thing that they will do is disarming the workers in the aftermath of their victory*".

AN APOTHEGM OF REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM: WE DO NOT DISCUSS WITH FASCISTS: WE COMBAT IT TO SMASH IT!

In Bolivia, to counter the Fascist putsch, the correct policy was stated in the Trotskyist apothem; no support to the bourgeois government of Morales, total and absolute political independence from it, confront Fascism with the method and the program of the proletarian revolution.

Trotsky said: "... *We can and we must defend democracy, not with its own methods but with the methods of the class struggle, that is, with the methods that prepare the ousting of the bourgeois democracy by means of the proletarian dictatorship...*" (L.T. "Is victory possible?," April 24th, 1937).

And more: "... *The longer the influence of the politics of the popular front on the country, the greater will be the danger that the masses exhaust their forces and demoralize and that Fascism attains military victory: the workers do not defend the bourgeois democracy with the methods of the bourgeois democracy but with their own methods, with the method of the revolutionary class struggle...*" (idem).

And that was the case in Bolivia, because the war against Fascism cannot be resolved with parliamentary methods as Fascism is a tool of reaction that cannot be combated with other methods than physical, military methods, smashing it with the workers and peasants' militia; on its turn this militia is the only way to prevent the officers' caste from preparing and organizing a Bonapartist

coup, on the basis of the Fascist putsch and in the disorganization of the state, or as we see today the government with the support of the army gives a truce to and seals a pact with Fascism and the reactionary clique and arranges a negotiation of the businesses among the different imperialist powers and sectors of the national bourgeoisie on the blood of workers and peasants.

Fascism is a reaction that comes from the deepest bowels of the rotten bourgeois system under the conditions of extreme crisis and catastrophe of the world imperialist system. It stems from the ferocious disputes among the imperialist gangs that quarrel for the zones of influence in the Latin American continent. Fascism comes from these conditions, the same as the popular front. The former aims to smash the proletarians to dissolve the peril of revolution and recover the hydrocarbon business for the rosca and US imperialism; the latter aims to expropriate the proletarian revolution and submit the Bolivian nation to the bloodthirsty French imperialists that claim to be "democratic" and which together with Spanish Repsol (plunderer of Bolivia and Argentina) are the masters of the gas pipeline valves to feed the factories of the Mercosur countries.

And the submission of the proletariat to the bourgeois government meant to separate it from the poor peasantry and to help the bourgeoisie on its turn to separate the poor peasants from the working class, which now would be isolated.

As Trotsky would say: "... *When the political allies push each in a different direction, the result is zero. The bloc of different political groups of the working class absolutely necessary to resolve common tasks as the common strength of this bloc is bigger than the sum of the forces that constitute it (...)* On the contrary, the alliance of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie whose interests form now, in the fundamental questions, a 180° angle cannot, in general terms, but analyze the demanding strength of the proletariat..." (L.T. "Lessons from Spain. Last warning", December 17th, 1937).

If Fascism had been smashed with the method of the proletarian revolution and the alliance between workers and peasants had been reestablished, that would have created the conditions for the emergence of a dual power regime -this time a workers and peasants' dual power, with Fascism smashed- and the government of Morales-Total-Repsol would

have been very weak. That would have created the conditions for the triumph of a workers insurrection in Bolivia.

This is most elementary for revolutionary Marxist-Leninists.

The COB, the CORs and the CODs had a great opportunity during all those months that Fascism was preparing itself to stage its putsch; those worker organizations could have recruited from among all their members 1000, 2000, or even 3000 armed workers per each national, regional or departmental union. They could do that openly, as openly as Fascism was doing it, at full daylight, all over the Media Luna. A powerful workers militia would have been built; they were legitimized by the counterrevolutionary actions of Fascism. The proletariat would have been arming itself in self defense. No doubt that militia ++re been supported immediately by the peasants of the Media Luna, that were being smashed by the Fascists and who Morales had left to their fate.

The proletariat with the dynamite of the miners could have conquered very quickly the fusil of the rank and file soldier and win him over to its ranks. The rank and file soldier would have seen that the worker and the poor peasant were ready to go to the end. From there the forces for the rebellion of the soldiers would have sprung and they would have passed with their weapons and their soldier committees to the trench of the workers and peasants' militia.

Fighting for bread, for land and the expropriation of all the transnationals, the proletariat would have found a new favorable rapport with hundreds of thousands of poor peasants that would have shown a "supreme commitment" in smashing Fascism.

A small group in Bolivia that is a satellite of the Argentinean PTS, called LOR-CI issued in the middle of the clashes a statement calling for the opening of the garrisons for the army to give military training to the workers and peasants (¡?) . Really, these social Democrats are entirely shameless!

All the workers and peasants in Bolivia, because they have been two years drafted in the military by law, have sufficient military training, the same as the more than 145,000 reservists that the Fascists had recruited in the Media Luna. Those in the PTS and the LOR-CI are as cynics as to make the workers and peasants to suffer two years more of draft before entering

to the workers and peasants militia!

But they are not really calling for a workers and peasants' militia. They are appealing to Morales government and the officers' caste to open the garrisons and construct a "republican and democratic" army that trains the workers and poor peasants through this murderous officers' caste. They do not want to demoralize and demolish this officers' caste. The LOR-CI/PTS have displayed their entire program and show themselves as the promoters of a "democratic" army with open doors to the community. They aspire to be Morales' advisers to make him democratize the armed forces! Unluckily enough, the bourgeoisie doesn't follow their counsels...

In the decisive moments the crux of the struggle is what of the struggling classes wins over the rank and file of the army. The decision of the soldiers –workers and peasants under arms- to go to the camp of revolution and of the exploited depends upon the organization and the determinate action of the workers militia. For that to happen the soldiers, who have the gun of the officer pointing to their temples, have to be convinced that the workers with their militia are determined to go to the end. Thus, to win over the rank and file soldiers the workers have to show the soldiers their readiness to annihilate the officers when the soldiers go to the trench of the workers and peasants' militia. For that the proletariat must show it is as determinate as the Fascists in their struggle.

The fight for the army, a task raised by every revolutionary process is not for its "democratization" but a fight by the workers militia for winning over the rank and file of the army with the program and the methods of the proletarian revolution.

The Bolivian working class went this far during the Bolivian revolution of 1952, guilding the workers militia which won over through its combat the majority of the soldiers of the Bolivian army, destroying the officers' caste and staging its revolution. The revolution of 2003-2005 has not been able to reach this situation; a sacred alliance has been conjured of the entire reformist, Bolivarian left in the continent which sponsored by the Cuban Castroite bureaucracy are guaranteeing that never more the Latin American proletariat, specially that from Bolivia, follows again the triumphant steps of a revolution that stoop up and

was "at the heaven's doors" as was the Bolivian revolution of 1952.

THE REFORMIST LEADERSHIPS OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT LEAVE THE MASSED DEFENSELESS IN FRONT OF FASCISM

The entire role of the leaderships is to try that this half deaf-blind and mute revolution and expropriated one thousand and one times does not stand up and remains in its "democratic", "Bolivarian" stage, that is no other thing that the abort of the worker and peasants revolution. The policies of the reformist leaders, supported from the left by all the renegades of Trotskyism –in the name of the Fourth International (;?) boils down to that.

As Trotsky explained brilliantly time ago, the Russian workers in the 1917 revolution won over the soldiers –workers and peasants under arms- who was armed to the teeth under the discipline of the czarist army in the First World War. The workers did that with a revolver of the workers militia that shot the officer in the temple, that officer that was forcing the soldiers to repress the insurrected workers.

Surely everybody is now going to cry and what is worse they are going to hide the counterrevolutionary triumph of Media Luna's Fascism. They are going to chant "Long live to Morales' democracy!" and, if new defeats come they are going to blame the "backward masses", for the bad luck of the Bolivian revolution.

When they imposed the submission of the proletarians to the popular front government they were securing beforehand the defeat of the workers, and their Smashing by the Media Luna.

Today in this situation after this policy of "democratic front to defeat Fascism" had been applied, no breakthrough that could be favorable to the workers and peasants is in sight. That is the deed of the democratic front all over the American continent.

The proletarians and their struggle for their demands and against the high cost of living have been subordinated by their leaderships to the enemy's government. Subordinated to the democratic front the workers and peasants have not ahead of them the expropriation of the land, nor of the mines or the oil and gas transnationals; waiting for the outcome of the negotiations between Morales

and the Fascists is the only role left for them under the mantle of the democratic front. As a pressure on those negotiations the leaderships organized some marches in order that the Fascists accept a common Constitution that guarantee for all the exploiters the private property, the exploitation of the working class and the plundering of the nation.

The leaderships of the WSF and the class collaborationist leaderships in the unions have driven the Bolivian and Latin American proletariat as a whole to a true crossroads. As long as it remains submitted to the bourgeoisie, all the alternatives the proletariat has before it are reactionary. Either a new counterrevolutionary pact of national unity is sealed between the popular front and Fascism to allocate the businesses among them, a pact that brings in the peace of the graveyards as that sealed between Chavez/the Bolivarian bourgeoisies and Fascist Uribe over the blood of the Colombian resistance. Though It can happen that while the proletariat of Bolivia and of the Southern Cone continues subordinated to the bourgeoisie, the crisis and the world crac of the financial capital deepen and generalize as is apparent now, and if so the pacts and agreements between the popular front and Fascism would create the best conditions for a new counterrevolutionary blow from Fascism which is directed by the US imperialism.

The other alternative than may appear under these conditions, if the bourgeois gangs cannot reach an agreement and the masses attempt to enter the scene while still submitted to the popular front what will come is the "military savior" called for Morales himself to impose peace and order in the state, that is a Bonapartist militarization of all Bolivia, a new military-peasantry pact like that of Paz Zamora with Banzer in the '80s and '90s that stabilized a new regime of bourgeois domination in Bolivia; it meant the biggest surrender of the nation to imperialism in history. Under those circumstances the popular front government will show its true nature; another servant of the bourgeoisie and the different imperialist gangs that dispute among themselves the booty of the plundering of the Bolivian natural resources. •

**International Coordination
Secretariat of the ILTF**

TO BREAK WITH THE “BOLIVARIAN” BURGEOSIE AND ITS MAJOR PARTNERS THE EUROPEAN IMPERIALIST OIL COMPANIES, AND TO SMASH NOW THE FASCISTS SPONSORED BY THE US EMBASSY IN BOLIVIA IS A TASK FOR THE ENTIRE LATIN AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

Statement of the Leninist Trotskyist Fraction, originally published in “El Organizador Obrero Internacional” # 10 - October, 2008, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF, in July, 2009.

IN THE “DIALOGUING TABLE” WITH FASCISM, MORALES PRESSURES FOR THE APPROBATION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION THAT HAS NOT GIVEN THE LAND TO THE POOR PEASANTS OR THE BREAD TO THE WORKERS OR THE GAS TO THE BOLIVIAN PEOPLE.

THE PROGRAM OF THE WORKING CLASS CAN ONLY BE SUCH AS TO ACHIEVE A WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALIST BOLIVIA.

The government of Morales submitted the peasants’ movement to the new Constitution that has not given the land to the peasants, or the bread to the workers or the gas to the Bolivian people. Today in the dialoguing table where a pact is being negotiated with the fascist bourgeoisie of the Media Luna, the peasants movement is utilized to pressure for improving those aspects of the pact that favor Morales, and to pressure the Fascist prefectos to agree to the new referendum to be voted in December to approve the Constitution. So the plenum of the CONALCAM (peasants’ organization) directly under Morales’ leadership together with Patana and the class collaborationist leadership of the COR of El Alto resolved to mobilize the peasants’ movement all over Bolivia from October 13 on to pressure for the approbation of Morales and Co.’s constitution.

It is a big trap to put the exploited into, because even with this Constitution approved, neither the workers nor the peasants are going to get anything from it in the same way they have got nothing up to now. Even if the Media Luna bourgeoisie accepted the realization of the referendum the result would be the same: the Constitution would be approved in the Altiplano and rejected in the Media Luna. Fascism cannot be fought against



Workers and peasants from El Alto and La Paz in a demonstration to the US embassy

with a ballot or a referendum. The gangs of sons of the oligarchs, armed with pistols, machine-guns, baseball bats and truncheons, that terrorize and murder workers and peasants, cannot be “pressured”!

Unfortunately, the COR of El Alto has been driven by its class collaborationist leadership to support this nefarious policy and to break with its historic resolutions of June 8th, 2005, voted in the midst of the revolutionary days of May-June that year: which said:

1. *El Alto (a proletarian and poor peasants’ neighborhood, at most a complete city in itself that dominates from a higher plateau the city of La Paz, capital of Bolivia, NT) is declared the General Headquarters of the Bolivian Revolution.*

2. *The constitution of a National and indigenous POPULAR ASSEMBLY is ratified as a tool of the national power, and its leadership lays in the hands*

of the COR-El Alto, the COB, the FEJUVE, the CSUTCB, Confederacion de Gremiales and FSTMB (all the names are of central unions and other workers and peasants organizations that had thrown down the bourgeois government, the last one being the Federation of Miners, the most important worker organization in Bolivia, NT).

3. *The National and Indigenous Popular Assembly must be strengthened with delegates of the rank and file elected in assemblies and popular meeting, and also by the constitution of local and departmental assemblies coordinated with it. This task is left in the hands of the respective CODs and CORs.*

4. *The Assembly instructs the constitution of self-defense committees, and committees for the self-supply of goods, for the political organization and for press activities. The first two must be developed in every district, in every neighborhood and in each one of*

the sectors that are fighting.

5. *The Assembly ratifies the fight for the nationalization and industrialization of the hydrocarbons, and maintains the indefinite general strike and the roadblocks all over the country.*

6. *All the bourgeois traps of constitutional succession and elections in advance are rejected.*

That is the right way! No to the “bourgeois traps” as are the referenda! That is the only guaranty for the proletariat to head the oppressed nation uprising, as the chief of the poor peasants, to smash the Fascists! The workers and the poor peasants of El Alto, that used to be the true “General Headquarters of the revolution” in 2003 and 2005, have to impose the breaking of the COR-El Alto with the servile program of class collaboration of the CONALCAM and retake the program of June 8th, 2005!

No to the “new” Constitution of Morales/Total/Repsol, that guarantees the plundering of the hydrocarbons and the minerals by the transnationals, that guarantees the land to the landlords and the Cruceña oligarchy; that guarantees the profits to the slave-owners; that guarantees the submission of the nation to imperialism!

It is necessary that the workers of El Alto, the miners of Huanuni, the peasants and the workers that were persecuted and massacred in Pando and smashed by the Fascist boot all over the Media Luna, together with the rest of the exploited in Bolivia and the working class of the entire continent, declare that **the only Constitution for the Bolivian nation that we recognize is that emanating from a worker and peasant government that breaks with imperialism, expropriates the transnationals and all the expropriators of workers and the people in Bolivia; that would be the only truly democratic government for the worker and peasant majority in Bolivia, on the basis of the self-organization and the generalized armament of the proletariat and the exploited.**

Morales government, in the middle of the negotiations with the Fascist Media Luna, calls the workers and the peasants to put their strength to the service of a Constitution written by French Total/Spanish Repsol.

It is necessary to break with this deception: the historic task of the Bolivian working class is to carry to

victory this, its third revolution after those of 1952 and 1971, that is, to conquer a WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALIST BOLIVIA.

**THE CLASS COLLABORATIONIST POLICY OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COB AND ITS SUBMISSION TO MORALES' GOVERNMENT RISK THE VERY EXISTENCE OF THE COB.
FOR A REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP OF THE COB, THE CODS AND THE CORS!**

On September 29th-30th the plenum of the CONALCAM met. The peasant organizations were directly led by Morales himself –who likes to boast about his power being based on the “social movements”- as chairman of the peasants’ Assembly. The COR-El Alto was also attending.

We Trotskyists affirm that the only and true policy of Morales in front of the Bolivian workers movement, that is before the COB, the CODS and the CORS, is that of co-opting, dissolving, breaking and dismembering them.

This government is supported in the rich peasants that dominate the MAS and benefit from the administration of the public works and the state businesses, and need to dismember and destroy the COB. Because the own existence of the COB as the Bolivian working class historic organization, questions at every step the capitalist and anti-worker policies of the popular front government. And the working class, each time it wants to fight, seeks instinctively its organization.

Morales government has aimed one thousand times to take the COB from inside, either in a direct form, or through his partisans, putting his “friends” in its leadership, trying to divide it and to co-opt the CORS and the CODs. The objective of Morales government is to transform the COB in a branch of the MAS and in a “social movement” (as opposed to a class organization, NT) diluted into the “indigenous movement” as this “indigenist demagoguery is the basis of the plan of the class collaboration government of Morales to strangle the revolution of 2003-2005.

This government has nothing to give to the workers that in 2003 and 2005 gave their lives fighting for overthrowing the Rosca. As a bourgeois government of a semi-colonial country it is

forced to co-opt and statize (i.e., to transform into an appendix of the bourgeois state) to an extreme extent the unions and other workers’ organizations, a question that in the case of Bolivia is expressed through the policy of fragmenting the COB and dissolving it into the CONALCAM.

In 1952, 2003 and 2005 the workers that entered the combat imposed on their organization (the COB, the CORS and CODs) a character of incipient dual power of the exploited. In the streets, the proletariat disputed to the bourgeois leadership of Morales the leadership of the poor peasants

Today Morales’ popular front government shows its Bonapartist essence not only in the pact with the officers’ caste but also in its attempt to statize –dissolving it into the “social movements”- and/or fragment the COB. The strategy of submission of the proletariat to the popular front, and of statizing and fragmenting the COB, the CORS and CODs, has as its objective to prevent the working class from again winning over the poor peasants in the streets; in that way this strategy aims to submit the poor peasant permanently to the rich peasants and their “red ponchos”, which have no intention to confront Fascism –as was shown when they entered Sucre throwing flowers to the Fascists as peace tributes- ; instead these “red ponchos” are keen to use their lashes against the striking workers, as they have already done against the rural teachers of Cochabamba.

The class collaborationist policy of the bureaucracy of the COB that serves Morales and the bourgeoisie by containing, dividing and decentralize the struggles of the proletariat, to submit them to the “friendly” government of Morales and to its pacts with Fascism and the continental bourgeoisie, facilitates the task of the popular front.

The defense of the COB is inseparable from the fight for a revolutionary program and a revolutionary leadership that breaks with the bourgeoisie and its government. It is inseparable from a program that raises audaciously the fight for the expropriation of all the assets of the Cruceña oligarchy and of all the hydrocarbons, mines, lands and Banks in Bolivia.

The crime of the popular front and of the class collaborationist leadership of the COB submitted to it is to have destroyed the worker-peasant alliance that had empowered the workers and



Fejuve and COR of El Alto in a demonstration in La Paz

peasants of Bolivia to smash the Rosca. **On the contrary, the submission to the popular front leaves these workers and peasants with zero strength to smash Fascism and to get the fulfillment of the most minimal demand.**

Thus the exploited masses were submitted to the alms of the popular front, with the state plans that deliver miserable crumbs to the children and the elders, which guarantee that the slaves continue being slaves under the rule of the slave-owners.

Enough is enough! It is imperative to re-constitute the worker-peasant alliance, and for that, it is necessary to recover the COB, clearing it from its class collaborationist leaderships.

In the plenum of the COB ON September 26th that was held in Santa Cruz, the COR of the Plan 3000 of that city was constituted. There live who have been ferociously attacked, crushed, massacred by Fascism; they are the one and only true stronghold of the confrontation to the Fascist putsch. **THAT WAS THE DECISIVE STRONGHOLD THAT HELD ON AND CONFRONTED FASCISM, IN SPITE OF THE BETRAYAL OF MORALES' FRIENDS: MONTES, SOLARES AND THE REST OF THE LEADERS OF THE COB AND THE MINERS' FEDERATION.**

While the leadership of the COB submitted once more to the pact with Fascism, the factory workers of la Paz issued a somewhat lukewarm declaration that notwithstanding that called to exert working class justice against Fascism that had massacred the peasants in Pando. The mineworkers in Huanuni went further: they demanded the destitution of all the class collaborationist leaderships of the COB and the

Miners Federation. That is the right way, those are the forces, along with the teachers and the health workers that are on strike, who would allow the Bolivian proletariat to recover the COB from the hands of the class collaborationist leaderships, and put their organization at the level of the historic tasks that the Bolivian proletariat has in front of it. Those are the forces that would defeat Morales' attempts of fragmenting, weakening and co-opting the COB, CODs and CORs.

If they oust the bureaucracy of the COB and break the submission to the popular front and the bourgeois state, they will be able to recover the workers democracy and the historic program proposed by the Trotskyists and taken by the Bolivian proletariat that was preparing the 1952 revolution: the Pulacayo Theses. To the class collaborationist leadership of the COB it is necessary to oppose a congress of delegates of the rank and file convened by the miners of Huanuni, the COR-Plan 3000, the factory workers of la Paz, the fighting unions as the teachers and the health workers, with delegates elected one every fifty workers, and recallable by the bases. To the program of submission to the bourgeois government it is necessary to oppose the Pulacayo Theses in order to retake the revolutionary road of 2003 and 2005, with the proletariat as the leader of the poor peasants and of all the exploited masses of the oppressed Bolivian nation. That would open the way to the Bolivian proletariat to recover the COB as its revolutionary tool and to build again the Bolivian workers and peasants revolution and not the parody of revolution that is the "Bolivarian revolution", which is only fruitful for the

"Bolibourgeoisie", Total and Repsol, and that prepares the conditions for a new and definitive blow of the Fascist claw.

Out with the class collaborationist leaderships from the COB and all the workers and poor peasants' organizations!

It is necessary to oust all of them in a great worker congress of base delegates that imposes a revolutionary leadership to the COB, that breaks with the bourgeoisie, with the pact between the MAS (Morales' party, NT) and the Fascists, and with the officers' caste of the murderous army and call to the formation of a workers and peasants' militia!

IT IS NECESSARY TO CARRY THE MOTION OF HUANUNI TO THE ENTIRE BOLIVIAN WORKERS MOVEMENT: OUT WITH THE CLASS COLLABORATIONIST LEADERSHIPS FROM THE WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS THE SURRENDER THE WORKING CLASS TO MORALES' GOVERNMENT!

IT IS NECESSARY TO BREAK WITH THE BOURGEOISIE AND CONQUER A CONGRESS OF BASE DELEGATES OF ALL THE WORKERS AND POOR PEASANTS' ORGANIZATIONS

The resolution of the Huanuni miners that disavowed and ousted the class collaborationist leaderships is the most urgent motion to be carried to the entire Bolivian workers movement. Out of the COB, the CORs, the CODs, the Miners' Federation and the Factory workers Union, all the class collaborationist leaders that surrender the Bolivian workers to Morales' government!

On the basis of that motion, the miners of Huanuni, the factory workers, the workers of El Alto and the workers and poor peasants of Pando and Santa Cruz—a region submitted to the Fascist boot or the military, and particularly the COR—Plan 3000 that are suffering daily the bloody blows of Fascism, have all the full authority to repudiate the pact between Morales and the Fascist Rosca and to convene in Bolivia a congress of delegates of the rank and file of **the COB, the CORs, the CODs and all the organizations of the workers and the poor peasants.** A congress opposed to all the frauds as the plenum of the COB that the class collaborationist bureaucracy held in Santa Cruz; a true

congress that condemns and calls to defeat the shameful declarations of the plenum of September 12th. A congress that raises this program of expropriation of the parasites of Wall Street, and in Bolivia the expropriation of all the transnationals and their junior partners the native bourgeoisie who plunder the Bolivian wealth and of the landowner oligarchy of the Media Luna, would put the working class undoubtedly in the best conditions to smash Fascism. The COB would be recovered from the hands of the class collaborationist leaders and a true revolutionary leadership, a true Trotskyist; internationalist leadership would lead that recovered COB.

DOWN WITH THE NEW PACT BETWEEN MORALES –SUPPORTED IN THE MURDEROUS OFFICERS’ CASTE- AND THE FASCIST BOURGEOISIE OF THE MEDIA LUNA!

TO THAT COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PACT, LET’S OPPOSE A TRUE WORKER-PEASANT PACT TO BREAK WITH THE BOURGEOISIE IN ORDER TO PUT IN PLACE AGAIN THE REVOLUITON AND TO SMASH FASCISM!

The economic equilibrium of the world division of labor has been blown up by the international financial crac. The collapse of that equilibrium, its bankruptcy have been accompanied by the breakdown of the political and military equilibrium in the planet and now the imperialist powers are confronted by the need to decide which of them takes what or all the zones of influence in the colonial and semi-colonial world; which of them surpasses the rest in the defeat and overexploitation of its own working class. Under these conditions the stupid trade-unionism and the reformists policies cannot and will not be able to make the masses consider the ever more miserable alms conquered on the odd occasion from the bourgeoisie through economic struggles as splendid concessions of that bourgeoisie.

The world disorder brings with it a huge political crisis of domination. The ruling classes are dazed by the blows of their own crisis. In that “every man for himself!” the inter-imperialist disputes have deepened and along them the bourgeois gangs of the semi-colonial countries are cracking, as teach sector hopes to find its salvation in this or that

imperialist power. Here and there provisory pacts pop up to keep on going their businesses and contain the masses. Pacts and agreements crack and break the day after to the heat of the new blows of the crac.

That’s why nothing is definitive or closed in Bolivia. The Media Luna, which is linked to Wall Street, has already conquered the territory that has the 70% of the gas and the arable lands of Bolivia; it is not going to cede it gratuitously in a dialoguing table.

So in Bolivia it is in the works either a new pact like that of Uribe-Chavez that strangled the Colombian resistance, imposed on the blood of the Bolivian workers and peasants, or a new confrontation that –if the masses continue unarmed and impotent- will carry to an action by Morales in agreement with the officers’ caste, to “*contain Fascism and force it to negotiate*”. These conditions would only prepare either a “Kornilov-like” military putsch or a Pinochet-styled coup.

The Fascist putsch is showing that under the international conditions that are shaping Bolivia, the popular front with its sugared phrases and its policy of deceiving the masses will not last long. Everything is defined and boils down to the question of what leadership the proletariat puts at its head.

The workers and peasants need a program for which it is worthy to fight and die! It cannot be the program of the pact with the murderers of workers and peasant, the program of supporting the government that starves the working class and gives to Total, Repsol and the Latin American bourgeoisies the businesses of the Bolivian hydrocarbons. **Stop submitting the working class to Morales government and the bourgeoisie! Down with the new pact of the government –supported in the officers’ caste, with the Fascist prefects, murderers of workers and peasants! Down with the “dialoguing table”! Down with the state of siege in Pando! Out with the officers’ caste, which is as murderous as the Fascists, from Pando and Huanuni!**

The Fascists have already occupied half of the country, spilling on it the blood of workers and peasants. The Media Luna gangs have attacked the workers and peasants’ locals. They murder indigenous peoples; they murder the workers in Tojo, etc. Fascism cannot be imposed without massacring the exploited. That’s why it doesn’t

matter for Fascism that a big section of the poor peasants trust Evo Morales government and think it is their government while the workers don’t because their historic policy is for a worker-peasant government. The Fascists hit both social sectors alike. It is necessary not to delay a response even a minute more.

It is very clear that if the working class doesn’t break with Evo Morales government it will be impossible to conquer the demands of bread, jobs, better wages, land and national independence, because if they continue subordinated to the popular front government they will not be able to defeat Fascism which Evo sits to a dialoguing table time and again.

That is why it is necessary that against the pact between Morales and the Fascist prefectos, the Bolivian workers and peasants conquer now a **worker-peasant pact that organizes a national, united and only worker-peasant militia in order to march over Santa Cruz, smash the Fascist gangs and take all the oil companies, the factories and estates of the landowners. The miners of Huanuni, the combative workers of El Alto, the factory workers of La Paz, the National Teachers, the health workers, the workers and peasants of Pando and Santa Cruz, have all the authority to launch now this emergency call!**

AS IN THE 1952 REVOLUTION: IT IS IMPERATIVE TO DESTROY THE MURDEROUS OFFICERS’ CASTE OF THE BOLIVIAN ARMY, BUILDING THE WORKER-PEASANT MILITIA AND THE RANK AND FILE SOLDIERS’ COMMITTEES!

We cannot leave a single day more the workers and poor peasants in Pando and the Media Luna under the iron heel of Fascism or under the equally murderous officers’ caste of the Armed Forces!

As in the 1952 revolution, it is necessary to create now the worker-peasant militia in order to smash the Fascists. They recruit publicly, under the light of day, the sons of the oligarchy and the declassed lumpen in the “Civic Committees” of the Media Luna. **It is necessary to open now recruitment offices for the worker-peasant militia in the COB and all the CODs and**

CORs and the peasant centrals all over Bolivia! It is necessary to launch a public call to rally all the worker and peasant reservists so they register to build the militia of the exploited!

Down with the “dialogue” between Evo Morales government and the Fascists, that has been imposed over a workers and peasants’ bloodshed! We don’t discuss with Fascism: we combat and smash it! Down with any pact or agreement of the leaderships of the COB with Morales government that murders workers but does not touch a single hair of the Fascist gangs! As in 2003 and 2005: “guns and shrapnel, Bolivia does not shut up!”. Only the worker-peasant alliance can defeat Fascist Media Luna that is under the imperialist command!

The officers’ caste of the “popular” army of Evo Morales has shown to be courageous only to murder the 100 martyred workers and peasants of October 2003 and our unarmed comrade workers of Huanuni, but it has not touch a single hair to the Fascist gangs that have fusilladed conscript soldiers, the sons of workers and peasants, while sector of military are supplying weapons and ammunition to the Fascist gangs under the counter.

The worker-peasant militia will not only impose the disbanding of the police that represses the exploited, but overall it **will call the conscripts and the rank and file soldiers –sons of workers and peasants under arms- to disavow the cowardly, anti-worker officers’ caste; to send their delegates to the congress of base delegates and to unite with their weapons and equipment to the worker-peasant militia in order to smash the Fascist reactionaries.**

It is necessary to break with the bourgeoisie and to raise again the slogans that unified the workers and poor peasants in 2003-2005; Out with the transnationals! Neither 30% nor 50%: nationalization of the hydrocarbons! Land for the peasants! Guns and shrapnel, Bolivia does not shut up!

The proletariat has to show again to the poor peasant it is capable and determined to fight to the end, and that in its fight it is going to give that poor peasant the land that Morales government has not given it. To get the land for the peasants it is necessary to defeat the Fascists of the Media Luna. **It is neces-**

sary to expropriate the landowners and all the rich lands of the Media Luna! Land for the peasants! Nationalization of the banks under workers’ control and cheap credit for the poor peasants ruined by debts, expensive inputs and climate hazards!

Breaking with the bourgeoisie and smashing Fascism are the only ways to counter the high cost of living and unemployment, imposing **jobs for all through the sliding scale of wages and sharing all the working hours among all the workers! Minimum Wage adjusted to the level of the basic basket of foods!** To reach that goal it is necessary to fight for a true **nationalization of the hydrocarbons without compensation, putting the oil well to work under workers’ control. For immediate the nationalization of all the mines, first of all Mount El Mutun (one of the richest new findings of iron ore in the world, NT)!**

A Congress of delegates of the rank and file workers in the COB, the CORs, the CODs, the Miners’ Federation and the fighting organizations of the poor peasants, with heir worker and peasant militia together with the soldiers, committees, would put in place **the power of the exploited confronting the power of the capitalists, as the COB did in 1952. This is the only way to recover the revolution that has been expropriated, to retake the road of 2003 and 2005, to carry that revolution to its victory and impose the only government that is truly democratic for the exploited. That government should be a worker and peasant government based on the self-organization of the masses and their generalized armament; it is the only government that can guaranty the agrarian revolution and the break with imperialism, and give the bread and the jobs to the workers.**

THE BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION IS A DECISIVE LINK IN ONE AND ONLY LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Today in Bolivia the fate of the Latin American proletariat, not to say that of the Latin American proletariat, is at stake. If Fascism and Bonapartist militarism are imposed all over Bolivia; if the popular front goes on strangling

the worker and peasant revolution; the Latin American bourgeoisies, their regimes and governments will be one thousand times stronger to launch their decisive attacks against their respective working classes in the continent.

From the beginning of the revolution in 2003 this great revolution has not been able to display all its potential: its revolutionary assaults have been betrayed time and again by the class collaborationist leadership of the COB and by the fake Trotskyist bureaucracy that the proletariat has at its head in Bolivia, all of them backed, counseled and helped by the WSF and its “left wing” of Castroites, Stalinists and renegades of Trotskyism. We are witnessing a worker and peasant revolution that has been expropriated by the native bourgeoisie allied to the European imperialists, with France in the first place, that in Latin America play a role of “good neighbor” to dispute US imperialism’s “big stick” the businesses, while they massacre the oppressed people in Africa and Middle East.

It is a revolution that has been expropriated and fenced from within and from without by the Latin American bourgeoisies, by the imperialist gangs that plunder the Bolivian nation, and by all the leaderships in and around the World Social Forum.

Today the crisis of the world capitalist imperialist economy deepens in the very heart of the US and the European imperialist powers, exposing the absolute bankruptcy of the rotten capitalist system. In front of the crisis the world bourgeoisie imposes a brutal blackmailing against the proletariat and the exploited masses of the world, telling them they must accept paying the cost of the crac or the bourgeoisie would carry them to hell with itself. At the same time, the more and more aggressive imperialist disputes worsen for the markets and the zones of influence; each imperialist power tries to throw the burden of the crisis over its rivals.

In the hands of the disputing imperialist powers and submitted to the native bourgeoisie that serves one of the imperialist gangs, Bolivia suffers the plague of Fascism, the expropriation of its revolution and the deepening of hunger and misery.

The world working class, tied to the treacherous leaderships has not been able to upsurge facing the crac or to respond with a counteroffensive to the

brutal attack launched by the capitalists against it. The world working class is a ampotent witness of the bankruptcy of the capitalist system, and the debris falls on its backs. In the US the working class has been submitted to the imperialist murderers of the Democrat Party by the bureaucracies of the AFL-CIO and by the leaderships of the WSF. Today the Democrats are showing their true face, through Obama that is backing Bush' 700 billion bailout to the financial capital gone bust. He is but a black-faced Bush. By approving this plan, Obama and the Democrats in the Senate voted for socializing the losses of the US financial capital—that is, for making US exploited together with the world's exploited to pay for the crisis and privatizing the super-profits that the super-parasites of the financial oligarchy have just taken for themselves.

Thus Obama in the US as well as Evo Morales in Bolivia, show that there are a black bourgeoisie and a indigenous bourgeoisie, that is exploiters that try to hide their condition of exploiters using demagoguery, i.e., taking advantage of the fact that the black working class and the workers of the oppressed peoples are actually suffering, and camouflaging their class nature behind their race or ethnicity.

In the European powers, while thousands of immigrant workers from black Africa die in the Mediterranean Sea trying to reach a better future; while the imperialist bourgeoisies have launched a ferocious attack against the masses, the proletarians cannot reply, because it is handcuffed by the social pacts that regulate the relations between the exploiters and the exploited, thanks to the labor aristocracy and the union bureaucracies. While in East Europe the working class in the former worker-states is submitted either to colonial regimes and governments, openly pro-US Imperialism; or, in Russia and several former soviet Republics, is submitted to the yoke of Medvedev-Putin and the Great Russian bourgeoisie, who are the junior partners of French and German imperialists.

The enslaved and over exploited working class and exploited masses in China, continue developing a stubborn resistance with dozens of thousands of worker and peasant revolts each year, that have not been yet able to consolidate in a unified revolutionary stream.

But in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Middle East the world working class

and the exploited masses have carved their trench to resist with the heroic resistance of the Afghan and Iraqi masses against the imperialist occupation.

These are the conditions under which the fate of the Latin American proletariat—and why not the North and Central American proletariat is being defined in Bolivia because that revolution that has been expropriated, submitted to the popular front and to Fascism, concentrates the whole contradictions of the world situation: the blackmail of the bourgeoisie and the bankrupt financial capital against the proletariat, the brutal interimperialist disputes for the traditional US backyard, and also the betrayals of the proletarian leaderships that submit the working class to the bourgeoisie; and in the case of Bolivia, the submission of the working class and the exploited masses to the popular front, demonstrating the restricted by their treacherous leaderships, the masses cannot intervene against the crac and the bourgeois attack.

Bolivia anticipates that after the mermaid songs of the “Bolivarian revolution” what come are either counter-revolutionary pacts as that of Colombia, that which supports the Pinochet-style regime in Chile and Bachelet against the assaults of the masses; or like those that submit the proletariat in Latin America; or like that which the Castroite bureaucracy is preparing to consummate the capitalist restoration in Cuba. Or before the crac and the crisis we will see wars, Fascist putsches, military coups, etc. The days of “bourgeois democracy” and of the semi-Bonapartist regimes with “democratic” forms are close to their end in Latin America.

But the worker and peasant revolution in Bolivia has not yet been definitively smashed or strangled. It is the only revolution that is still alive of all the revolutions that marked the start of the 21st century and that constituted a true “dress rehearsal” in the semi-colonial world, as were the Palestinian revolution—smashed to iron and fire—, the Argentinean revolution and the Ecuadorian revolution—that were strangled. We can also mention the anti-imperialist struggle of the Venezuelan masses that was carried to a blind alley by Chavez' government; or the mass offensives in Chile, Mexico and Peru against the infamous regimes that have

signed the FTAs, offensives that, constrained by the action of the treacherous leaderships have not been able yet to open the way to revolution.

In Bolivia the proletariat of the American continent can still entrench itself and resist the crac and the offensive of the class enemy, reply to the blackmail of the bankrupt capital and prepare from Bolivia the counteroffensive of the working class and the exploited, i.e., a proletarian response to the level of the brutal assault of the capitalists.

That's why the High command of the Bolivian army, very perspicaciously is saying that they have to tolerate Morales still a little more time, because if not the masses may upsurge, not only in Bolivia but all over the Latin American sub-continent, retaking the road of the first years of the 21st century, and destabilizing the entire region.

This is precisely what the native bourgeoisies and imperialism fear. Because in the same way that Bolivia shows that no national working class will be able to free itself in Latin America while it is submitted to the national bourgeoisie, it is also true that no national working class will be able to advance to a triumphant revolution if it does not see its revolution as a mere link of one and only Latin American revolution.

So imperialism and the national bourgeoisie know that working class and peasant Bolivia must be smashed by Fascism or by the boot of Bonapartism with the help of the popular front because the native bourgeoisies, junior partners of the imperialist powers need to strangle the last living link of a chain of Latin American revolutions that conform the Latin American Revolution and impose the “social peace” all over the continent. It is for them a question of life and death—so it was understood by the presidents in the UNASUR meeting— to fence and isolate Bolivia and impose a pact with Fascism after it massacred workers and peasants.

The workers and the exploited in our continent cannot allow Bolivia to be transformed into a new Colombia where the workers and the poor peasants put their blood and the bourgeoisies—either “Bolivarian” ones or those that have signed the FTAs with US— seal their deals with the different imperialist powers. **It is necessary to**



COB militia of the 1952 revolution

transform Bolivia into a stronghold of the American (for American, we mean from all the Americas, not only from the US, NT) **proletariat**, from where **that proletariat organizes, prepares and centralizes a true mass counteroffensive that shakes America from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego**, beginning by breaking the fence imposed by the native bourgeoisies and the treacherous leaderships of the continent.

To make Bolivia be a stronghold for the American working class to entrench itself, there are two essential tasks to fulfill: **smashing Fascism in Bolivia and breaking any submission to the bourgeoisie, and they are tasks for the proletariat of the entire American continent.**

It is necessary to smash Fascism in Bolivia, because if Fascism triumphs there, it will threaten the working class of all the continent. We cannot forget the tragic history of the Latin American working class; we cannot forget that in the '70s the bloody military coup of Pinochet and the ITT that crushed the revolution of the Industrial Cords of our class brothers and sisters in Chile, was the first link in a chain of counterrevolutionary coups that crushed the revolutionary processes in the South Cone. If Fascism is imposed on Bolivia, then it is not "more democracy" what is waiting for the working class and the

exploited in the continent! As it will not be a "democracy" what institutes itself in Cuba if the restorationist Castroite bureaucracy together with Obama and the "democratic" imperialists of France, Spain and Germany impose the capitalist restoration in the island on the basis of the smashing of the Bolivian revolution.

Therefore an unavoidable task for the working class OF THE WHOLE LATIN AMERICA is to build the worker and peasant militia to smash Fascism in Bolivia, including the necessity of promoting the formation of international worker brigades that go to Bolivia to fight against Fascism, when the fighting organizations of the Bolivian workers need and call for it.

Smashing Fascism that has raised its head and massacres today in Bolivia is then the first task of the whole Latin America. The second one, without which the first will not be fulfilled, is breaking the submission to the bourgeoisie that the treacherous leaderships have imposed on the proletariat of the Latin American nations and on its organizations; this is the only way for the huge forces of the workers and the exploited in the continent to stand up beside the proletarians and the poor peasants of Bolivia.

Because the strength of the Bolivian working class does not rest in its alliance with that bunch of indigenous

bourgeois and rich peasants who are the novel administrators of the oil revenues of the Bolivian state; much less on the French Total and its businesses with the Brazilian Petrobras. On the contrary, that class collaborationist alliance renders to zero the strength of the Bolivian proletariat. The true ally of the Bolivian workers and peasants is the working class and the exploited of the entire American continent and the world! There lay their strength and its forces! But those forces will be able to display their full strength only on condition that the working class in the continent understands that its destiny and its life are decided today in the developments of Bolivia; it must understand that if the Bolivian workers and peasants succeed today, the exploited all over Latin America will be in much better conditions to break with the "Bolivarian" bourgeoisie and retake the road of their revolutionary struggle of early 21st Century; that is the only way to respond the brutal attack against their gains that is in the Works under the conditions of the World economic crisis.

It is imperative to break the encirclement imposed on the Bolivian revolution! Powerful organizations have been built all these years in Bolivia by the working class. Powerful organizations to fight were built by the Latino American working class in its revolutionary offensive of the first years of the 21st Century. The only and true internationalist unity of the workers in the Latin American sub-continent will come from the defeat of the class collaborationist leaderships that tie the fate of the proletariat in our continent to the respective bourgeoisies.

Not even a cubic centimeter of gas, or an oil barrel should come from Bolivia unless it is as the sovereign resolution of a worker and peasant government supported in the self-organization and arming of the masses: **That must be the war cry of the working class in Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Peru and all over the American continent!**

Down with UNASUR! Down with the den of bandits of the OAS! Hands off Bolivia! Down with the TIAR and all the economical, political and military pacts that tie our Latin American nations to the imperialist butchers!

The only and true "Latin American" unity will only come from the triumph of the worker and socialist revolution in Bolivia and in the rest of the continent,

to end with the imperialist yoke, expropriate the expropriator and impose the **Socialist United States of South and Central America**.

LET'S STAND UP SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE MEDIA LUNA, MASSACRED AND SMASHED BY FASCISM!

LET'S STAND UP BESIDE THE COR PLAN 3000 THAT RESISTED AND CONTINUES RESISTING, ISOLATED, THE ASSAULTS OF THE FASCIST BEAST!

IT IS NECESSARY TO BREAK THE ENCIRCLEMENT IMPOSED OVER THE BOLIVIAN WORKERS BY THE GOVERNMENT OF MORALES, THE LATIN AMERICAN BOURGEOISIES AND THEREFORMIST WORKER LEADERSHIPS! FOR A CONTINENTAL CONGRESS OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS IN BOLIVIA!

The resolution of the Huanuni mineworkers of deposing and ousting the class collaborationist leadership of the COB, the COR Oruro (Huanuni mine is in Oruro province) and the of the local union, is the continuity of the fight of the Chilean workers and youth that said "the red *pacos* (police officers) are the danger!". (That is, the CP leaders and cadres—that rule the CUT, the Chilean Central Union—are the true danger that threatens the Chilean workers and people).

As a symbol of the workers and exploited that have been abandoned to their fate by the leadership of the COB,

la ODs and the CORs before the Fascist beast, the COR Plan 3000 of Santa Cruz has just stand up against the Fascist gangs in the heart of the land of the Fascist putsch. This heroic COR must not be left to resist isolated even for a minute more! The COR Plan 3000 is the beachhead of all the Bolivian proletarians in the struggle to defeat Fascism. Let's stand up side by side with the COR Plan 3000 and all the workers and poor peasants' organizations that resist the iron heel of Fascism in the Media Luna!

Therefore it is necessary to transform the resolution of the Huanuni mineworkers and the cry of the Chilean exploited into a motion of the working class of the entire continent: **Out with the class collaborationist leaderships in the worker organizations! It is necessary to break with that den of bandits of the World Social Forum and with the renegades of Trotskyism that cover and legitimize it time and again, to submit the proletarians of the entire continent to the bourgeoisie!**

To their congresses and encounters of the likes of the ELAC in Brazil, when the agenda deals with how to legitimize the class collaborationist leaderships, and how to submit time and again the working class to the bourgeoisie, we have to oppose a **Continental Congress of internationalist revolutionary workers organizations in Bolivia, convened by the Huanuni miners, who rose against their class collaborationist leaders**. A Continental congress to **break all submission to the bourgeoisie and to organize and centralize the combat of**

the proletarians in our continent for smashing the Fascist beast that is thriving in Bolivia, against Morales' new pact with Fascism and against the native bourgeoisies in the UNASUR that support it.

A continental congress to **break with imperialism**, and to **prepare the workers counteroffensive** from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego **so that the crisis is paid by the capitalist parasites that have caused it!**

Because to the bourgeois blackmailing that threatens the proletariat with the abyss of bourgeois bankruptcy, we have to reply with the only task and the only program that can spare the working class and the exploited: **Expropriation without compensation of all the Wall Street parasites**, that tiny financial oligarchy for whose profits and interests hundreds of millions of colonial and semi colonial slaves are exploited and starved! **Nationalization without compensation and under US workers control of all the US imperialist Banks**, to put those gigantic amounts of money—produced by the muscles, the nerves and the bones of the world working class—to the service of the exploited in the colonies and semi-colonies and the own US workers, that today are robbed and expropriated by that bunch of parasites!

The task is, then is the same in the United States as in Bolivia: the expropriation of the transnationals and of the landowners, the nationalization without compensation and under workers control of the hydrocarbons, the mines, the land (to be exploited by the poor peasants and farmers), the Banks (to have cheap credit for them); and the enforcing of the sliding scale of wages and the share of the working hours so that no worker in Bolivia remains without a job and a decent wage to bring food to his/her children.

For the working class and the exploited to live, imperialism must die: this must be the war cry of the continental congress of workers organizations in Bolivia! The heroic miners of Huanuni and the COR Plan 300, which are the vanguard in the combat against the treacherous leaderships, against the popular front and against Fascism, have the most absolute authority to convene now that congress!

**International Coordination
Secretariat of the ILTF**



Leon Trotsky

THE PREREQUISITES FOR THE VICTORY OF THE BOLIVIAN PROLETARIAT IN THE BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION

Statement of the Leninist Trotskyist Fraction, originally published in "El Organizador Obrero Internacional" # 10 - October, 2008, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF, in July, 2009.

We are witnessing a new and sudden turn in the Bolivian situation. The Bolivian revolution has already had its "February" –so to say, if we apply the calendar of the Russian Revolution- in the days of October 2003, when the worker and peasant masses threw down Gonzalo Sanchez de Losada ("Goni") and started the revolution. It has had also its "April days" in the complementary revolutionary developments of May-June 2005 that resulted in the fall of Mesa (Goni's deputy president that had been put in his place with the support of the workers' leaderships, betraying the desire of the revolutionary masses, NT). It had its spontaneous semi-insurrections as we saw in Cochabamba in January 2007 –which we could compare, with some reservations, to that of Catalonia in 1937 during the Spanish civil war-. The Bolivian revolution has had also its "mini-version" of the "July days" in the counterrevolutionary blows waged against the heart of its proletariat –the miners- in the two attacks it suffered from the Army sent by Morales (July 2007 and August 2008, the latter causing the death of two Huanuni miners.)

The present moment is that of the Fascist putsch that prepares the conditions for a deeper submission of the proletariat to the policies of the popular front and through that way, for the strengthening of Fascism, while the officers' caste in its turn prepares –by means of the state of siege in Pando, with a military prefect under the orders of the popular front- to guarantee the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole (perhaps through a military dictatorship, as in previous Bolivian revolutions, NT) if necessary.

The tragedy of the Bolivian revolution concentrates in the fact that –due to the coordinated activity of the leaderships belonging to the WSF in Latin America and in Bolivia, who submitted the massed first to Mesa, then to Rodriguez¹ and finally to Morales- those masses could never build their armed dual power organizations. That is



Workers militia in Warisata, October 2003

the cause for this "deaf, blind and mute" revolution painstaking difficulty to mature, stand up definitively and direct its steps towards a victorious insurrection of workers and peasants. The class collaborationist leaderships of the COB, together with the "left" of the World Social Forum conspire to prevent this revolution from standing up, re-grouping its forces, and building its armed soviets of workers and peasants to take a road to victory.

Today, the new pact and "dialoguing table" of Morales and Fascism, is preparing new counterrevolutionary blows by the Fascists or a "Korniloviad" by the officers' caste. What is worse, it prepares the demoralization and disorganization of the proletariat under the maneuvers of the popular front of Morales-Totalfina-Repsol, the continental bourgeoisie and the Castroite bureaucracy. (For this Castroite Cuban bureaucracy it is imperative to achieve the definitive defeat of the Bolivian revolution –as it was also imperative for them the defeat of the Colombian resistance- to be able to advance the final and definitive steps of the capitalist restoration in Cuba.)

In the heat of the new leaps of the world economic crisis and the bankruptcy of the financial capital, the rhythm of the denouement of the Bolivian question speed up and will be even quicker.

Two theories and two strategies are confronting each other in Bolivia today; on one hand, the theory-program of the Permanent Revolution, which prepares the conditions for the victory of the proletariat; on the oth-

er, the pseudo-theories and programs of the continuators of the legacy of the Mensheviks and Stalinism, which tie the proletariat to the bourgeoisie

THE FALLACY OF THE "INTERMEDIATE REVOLUTION"/"DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION". "ANDEAN REVOLUTION" AND SO ON) PROMOTED BY THE HOAXERS OF THE "BOLIVARIAN REVOLUTION"

The "Bolivarian" bourgeoisies ("bolibourgeoisies"), the Castroite bureaucracy, the class collaborationist leadership of the COB and the reformist leaderships of all coats call to the defense of the "revolutionary process headed by Morales" and his "democratic revolution" (akin to the "revolution" headed by Chavez in Venezuela, NT). Now we can say that it is crystal clear that this caricature of "revolution" nothing has given to the workers and poor peasants who constitute the majority of the population, while it has indeed guaranteed their properties and businesses to the transnationals, the Media Luna traditional bourgeoisie and the new and mean bourgeoisie (of which Morales the coca grower is the type, NT) that has expropriated the revolution.

From this point of view, it is now crystal clear that the historic dilemma, i.e. "Communism or Fascism?" has taken in Bolivia a concrete and immediate character. What does this mean? That there is not –and there cannot be- any intermediate, "Bolivarian", "democratic" revolution; that is, a stage of flourishing "Andean" capitalism is a fraud. It means that the only way for the Bolivian masses to conquer the land for the poor peasants, the bread for the workers and the rest of the exploited and the national independence for their country is the triumph of the worker and socialist revolution; if not, the masses will be defeated, either by a Fascist putsch all over Bolivia or by a coup by the officers' caste; they could also be strangled, as they are now, by the popular front, a cir-

cumstance that opens the way –as we have seen- for anyone of the two variants previously mentioned.

Communism or Fascism: that is the iron dilemma. But the problem is that while the Fascist alternative has a clear political expression, a direction and a general staff, the Communist alternative has not already found a political expression in the Bolivian exploited masses. That is the crux, the essence of the crisis of the Bolivian revolution. Moreover, the revolutionary assaults of the masses have been expropriated, the revolution has been pushed back a thousand and one times by the treacherous leaderships.

For this reason, the program and the tasks of the revolutionaries are concentrated in transforming this half cooked revolution by workers and peasants poisoned in their conscience by the cheap phraseology of the “Bolivarian revolution” and its agents –the renegades of Trotskyism, the Stalinists and the rest of the rubbish discarded by History- into a serious fight for the proletarian dictatorship, working from inside, from the actual processes, from the enormous contradictions that the crisis of the proletarian leadership generates.

This revolution that has been trampled, expropriated, betrayed, needs to stand up on its feet, it needs a revolutionary leadership that fine-tunes its program and its tasks, that each time there is a change in the situation is able to show a road forward, that can be a base for a revolutionary re-grouping of the vanguard that could break the encirclement of the treacherous leaderships. This re-grouping of the vanguard is essential to build the armed workers and peasants soviets which will be the only guarantee not only for the smashing of Fascism, but for taking power and conquer the only and true national independence, and get the land and the bread for the salaried slaves.

THE PREREQUISITES FOR THE VICTORY OF THE MASSES IN THE CIVIL WAR AGAINST THEIR OPPRESSORS ARE VERY SIMPLE:

1. The workers and peasants must break with any subordination to the government of Morales and achieve full independence in front of it to be able to smash Fascism, which is no more than the concentrated expression of the private property and the imperialist domination over Bolivia. That is the source of its strength, its finances, and its polit-

ical clout which allow it to stand up and massacre the workers and peasants.

2. So, to smash Fascism, it is necessary not to take any responsibility for the popular front government of Morales: it is necessary to break with the bourgeoisie and combat that government with the method of the proletarian revolution, of the expropriation of the expropriators and pilferers of the Bolivian nation. The alternative is not “democracy or Fascism”; to the pact of Morales with la Rosca it is necessary to oppose the pact between the workers and the peasants for the emancipation of the exploited by means of the triumph of the worker and socialist revolution.

3. The victory will be achieved only if the workers are able to express directly their will and their eagerness to smash Fascism, to achieve a decent wage, the land for the peasants and the hydrocarbons for the Bolivian nation². The only institution that can serve the workers to express that is a Congress of rank and file delegates of the COB and the organizations of the poor peasants, with delegates of the soldiers and students which together with the workers militia, smashes Fascism. And this is totally opposed to the “symbolic” congress convened by the COB in Santa Cruz which, no doubt will be a means of strengthening the “democratic” pact between Fascism and the popular front; between BP-Exxon and Total-Repsol and their respective junior partners, the Rosca oligarchy and the indigenous bourgeoisie. This pseudo congress convened by the COB in Santa Cruz will be a renewed version of the parade of Morales’ “Ponchos Rojos” (Red ponchos, the name of Morales selected corps of rich peasants riding their elegantly adorned horses, NT) who entered the rebel city of Sucre³ full of Fascists when the different factions of the bourgeoisie were discussing the Autonomies... and delivered flowers to them to appease the Fascist beast.

4. No discussion with Fascism! It is only possible to smash it with the methods and the program of the proletarian revolution. The Bolivian workers and peasants cannot allow for any more time the pact of Morales with Fascism that is backed by the OAS, the UNO, the UNASUR and all the bourgeoisies of the continent; this pact has guaranteed the imposition of Fascism –or the tute-

lage of the Banzerist officers’ caste- in half the Bolivian territory. The task of the moment is to conquer now, without delay, a workers and peasants congress with its militias, to break the Army in its base of conscripted workers and peasants, to conquer the soldiers’ committees; so that no worker or peasant is any more oppressed or smashed by the Fascist beast in the Media Luna. As in 1952, it is necessary to destroy the officers’ caste, to build the workers militia of the COB and to smash Fascism in Santa Cruz and all over the Media Luna.

5. Learning from the own experience of the Bolivian revolution of 1952, the task of the moment is to fight to win over the rank and file elements of the army. Opposite to the popular front that submits the life of the working class and the exploited to its alliance with the officers’ caste, it is imperative that the majority of the Bolivian population, that is its workers and peasants, call the privates to disavow their officers and to elect their soldier delegates to the workers and peasants’ congress.

6. The judgment and punishment of the murders of October 2003⁴, of the miners in Huanuni, of the peasants in Cochabamba and of all the massacred exploited in Pando, Santa Cruz and the rest of the Media Luna, will not be achieved through the courts of the bourgeois justice, much less from the martial courts of the murderous Army, but through the installation of workers and popular tribunals, which are the only courts that can judge and punish all those responsible for the murder of workers and peasants.

7. All the class collaborationist leaderships that tie the fate of the Bolivian proletariat to the bourgeoisie must be expelled from the workers organizations. That is the conclusion already drawn by the miners in Huanuni who were massacred by the “democratic” army of Morales; this conclusion must be carried as a motion to the entire Bolivian working class. The proletariat must recover the COB and the CORs from the hands of the class collaborationist leaderships to be able to raise a program towards its own emancipation. That is the only way it could recover its strength and rebuild the workers and peasants alliance, fighting for the land, the bread, the jobs the wages and the national indepen-

dence, that is fighting for a revolutionary government of workers and peasants, supported in the self-organization and the armament of the masses, only government that can break with imperialism, expropriate the landlords and the pilferers of the nation and solve the demands of the exploited.

8. The Bolivian workers must be the spearhead in the American continent of the fight not only for defeating Fascism but also for breaking any subordination to the bourgeoisie imposed by the infamous “Bolivarian revolution”. They will be able to achieve it on condition that the proletarians of our continent break with the fallacy of the “Bolivarian revolution” and its pacts of social peace that have surrendered the Colombian resistance, that have submitted the Argentinean proletarians to the slave-owners government of the Kirchners, the Chilean proletarians to the narrow limits of the infamous civic-military regime, to the US proletarians to the imperialist butchers of the Democratic party and the Brazilian proletarians to the interests of the bourgeoisie and the transnationals that control the businesses of the Mercosur. Only thus, by defeating the fallacy of the “Bolivarian revolution” –that is, the expropriation of the worker socialist revolution- the Bolivian and Latin American working class will be able to prevent the triumph of Fascism in Bolivia, revenge the massacre of the Colombian resistance, be at the head of the looming revolutionary processes in Peru and Chile, recover the workers and peasant commune of Oaxaca and allow the US working class to raise its head against the war and in defense of the immigrants. In that way it will be possible that the all-American revolution, one and only worker and socialist revolution for the entire American continent spreads as wildfire, against the fraud of the “Bolivarian revolution” which prepares counterrevolutionary blows that will surge and are nurtured by the conditions of the bankruptcy of the international financial capital.

9. The Bolivian working class needs a revolutionary leadership. There is no such a thing as an intermediate or “Bolivarian”, “Andean”, “democratic” revolution; there are only different bourgeois governments and regimes that, as agents of the different imperialist gangs and the native bourgeoisies

associated to them, agree or clash in defense of their interests and their businesses, over the blood and the exploitation of the workers and the peasants and the pilfering of the nations. The Bolivian revolution is only a decisive link in the single chain of the Latin American revolution; this revolution lies today trampled and surrendered by the treacherous leaderships, and particularly, by the renegades of Trotskyism and the stinking remains of Stalinism, which are in charge of containing from the left the most combative portions of the proletariat of our continent and submitting it to the “Bolivarian” governments –the junior partners of the different imperialist powers- when those governments show their true nature as anti-worker governments, servants of the imperialist pilferers of our nations.

10. The task of building this revolutionary leadership in Bolivia is running short of time. It is not only a task for the revolutionary Bolivian workers but a task for all the revolutionary, internationalist worker organizations in our continent and the world which decide to fight decidedly against the popular front, the “Bolivarian” revolution, that is against the old Stalinist and Menshevik politics of the two stage revolution and to oppose relentlessly the attempts from the renegades to use the clean banners of Trotskyism and the Forth International of 1938 to pass the old class collaborationist politics of Stalinism and Social Democracy. The Bolivian question defines today who is with the program, the theory and the strategies of Trotskyism –the only living revolutionary Marxism- and who has passed to the trench of the bourgeoisie and supports its states, its governments and its regimes in a moment tin which the rotten world capitalist system threatens the human civilization with a catastrophe.

11. The Bolivian question, as any living revolution, divides waters with crystal clear precision between reformists and revolutionaries. Therefore it creates the conditions for the internationalists and the genuine Trotskyists that fight for the proletarian revolution to recognize each other so we can regroup our ranks in a new Zimmerwald-Kienthal of the 21st century, in the road to putting again in place the world party for the socialist revolution on the basis of the program

and the legacy of the Fourth International of 1938.

For an International Conference of the principled Trotskyists and the revolutionary worker organizations that puts the 100% of its forces to the service of the triumph of the worker and socialist revolution in Bolivia, as a decisive step to regroup the ranks of the Latin American proletariat and prepare a mass counteroffensive against the crisis and the blackmail of big capital against the world exploited, putting on the order of the day the fight for an international socialist revolution! For the workers and the oppressed peoples of the world to live, imperialism must die!

International Coordination Secretariat of the ILTF

Notes:

1. When the masses threw down Goni, their leaderships called Goni's deputy president and put the power in his hands, expropriating the triumph of the masses. Then, when the masses threw down mesa, those leaderships (including rural middle class and rich peasants' leader Morales) gave the power to Rodriguez, the head of the Supreme Court with the mandate of calling for immediate elections. Then, they called to vote for Morales, who put some workers' leader in its cabinet, and heads a typical popular front (bourgeois) government., with a preference for Bonapartist referendums and agreements to appease the oligarchy of the 4 oil and soybean eastern provinces forming the Media Luna and their Fascist gangs of “white” (as opposed to the “brownner” workers and peasants) youth and lumpen.
2. While the Bolivian oligarchy of the Rosca, the new indigenous bourgeoisie and the different imperialisms make their délas and take their benefits from the oil and gas revenues selling those resources in the world market, Bolivian workers and poor middle classes, including of course the peasants have to heat their homes and cook their meals either burning llama dung or paying prohibitive prices for their fuel.
3. Sucre was long time ago the “historic” capital of the country, but now it is only the site of the Supreme Court and its citizens feel relegated, so it is easily carried by the Fascists to confront the government for the “restoration of its privileges” though it does not belong in the Media Luna.
4. In October 2003, when the Bolivian workers and peasants were blocking the roads, asking for the control of the hydrocarbons by the Bolivian state and protesting a generalized new tax on their wages and poor earnings imposed on them by then president Goni, the Army charged on them in a number of roadblocks, killing at least 100 people. The workers and peasants toppled Goni a few days later.

ZIMBABWE: THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED

DRAWING THE LESSONS

Statement of Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL), originally published in "Workers International News" - Jan - June, 2009, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF, in July, 2009.

The mistakes made by the International Socialist Organization-Zimbabwe (ISOZ) can be traced back to the reformist politics of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Britain. The SWP and the trend of the International Socialists (IS) all distort Trotsky's position on entrism into a Labour Party. This semi-permanent entrism into not only Labour parties but also bourgeois nationalist parties, has at its centre the watering down of the revolutionary programme, with the resultant opportunist politics. The opportunist politics of the ISOZ in Zimbabwe has played a major role, if not the major role, in the betrayal of the revolution in Zimbabwe. We place the responsibility for the betrayal at the feet of the British SWP and the IS trend, as at all times the ISOZ looked to them for political leadership and guidance.

ON THE SO-CALLED DUAL NATURE OF REFORMISM

The SWP justify their entry into reformist parties by the following: *"We in the IS Tendency understand that reformism is a contradictory formation that both expresses and contains working class struggle. Relating to it means knowing how to work with and against people to our right- with them when they want to fight against the bosses and the regime, against them when they hold the struggle back."* (letter from Alex Callinicos to ISOZ, responding to a request for advice on how and when the split with of ISOZ with the MDC should take place : May-June 2002 Socialist Worker-Zimbabwe).

But, working together with reformists in a united front and entering a reformist party are 2 completely different things. A United Front is a temporary front for a specific purpose in which all the participants maintain their separate identity and discipline, while we 'strike together' against a common enemy. We can break from it at any time. To enter a reformist party means subjecting yourself to the discipline and programme of reformism. Such entrism is thus generally permitted only when such party is in the process of formation before its programme is fully established; it is also normally of short duration as the clash of programmes (revolutionary versus reformist) would lead to a split; it is also possible in the case of a reformist labour party in the process of formation, that the revolutionary group wins the day, resulting in a mass revolutionary party.

It is not a question of being *'with the reformists when they fight the bosses and the regime'*, but a question of being exposing at all times in the eyes of the working class that the reformists cannot be depended upon to wage a fight against the bosses and the regime to its end. How else will the masses see the importance of independent working class action, if false hope is placed on reformists to act against 'the bosses and the regime'. The masses need to learn about the nature of the middle class and about the middle class nature of the leadership of the MDC, Zanu-PF and other reformist parties.



Zimbabwe refugees

To support the reformists when they appear to act against the bosses and their regime is to help contain the masses. In the heat of the fire of the 1917 Russian revolution, when the threat of counter-revolutionary military coup by General Kornilov against the interim government led by Kerensky, was raised, the Bolsheviks led the fight to put down Kornilov. The Bolsheviks used the opportunity to openly arm the masses, in other words, to advance their own programme, not to ease for one second any criticism of the Kerensky government that they had; they correctly analysed the class nature of Kerensky, that he and the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, were not consistent fighters against Kornilov and were, behind the scenes and sometimes openly, were cutting deals with the counter-revolution (Trotsky: History of the Russian Revolution book 2, see Chapters on Kornilov insurrection and Bourgeoisie measures strength). The SWP would have supported Kerensky against Kornilov, as they have supported a vote for Zuma in the April South Africa elections (just because of the promise of free education). Bolsheviks support the masses against Kornilov and the struggle for free education while warning the masses about the Kerensky's and Zuma's of the world. The SWP supports Tshivangerai against Mugabe, instead of the masses against the Zimbabwe state, instead of at the same time exposing the middle class nature of Tshivangerai. The SWP policy of duality of the reformists acts as a containment, a brake on the revolution of the working class. It is no for nothing that Trotsky said that the experience of entrism into the British labour party had yielded more negatives than any gains.

WATERING DOWN OF THE PROGRAMME

The entrism supported by the SWP, is not only based on watering down of the revolutionary programme under the guise of being close to the masses, but leads directly to opportunism and tailing the consciousness of the masses: In 2002 Callinicos asks the ISOZ: *“How much has changed since you joined the MDC? Crucially, are the most advanced workers and activists in the process of breaking from it?”* The ISOZ in their letter to the MDC (8 April 2009) point out that the MDC Bridge programme was in fact a structural adjustment programme of the IMF, yet Callinicos, having seen this letter, still asks: ‘How much has really changed?’ Thus for the SWP, the programme of the MDC does not matter; all that really matters is where the so-called advanced workers are. The ISOZ points out that scope for criticism in the MDC has all but vanished and all the SWP is concerned about is that the fact that the ISOZ has a parliamentarian in the name of the MDC, makes the timing of the withdrawal ‘critical’. The SWP sees it as ‘odd’ for the ISOZ to depart even though the MDC has adopted the programme of the IMF! Trotsky in his 1932 discussions on the Labour Party question in America was clear: We cannot stand before the masses with 2 banners, one cheaper ticket (for the MDC) and a first class ticket (for the ISOZ). At all times we have to have one banner and one programme. The SWP has no problem for the ISOZ members to be associated with the IMF programme and at the same time with a ‘revolutionary’ programme.

But the political mistakes do not start in 2002 when the ISOZ, to their credit, initiated a break from the MDC. They start in 1999 when the MDC was formed.

THE REVOLUTION STARTS IN ZIMBABWE; SWP BETRAYS

The 1980 transfer of power to Zanu-PF meant that Mugabe became the favoured agent for imperialism in Zimbabwe. Although minor aspects of the economy were nationalized, the bulk remained in the hands of imperialism. The 1980’s were characterized by heroic fights by the world working class but these ended in defeats of the working class by Thatcherism and Reaganism; on local soil the uprising of the peasants for land in Matabeleland was brutally put down in 1983-4 resulting in the death of about 20 000 peasants and their families. The protection of the rule of imperialism-capitalism was perpetrated by the armed forces of the Zanu-PF and supported by North Korean troops. The support of US imperialism for the massacres was also implied by the fact that they gave open military support to Mugabe right up to 2001. The stagnation of the world capitalist economy resulted in imperialism-capitalism creating various mechanisms to shift their crisis onto the working classes of the world; structural adjustment programmes were forced onto the Soviet bloc of countries as they were in Africa and elsewhere; the cutbacks on social expenses contributed to the uprisings of the working class in the Soviet bloc countries which resulted in the restoration of capitalism there although the Stalinist world apparatus was shattered- a new market for imperialist exploitation was opened. Even this was not enough to bring imperialism out of their crisis. Everywhere the cutbacks on social expenses and privatization of the means of production were being resisted by the working class. In Africa country

by country was forced to adopt structural adjustment programmes, and here too resistance by the working class limited the plans of imperialism. In Zambia the resistance of the masses was so great that imperialism created the MMD (Movement for Multi-Party Democracy) led by former trade union general secretary, Chiluba, to head off the uprising and direct it into parliamentary channels.

In Zimbabwe the Structural Adjustment programme was formally adopted in 1991, although cutbacks on social expenses has started before this. The cutbacks on social expenditure went hand in hand with the collapse of the local agriculture as self-sufficiency in food production was replaced by single crop commodity-for-export production. The imperialists forced the creation of new markets for their processed food and other products on the bones of the peasantry, the workers and the unemployed. From 2002 to 2007 the food monopolies exported US\$ 400 million in ‘aid’ to Zimbabwe, on the back of the deliberate collapse of local agriculture. The old bureaucracy (aligned to the Zanu-PF) in the ZCTU (Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions) were overthrown in 1988 when the stagnation of the economy had already taken serious proportions. In 1994 there was a general strike against the effects of structural adjustment; by August 1996 revolt from the masses burst into open rebellion; a form of workers’ councils, labour forums, became widespread and these meetings of rank and file worker delegates called and ran the strikes over the head of the trade union bureaucracy. The open revolt of the Zimbabwean working class at the same time of world economic crisis in 1997 posed an international danger for imperialism- they had to head off the revolt by any means necessary. The danger was that this revolt may spread to any part of the world. The new trade union bureaucrats placed themselves at the head of the strike wave and turned it into a wave of 5 day stayaways instead of 5 day factory occupations, thus actively discouraging factory seizures. The trade unions offered no solution, while the working class demanded a united fight against the state and their system.

In the absence of a deep tradition of a Communist Party, in the context of the restoration of capitalism in the East bloc countries and with the ISOZ being only a handful of activists, the formation of a Labour Party was placed on the agenda.

The ISOZ correctly, under these circumstances, called for the formation of a workers’ party and attempted to provide a left pole around which the working class could rally. The WIVL condemned the MDC as a reactionary organization, created by imperialism to head off the revolution. While this was true, WIVL’s call should have been linked with the call for a workers’ party and this critique (of the MDC) taken into movement leading up to the formation of the MDC as a party. In this sense that the WIVL did not call for the ISOZ to enter the beginning stages of the MDC, our position was sectarian. To its credit, the ISOZ made a bold attempt at entry into the MDC, presented a programme, fought for it and when it observed that space for articulating an independent class position and maintaining the identity of the ISOZ had closed and that the MDC had adopted a outright capitalist programme, they initiated a split from the MDC in 2002. The MDC is not a United Front but a Popular front as it had capitalist representatives in them from the beginning (such as Eddie Cross of the Zimbabwe Chamber of Industries). To the extent that the ISOZ attempted to fight for a labour party and was part of the initial meetings of the MDC, it was the left of the WIVL. To the extent that the SWP directed the ISOZ to not to pose certain critical transitional demands, to not openly

warn the masses of the treacherous nature of Tshivagerai and to stay in the MDC and build the Popular Front, WIVL was to the left of both SWP and ISOZ. While the WIVL position was sectarian initially, the SWP position was opportunist through and through (*'Entrism requires patience'* wrote Callinicos, as he argued in 2002 for the ISOZ to remain even longer in the MDC).

After 2 failed attempts to build reformist parties in Zimbabwe, imperialism finally realized they needed the support of the trade union bureaucracy as they had in the case of Zambia. In order to head off the revolt, imperialism funded the calling of a people's convention in 1998-9, leading to the MDC (Movement for Democratic Change) to be formed in September 1999. The British Tories funded the formation of the MDC while the imperialist Frederick Ebert Foundation funded the formation of the NCA (National Constitutional Assembly) and actively promoted Tshivangerai as its leader. The SWP failed to warn the working class of the counter-revolutionary aims of those who were leading the setting up of the MDC, instead they merely referred to it then as an 'enigma' (mystery). They failed to direct the ISOZ to expose this from the very beginning. Clearly, at this stage, the SWP gave support to Tshivagerai, instead of supporting the working class and warning them about him.

Further, no call was made to set up soviets or workers' councils as the main basis to unite the struggles and to make attempts to win over the army. The call for soviets would have created a basis to counter-pose this workers' assembly to the 'people's' assembly being led by the capitalists.

Further, the ISOZ programme at the initial stages of the formation of the MDC, before its programme and structure had been finalized, was defective in a number of ways:

There was no call for the expulsion of all capitalist representatives- a successful battle on this front would have meant the setting up of a labour party- not a guarantee of a revolutionary party, but the first step to take independent political organization of the working class forward; in the absence of even raising this demand, the SWP, through the ISOZ created, if not supported the illusion that the MDC was a labour party and not a Popular Front

There was no call for the formation of soviets or the transformation of the labour forums into soviets;

There was no call for the formation of a workers' militia (which Trotsky in the 1938 discussions on the Labour party emphasized as an essential part of a set of transitional demands to be presented by Fourth International groups entering labour parties);

There was no demand for an end to unemployment and a sliding scale of hours;

there was no call for a workers' and peasants government, ie a workers' government which has the support of the poor peasants

while there was a call for nationalization – this was not linked to expropriation of imperialist assets without compensation, under workers control of production

In short the programme of the ISOZ was a left bourgeois programme, a minimum programme. This shortcoming is to be blamed on the SWP and the IS tendency, who have access to all the writings of Trotsky and Lenin, and should have given direction to the ISOZ.

Trotsky warned in 1938 that the formation of a labour party shows that the class conflict is sharpening and that the capitalist class would prepare a fascist option if necessary. He

went further to warn that the programme that we present should be transitional and not a minimum programme. Trotsky said in the 1938 discussions on the labour party *"we also have the possibility of spreading the slogans of our transitional program and see the reaction of the masses. We will see what slogans should be selected, what slogans abandoned, but if we give up our slogans before the experience, before seeing the reaction of the masses, then we can never advance."*

Further he said: *"These demands are transitory because they lead from the capitalist society to the proletarian revolution, a consequence insofar as they become the demands of the masses as the proletarian government. We can't stop only with the day-to-day demands of the proletariat. We must give to the most backward workers some concrete slogan that corresponds to their needs and that leads dialectically to the conquest of power."*

Thus the posing of a minimum programme by the SWP for the entry of ISOZ into the MDC, not only disarmed the Zimbabwean working class but also the ISOZ itself. This meant that the ISOZ presented 2 programmes to the working class, the cheaper MDC ticket and the 1st class ISOZ one. This resulted in confusion in the minds of the working class. If a transitional programme had been presented by the ISOZ in the beginning stages of the formation of the MDC, this might have led to a quicker expulsion but at least the working class would have seen one programme that the ISOZ stood for and the masses would know which door to come knocking on when the analysis of the ISOZ became reality. But a more positive outcome could have developed, namely that the ISOZ could have grown as a revolutionary pole to transform the labour party into a mass revolutionary party- this would have played a world historic leading role in the struggle for Socialism.

Of course, analysis is always easier with hindsight but the importance of this analysis is to draw the lessons for the world proletariat so as to clarify our tactics and strategies for the present and future.

THE DEGENERATION OF THE ISOZ

In the March 2000 elections, the ISOZ put up a candidate (Gwisai) in one of the working class neighbourhoods, Highfield, in Harare. He had been scheduled to stand in central Harare where there were capitalist factories in the constituency. Due to pressure from the capitalist elements the ISOZ then shifted the candidacy to Highfield. With an approach of forming soviets and a workers' militia, and considering the militant mood among the masses at the time, they should have contested the central Harare constituency. But even in the Highfield constituency, no attempts were made to form workers' councils or even the beginnings of a workers' militia. This was part of the gradual opportunist adaptation by the ISOZ (under guidance of the SWP) to the capitalist order.

From 2000 up until the present date, the fascist crackdown against the working class by capitalism imperialism, through Mugabe, has intensified. While the selected land invasions by Mugabe's rich peasant base took place, his troops stood guard over commercial farms, factories, shops and mines owned by imperialism. The response of the National Co-ordinating Committee of the ISOZ to the fascist crackdown was to place faith in the church: *"we could start with prayers at designated local churches followed by marches and protests from the*



Inflation in Zimbabwe

churches led by the pastors and leadership of the movement” (NCC statement 11.06.05, Harare).

In the run-up to the June 2008 presidential elections a pre-revolutionary situation existed in Zimbabwe, the masses had voted earlier in the year, despite huge intimidation by Mugabe’s fascist gangs, for the MDC; at a point one of the military heads of Zanu-PF fled to South Africa citing that 75% of the armed forces were against Mugabe; when the masses started to turn even against Tshivagerai, who did nothing to mobilize the masses to arm themselves in self defence, the ISOZ was still mobilizing support for the MDC: *“we are demanding a constitution that enshrines basic socio-economic rights and labour rights and ensures their enforceability centrally through a constitutionally guaranteed budgetary system as illustrated by the Venezuelan constitution.”* Whereas the ISOZ initially opposed a government of national unity they now called for *“speedy finalization of the current ongoing talks for a government of national unity”*. (Fortune Rera ISOZ NCC 20 Nov 2008- letter to WIVL).

On the 23rd Sept 2008 Gwisai presented his analysis of the current situation: *“we are cognizant that in the short term the possibility of massive mass action is slim.....we welcome the position taken by the ZCTU and NCA for a continued demand of a genuine people driven constitution and the holding of free and fair elections thereafter.....it is imperative that there be the urgent regroupment in a united front of the radical, anti-neo-liberal and left forces, including organized labour. We are hoping the coming Zimbabwe Social Forum in October provides a further platform for the remobilization of radical forces....a united front struggleimmediately means....a new people’s driven constitution...”*

Although the ISOZ has now split into 2 fractions around Rera and Gwisai respectively, the above positions show that their position in essence the same: namely promoting faith in a bourgeois constituent assembly, instead of exposing at every step of the way that such processes, irrespective if they are worker driven, would not result in the demands of the masses being met. While the masses were in the streets and soldiers even left their barracks for the streets in support of the masses, neither fraction of ISOZ made any attempt at calling for workers councils and workers’ militia. But then how could the ISOZ do this while they were still ‘patiently’ implementing the SWP position of support for the MDC, although supposedly ‘critically’!

The ISOZ and SWP support Chavez, who is cracking down on the Venezuelan working class and safeguarding capitalism there. They support the World Social Forum whose

main aim is to divert the working class masses from revolution against capitalism.

Was it sheer coincidence that the wave of so-called xenophobic violence, against Zimbabweans and other black Africans, was swept up in South Africa at the same time that there was a pre-revolutionary situation in Zimbabwe? Did the imperialist utilize the nationalist sentiments in the petty bourgeois layers of the ANC and the desperation of the lumpen proletariat, to their advantage by creating fascist gangs to destabilise the Zimbabwean masses and to divert attention of the rising masses away from the taking of power. The capitalist media fanned the flames of violence by openly showing front page pictures of a foreign worker burning while the police were laughing and doing nothing. This handed a blank cheque to the fascist gangs to opportunistically act and sweep many workers along with them.

The massive devaluation of the Zim dollar since 2002 was not due to ‘farm invasions’ but were a deliberate ploy by imperialism to starve the Zimbabwean working class, to break its spirit of resistance. The masses may be tired but the events of 2008 show that the Zimbabwean masses can never be written off, the masses will rise again. The dollarisation of the Zimbabwean economy is another mechanism to shift the burden of the crisis of capitalism onto the masses in Zimbabwe. It was a vicious attempt by imperialism to break the fighting spirit of the Zimbabwean masses. This comes at a time when the value of the US dollar is less than the Zimbabwean dollar in real terms but the violence of world imperialism imposes an artificial value to the US dollar- one of the chief means of super-exploiting the masses of the world and a means to extract surplus value from the workers of the world.

THE WAY FORWARD

The first step for the members of ISOZ is to break decisively with the opportunist politics of the SWP and IS tendency and to make a public self-criticism available to the Zimbabwean working class. If this means breaking from the ISOZ or refounding it or forming a new revolutionary working class formation, it is not for us to prescribe to you.

Secondly, we invite you and the heroic Zimbabwean working class to join in discussions with the WIVL and the FLT (Leninist Trotskyist Fraction) to form an International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction as part of the process of co-ordinating the fight against capitalism imperialism from here onwards.

Thirdly a programme of transitional demands needs to be developed for Zimbabwe for the current situation and we invite you to give the lead in developing such proposals. The cornerstone of such a programme has been confirmed by the negative experience of the MDC, namely that to achieve the full democratic demands, can only be realized through the working class taking power in Zimbabwe, through the application of the permanent revolution. Such a programme can be the only way that an independent revolutionary working class party can develop in Zimbabwe, as part of the rebuilding/refounding a revolutionary International; we believe to be the Fourth International. Shinga Mushandi Shinga! Qina Msebenzi Qina!

05/19/2009

WIVL, members of ILTF

HOW THE ANC-SACP-COSATU POPULAR FRONT ENSURES IMPERIALIST CONTROL IN ZIMBABWE

Statement of Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL), originally published in "Workers International News" - Jan - June, 2009, and approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF, in July, 2009.

No exposure on the revolution in Zimbabwe would be complete without a reflection on the role of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

By far the biggest import from Zimbabwe is Nickel. Last year, during which a pre-revolutionary period existed, the imports in Nickel amounted to over R1,2 Billion (about US\$ 150 million). The major Nickel mines (such as Bindura) are owned and controlled by Anglo American. Rio Tinto also controls a major Nickel and Cobalt refinery, Empressa. Common to both companies are major shareholding stakes by Citibank and JP Morgan Chase. The dominant imperialism in Zimbabwe, by far, is thus US imperialism. At a time when the working class in Zimbabwe is suffering extreme hardships, the major exports to South Africa are still minerals, tobacco and cotton. The tobacco and cotton plantations have been safeguarded by Zimbabwean government troops, which shows that the Zanu-PF regime is the agent of imperialism, despite its supposedly anti-british imperialist rhetoric.

It is this dominance by US imperialism that the ANC government has been safeguarding through its 'quiet diplomacy'. But the actions of the ANC government are far from being neutral. South African Arms companies are the largest supplier of weapons to Zimbabwe. In 2004, the SA government sent 2.6 tons of revolvers to Zimbabwe, along with 7.5 tons of ammunition. In April 2008, when there was a massive arms shipment from China blocked by workers of Satawu, the transport union, the contract for transporting the weapons had been given to Armscor. The SA government saw no contradiction between the workers uprising in Zimbabwe and the shipment of arms to the Zimbabwean government. In fact they were acting out their mandate from the US imperialists to help safeguard their exploitation of the Zimbabwean working class.

The chair of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee until recently was Sydney Mufamadi, an SACP leader, who oversaw and approved all the arms shipments to Zimbabwe. Thus when the workers of Satawu blocked the arms from the Chinese ship, they were acting against the real policy of the SACP, which is to safeguard imperialist control in the region.

During the revolutionary days in April-May 2008, the SACP released a statement, that the principal cause of the deteriorating situation in Zimbabwe was that the Zanu-PF regime was not 'buttressed by the people's will'. They called for an early release of election results and an end to the crisis. No call was made to the SA or Zimbabwean working class to take action. 75% of the armed forces were prepared to turn against Zanu-PF, the masses were in the streets, and all the SACP could say was that the crisis should be resolved through elections. What they meant is that either of Zanu-PF and MDC, both pro-imperialist formations, should gain control of the masses. In other words, for imperialism to continue

to maintain its exploitation of the masses, they needed a party in control, that had the support of the masses, that would act as a 'buffer' to neutralise the demands of the masses on behalf of imperialism.

Further, on the 27th April 2008, the Politbureau statement of the SACP, called for minor travel restrictions to be placed on the Zimbabwe army leaders, and as a last resort, for AU or UN intervention. This was a virtually identical position to that of the Bush administration. For the SACP, if the masses had to rise, it was necessary for the might of imperialist troops to intervene to crush the revolution.

The position of the Cosatu leadership is best seen by the joint statement of the ZCTU and Cosatu on 29 January 2009. Consistent with the SACP position to keep the struggle limited to elections, this demand (for elections) was placed as the central demand of both federations. ZCTU is the main support base of the MDC, while Cosatu is the main support of the ANC. Both MDC and ANC are Popular fronts and the stance of the Cosatu and SACP leadership over a revolutionary situation in Zimbabwe is instructive for the role they will play in South Africa under similar conditions. This joint ZCTU and Cosatu statement was concerned that the MDC, if they were forced to compromise too much, such as in the 15 Sept 2008 agreement that set up a 'unity' government, they would lose support among the masses. In other words, imperialism would have a major problem that none of the horses they were backing, would be in control of the masses. Under these conditions, the masses might rise up and overthrow capitalist relations. When the Satawu workers acted to block the Chinese arms shipment, they were taking the Cosatu leadership at their word when they called for solidarity actions.

But the Cosatu leadership actions in support of the Zimbabwean working class remained only at that, words. Token demonstrations and pickets in support by a handful of workers and officials, and election monitors, were all that the Cosatu leadership organised. Cosatu is organised at many workplaces that are at the centre of Anglo American linked companies in South Africa. There was no call for any general strike in support of the working class in Zimbabwe. Yet, when the reactionary DA picks an all-male cabinet, the leaders of Cosatu were very quick to organise a general strike. If it was correct to call for militant action against a local reactionary force, how much more so was it necessary to strike against a fascistic imperialist agent in Zimbabwe. The inclusion of a woman into a regional bourgeois cabinet does not advance the cause of the working class woman but will merely mean that middle class women have achieved one step forward. In fact the illusion would have been maintained that the government structures are gender sensitive, when in fact they are not. Working class action in South Africa would have been decisive in supporting the Zimbabwean working class to take power. But the revolution would not have stopped there and

would have expanded to South Africa, if not to the entire Southern African region. The policy of the Cosatu leadership on Zimbabwe has been to leave it to the NGO's (so called civil society conferences), in other words, to leave the fate of the working class in Zimbabwe to the middle class. Thus the Cosatu leaders use the working class to support middle class demands while using the middle class to 'support' the working class in Zimbabwe.

By supporting pro-imperialist forces like the MDC in Zimbabwe and failing to organise mass action by the working class, the Cosatu leaders show that they are themselves pro-imperialist. They have to go. It is time to establish real workers' control in Cosatu, to replace its leaders with independent working class fighters, to break the alliance with the capitalist ANC and the pro-imperialist SACP.

Now, more than ever it is necessary to establish revolutionary working class parties across Southern Africa, as part of the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

WIVL, members of ILTF

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SOUTH AFRICA - WIVL MANIFESTO

PARLIAMENT IS ON THE SIDE OF THE CAPITALISTS

Break the alliance with the ANC and SACP!

The capitalists and their parties claim that there is a world economic crisis and they use this to justify mass retrenchments, cuts in social expenditure and a drive to attack and undermine workers gains that have been won through centuries of struggle. But what is the nature of the crisis and who is responsible for it? More importantly what can be done about the crisis?

Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL) has been excluded from the April elections

One of the rights that has long been fought for, has been the right to organise, form political parties and to contest elections. Even this right is under threat. All the parties in parliament sat on their own and set the deposit for taking part in all provinces and at national level at R540 000. WIVL submitted all the requirements, including a list of 29 candidates from 5 provinces, from urban and rural areas. All the Electoral Commission (IEC) was interested in was if we had the deposit. The IEC, set up by the ANC Popular front government, acted on behalf of the monopoly capitalists to exclude working class organizations such as us. Many capitalist countries simply require a list of signatures to show some support, in order to take part in elections. Such a simple provision is denied to the working class here.

The only way forward for the working class is to organise independently of the capitalists and of parliament; we must build workers' defence committees to defend ourselves from the ongoing attacks by the capitalist class and their agents. Now, more than ever, we need to build an independent revolutionary working class party. We invite working class fighters and activists to join us in the fight against the world system of capitalism-imperialism.



WIVL from South Africa in a demonstration

Why are we participating in these elections?

Many people have asked us why we are participating in the elections when we believe that Socialism will not come through parliament. We are participating in these elections because many people have the illusion that parliament can bring about an improvement in their lives. Our main aim by participating is to confront the representatives of the capitalist parties head on. We will put forward proposals and demands of the working class. The very responses of the representa-

tives of the capitalist parties will help reveal to the mass of the working class what the true role of parliament is. The role of parliament is to give the masses the illusion that we have a real say in the running of the country, when in fact, *we are being ruled by the dictatorship of the class of capitalists. Our exclusion from the elections also proves this.*

It is because the capitalist parties realise that they will be exposed by us, that they try everything to keep our representatives out of parliament.

We have strict conditions on our representatives to ensure that they advance the working class struggle and do not get co-opted. Our representatives sign pledges in advance that they will be subject to instant recall, they will receive the average wage of a skilled worker; they will only serve 6 months (representatives will be rotated); they will place the struggle of the working class outside of parliament above any parliamentary work.

So what is the cause of the so-called crisis of the bosses?

Their drive to increase profits has hit a major obstacle. Their profits have begun to fall more sharply because they cannot extract enough surplus value from the world working class. This has led to capitalists diverting their money from investing in production into speculating in housing, food, shares, derivatives, etc. It is the collapse of this speculative bubble that has sparked off the current crisis, which is but a symptom of falling profits in productive sectors. Over the years, they have so cut down on workers to increase their rate of profit that a point has been reached that there are too few buyers (too few in employment to buy commodities) so the rate of profit has started to decrease more rapidly. The capitalists are so used to making massive profits that a slight decrease is for them a 'crisis'. The supermarkets are full of food, the car dealers are over-stocked with cars, but there are too few buyers to purchase at the high level of prices. Thus the crisis is not that there is too little, but too much! Capitalism means the wealth of the world is in the hands of a few capitalists, while the working class of the world is kept in starvation.

Imperialist Capitalist monopolies continue to make huge profits

Last year, the SA government collected R161 Billion in company taxes on profits. This was at 28%, which meant that companies made profits of R580 Billion last year. If we consider these are only declared profits then it is safe to assume that the real company profits were closer to at least R700 Billion. So clearly, there is no crisis of profits in South Africa. The rate of profit in the neo-colonies like South Africa, have always been much higher than in the imperialist centres. Now the imperialists are demanding even greater profits from the neo-colonies to offset their falling profits at home.

When the big bosses talk about crisis and when workers talk about crisis, we are talking about different things. When the bosses talk about crisis they mean that instead of making 3000% profit their level of profit has come down to 2500%. When workers talk about crisis, we mean high unemployment, starvation and early death of millions of workers.

Superprofits come from commodities sold way above their real cost of production

The real cost of a bag of cornflakes is 30 cents. But will the giant food producers or retailers reduce prices so that the millions of starving can eat? No, because it means that their rate of profit of 5700% would come down to 100% or 200%—this they are not prepared to do.

Not too long ago the price of Platinum was \$440, then speculation drove up the price to over \$2000. Now that it has dropped to \$1000, Anglo Platinum wants to retrench 10 000 workers, yet they were quite comfortable with the same number of workers when the price was \$440. They have become used to a higher profit level and are not prepared to sacrifice this.

Over 40% of petrol used in SA is locally produced at less than \$20 per barrel by Sasol. When the company was starting up, the working class, through our taxes subsidised them but now they are making massive profits they continue, with the active help of the ANC government, to keep the price of fuel artificially high. The main shareholders today of Sasol are US banks such as the Bank of New York, JP Morgan Chase, SSB, State Street.

Why doesn't the ANC impose higher taxes on imperialist monopolies?

It is possible to raise company taxes

In the days of 'apartheid' the company tax rate was 48%. The ANC government alliance has reduced company tax to 28%. As a measure within the capitalist system, the government could easily raise the company tax rate to 50%. This would raise an extra R200 billion per year for social expenses and the companies would still be making R350 billion profit per annum. In several European countries the rate of company tax is 48%. The rate of company tax in the USA is 35%. So why does the ANC government not raise company taxes? The excuse that the company would just up and run does not hold water as they pay much more in tax in other parts of the world. The truth is that the ANC government, with the active support of the Cosatu and SACP leadership, are fundamentally pro-capitalist. They are the junior partners in the imperialist exploitation of SA. When capitalism is in crisis, with the masses in uprising, as they were here in 1985-1994, the capitalists sometimes rule through a Popular front. This Popular front is a multiclass alliance, which generally has the support of the trade union leadership, which ties the working class movement to support the capitalist system. In essence the leaders of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP popular front pose as pro-worker, but divert the struggles of the masses into a dead-end, away from a struggle to overthrow capitalism, that is, away from the struggle for Socialism.

Popular fronts have a history of betrayal of the working class

The popular fronts of the MDC in Zimbabwe, of the MAS in Bolivia and the PSUV in Venezuela are similar examples where the struggles of the working classes are diverted away from struggling for power. Recently the miners of Huanuni in Bolivia rose up to demand that pension age be dropped to 55. The army of Morales (the supposed left leader) was set upon

the workers to crush them. Two miners were killed and the leadership of the trade union federation sat with folded arms while the workers were put down. These miners have adopted a resolution calling for the immediate replacement of their sellout trade union leadership. On the other hand when US-imperialist back fascist bands took over almost half the country, Morales did nothing to stop them, hundreds of workers and peasants have gone missing, several were killed. The workers were kept disarmed while the fascist bands operated freely. Such were the anti-working class steps taken by a Popular front in Bolivia, from which the world working class should draw strong lessons.

A brief analysis of the recent budget

All parliamentary parties, without exception, generally welcomed the budget. The Cosatu leadership had warm words of praise for the budget. The Cosatu and SACP leadership justify support for the ANC because we have a 'developmental' state. The Cosatu and SACP leaders believe we have to go through a period of 'democratic capitalism' to build conditions for Socialism. This is a smokescreen to hide the real aim of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu popular front alliance, namely that a section of the black middle class becomes the junior partners of imperialism, at the expense of the demands of the working class. Let us examine a few areas:

Housing

It is estimated that the current housing backlog is 1.5 million houses. Due to population growth the number of houses needed each year just to keep pace with this is 200 000. Let us assume that a decent home is 90 square metres. Each house would cost R270 000, then with a budget of R19,6 Billion only 73 000 houses can be built. This is not even enough to cover population growth. This means that the current 7.5 million people without housing will always remain homeless and the number of homeless people will increase each year by 600 000. Even if the small RDP houses are built it will only amount to 163 000, still less than population growth; still the number of homeless will grow by 180 000 every year. To completely wipe out the backlog in housing requires R400 Billion (at today's over-inflated housing prices). When the government talks about R700 Billion for infrastructure, they clearly do not have housing in mind.

Most of the R700 Billion will be used for the Eskom scam (which we have written on extensively – see our website). In summary, the government plans to double the electricity generation capacity within 20 years. 'Growth' in the economy has come from public works, financial services and tourism. How many power stations are needed to power the smile of a tour guide? The companies who will benefit are the shareholders of General Electric and Murray and Roberts (with the major shareholders such as Bank of New York, State Street, JP Morgan Chase, SSB, etc).

Most of the budget deficit of R90 Billion is not for housing or any social need, but for building power stations that are not needed, even by capitalist industry. The ANC government is prepared to borrow from imperialism to fund projects of imperialism but are not prepared to go to the same extent to put the millions of shack dwellers in proper houses. Their stated commitment to abolish slums is a lie, proven by their

own budget figures.

Unemployment

By September 2008, the number of formal jobs was put at 8.4 million. This figure has dropped over the past 10 years from over 9 million. This means that the supposed job increase of 2 million jobs since 2002 have not been formal jobs and in fact have been largely confined to public works. These 'jobs' have already disappeared. Since 1994 half the number of 50 000 commercial farms were wiped out and over 1.5 million farmworkers lost their jobs. Every year there are 500 000 school leavers. Thus the number of unemployed increase at least by 200 000 every year. Yet the government plans only to create 400 000 'fulltime- equivalent' jobs through public works schemes over the next 3 years. Instead of employing 400 000 new municipal workers with benefits, the government chooses to privatise municipal services through these casuals in public works. The Cosatu leadership fully supports this casualisation of the public sector. The government has redefined the meaning of who is unemployed to exclude millions who have given up looking for work and the millions who starve in the informal sector. Last year they even redefined the meaning of 'discouraged' to exclude a further million workers from their books and put them in the general category of 'not economically active'. The government claims unemployment has come down when in fact it has not only gone up but will always keep increasing under the current government plans.

A further tax for low-wage workers is being planned

The ANC government is planning to introduce an extra tax of 12-15% for all workers. This is supposedly to go for workers' pensions. When a worker leaves a job, you will not be able to claim any of the money, you must wait until you go on pension. The average life expectancy is less than 50 and 3 out of every 10 workers will die before the age of 40. This means that the 'pension' deduction will go to the banks and that most workers will not even see this money. But what will happen is that your take-home pay will be reduced by 12%. For example, if your wage is R2500 per month, your take-home pay will be R300 less.

Cuts in pensions and grants

Pensions and grants rose by 5% or less. This means that in real terms the government cut pensions and grants, ie with the new level of R1010 and R240 pensioners and grant holders can buy less than what they could last year. Yet, the Cosatu leaders and all the parliamentary parties hailed this budget as pro-poor. Pensions are cut, while at the same time the government is bailing out the mining monopolies by R2 Billion and the motor bosses by hundreds of millions of Rands. The 310 000 that are currently being retrenched by the monopolies are not being bailed out at all.

Education

Education is being privatised and many of the school leavers can hardly read or write. In addition about 4 million

youth between 7 and 24 years are not attending any educational institution.

Health

From 1994 to date, the number of hospital beds per 1000 people has dropped from 27 to 17. Two-thirds of health expenditure goes to the private sector. Cosatu unions have investments in privatised health care.

Ongoing neglect of the rural areas

The budget allocates R1.8 Billion to 'rural development' while R179 Billion is allocated to 'economic services'. The government spends more on spying on the resistance to big capital (the Intelligence budget is R3 Billion) than on the millions in the rural areas. The 'bailout' by government of the monopoly capitalists receives hundreds of billions (2010 stadiums, Eskom, etc) while the rural poor are left to die of starvation and unemployment. Clearly, under the Popular front government of the ANC-SACP- Cosatu alliance, the rural poor face only further starvation and early death.

All the parliamentary parties are capitalist

The international prices of wheat, maize and sunflower seeds has dropped by over 40% in recent months, yet the major retailers and food producers have not lowered food prices on this scale. Not a single parliamentary party has waged a campaign for food prices to come down. Not a single one of them opposed the Eskom scam; not a single one of them demanded that the price of bread should be dropped, after Tiger Brands and other producers were found guilty of collusion over raising the price of bread since 1994. The Cosatu leaders have waged no centralised campaign against the current bloodbath of retrenchments, yet they praise a capitalist budget that supports profiteering by the bosses. They should have called a general strike to stop the retrenchments but do nothing because they are too busy campaigning for the election victory of the capitalist ANC. The fight against high food prices was reduced to a one-day strike for workers' to blow off steam- no prices have come down. Workers' sanctions should have been called in support of the masses in Zimbabwe, Swaziland, the DRC and Gaza, but only irregular pickets and once-off stoppages have been held.

Palestine

Both DA and ANC have similar positions on Palestine, calling for a 2-state Bantustan for Palestinians. Not a single parliamentary party has been prepared to call for a decision of parliament to implement sanctions against Israel. The Cosatu leaders support a campaign of boycott and sanctions only in so far as it leads to a 2-state Bantustan for Palestinians.

We expose the DA's plans to starve the working class

The DA claims that it has a 'plan' to address unemployment. For this they put forward the setting up of Export processing zones (EPZ's).

The reformist ILO has done a study over 20 years of EPZ's and concludes that these are areas of low wages and high exploitation. Today there are over 27 million workers in 850 EPZ's worldwide, 90% of these workers are women. These are areas where there are regular mass dismissals, child labour, no minimum wages, where security guards and paramilitary are used to bash even the right to belong to a union. Worker leaders have been murdered, such as in Bangladesh; often police use physical violence to crush union organization; there are no minimum conditions such as the right to overtime pay and a limit on the working day; in Thailand, long promoted as an Asian Tiger, child labour works for 90 cents per hour- this is what the DA wants to reduce the working class to- absolute slaves.

The worst capitalists like Coca cola, Nike are serial perpetrators of human rights abuses in the EPZ's; if the capitalists do not like the conditions, if for example the government wants to clamp down on their practices, they just leave; this happened in Malaysia where a few years ago when workers wanted more rights, 60% of the EPZ bosses left overnight. What is more, EPZ's are like another country- not covered by any local law (or any law for that matter); the capitalists there pay no tax at all.

The DA reflects the worst side of the current capitalist crisis: the capitalists have made massive profits for many years, now that their profits are falling slightly, they want us to bail them out. They want to shift the burden of their crisis onto the working class by taking back what little rights we have. They want to reduce our wages and crush the unions. Every year the capitalist companies in South Africa repatriate over R200 bn in profits to their principals in the imperialist centres. For years while the tax rate was reduced from 35% to 28%, the capitalists continued to mass retrench workers. They have failed to produce jobs and what the DA wants for them is to further reduce the company tax rate. This is an obscene way to increase profits as the capitalists will just continue retrenching. The DA says 'we are one nation' when they want our votes, but when it comes to sharing company profits, they believe in a 2-tier labour market. **No to the bailout of the capitalists- retrench the bosses!**

We expose the attempt by COPE to split the working class

Workers International Vanguard League condemns the attempts by COPE (Congress of the People) to split the workers' movement by wanting to form a new trade union and/or new federation. Belatedly this splinter of the black middle class has discovered that they have no base among the working class. As is typical of the middle class they want to use the working class to fight their battles for them; they want to use workers for votes in the April elections.

Their manifesto is based on 'macro economic stability' that the country has enjoyed' (read: they support the GEAR economic policy responsible for opening the working class to increased exploitation, increased suffering and starvation); they believe the key is 'enterprise development' (read: more black capitalists to share in the exploitation of the working class); they believe in joint decision-making with big business in all that government does. Let's put it clear: big capital is retrenching 310 000 workers, they have deliberately starved us through high prices and kept us homeless by profiteering on

housing. This is the same big capital that COPE wants to have a joint decision -making over government. **In other words, the programme of COPE is to become the new boss boys of imperialism in South Africa, they want to become the South African MDC.** With a capitalist programme, what sort of union can these opportunists build? Only monopoly capital will gain from having the working class even further divided.

Now is the time we need working class unity against high prices, against retrenchments, against imperialist backed war in the DRC, in Gaza, against the ongoing imperialist plunder of Zimbabwe. If the trade union leadership are not advancing working class leadership, let us mobilise to change them; but let this be on a clear working class programme, and on the basis of working class unity.

We call on the working class to reject COPE and their opportunist 'trade unionism'.

WHAT DO WE PROPOSE?

Put up company tax to 50% now! This will lay the basis for immediate building the houses for all and other social needs;

break the alliance with the ANC and SACP; Replace the Cosatu leaders with working class fighters who will advance working class interests and who will pursue real working class independence;

expropriate all the banks, place them under working class control and centralise them into one entity;

The SA revolution is part of the world socialist revolution: The SA economy and the ruling classes are connected by a thousand threads to the world economy and imperialism. The highly developed division of labour in the epoch of imperialism excludes any notion of a successful revolution in one country. The success of the SA revolution will be absolutely dependent on successful revolutions in one or more advanced imperialist-capitalist country and the tangible support of the international working class. The best solidarity with the SA revolution would be a successful socialist revolution in one or more of the imperialist centres.

Jobs for all: reduce the working week, without loss of pay to 35 hours, share the work among all those who can work ; those in the mining and dangerous industries to a 30 hour week (without loss of pay); all work should be divided among all those who can work. In the case of retrenchments the relevant company should be expropriated and placed under workers control [wherever we speak of expropriation in this programme, we mean expropriation without compensation];

A sliding scale of wages and price controls: Presently, the enormous jump in food and energy prices is wreaking havoc to the point of desperation in the lives of the employed and unemployed workers and their families. The capital-labour relations has always been characterised by starvation wages, high prices and exorbitant profits. We demand that wages should increase whenever there are price increases (a sliding scale of wages). No to one- or multiple year agreements. There should be the establishment of workers committees to monitor high prices in every workplace and in every area. reduce the price of basic food by 50%; expropriate without compensation and place under workers' control all food retailers and producers;

Good Housing for all: Housing provision has been priva-

tized and left in the hands of the banks. The state subsidy supports privatized housing as it is completely inadequate for the necessary housing needs of the working class. The profiteering by the developers and the credit Act excludes the vast majority of the working class from adequate housing. Under these circumstances mass homelessness will not only be a permanent feature of capitalist SA but will continue to increase every year. We demand the immediate provision of adequate, low rental housing for all (pensioners, the unemployed and extremely low waged workers to be exempt from rent payment). We demand that all vacant buildings, offices, hotels be expropriated and made available for housing; we demand that vacant office space of big capital, insurance companies, lawyers, accountants be expropriated and made available for housing need; mansions and large estates of the capitalists and the upper middle class be expropriated and made available for housing; dismantling of the group areas and the resettlement of the working class near places of work and in the urban centres; the rural working class should be given permanent security of tenure, the immediate upgrading of their dwellings and expropriation of the buildings of the capitalist landowner and the resettlement of the rural working class in appropriate dwellings.

Expropriate monopoly land owners: 90% of the agricultural land belongs to the commercial monopoly capitalists; the immediate task is to expropriate (without compensation) of all this land and the establishment of workers control; nationalization of the land in the former Bantustans and the return of such land to those who want to continue subsistence farming, with the support of the state through increased allocation of land, implements, credit and seeds, with the vision of encouraging such farmers to form co-operatives and eventually collectives that would be incorporated into the socialist farming collectives.

For a United Palestine: the calling of a debate on sanctions against Israel and promoting immediate workers' sanctions against Israel, Zimbabwe and Swaziland; forward to a united Palestine; forward to working class power in Palestine, Zimbabwe, DRC, Swaziland;

Free liberatory, universal, compulsory Education: The current schooling system is a mechanism for maintaining the class domination of the capitalist class. It places obstacles in the way of the working class as a whole from acquiring scientific knowledge. Universities and their professors currently play the role, by and large, of justifying the system of capitalist exploitation. The first demand on education is that the schooling/education system becomes an organ for the complete abolition of the division of society into classes; it should be an organ of communist regeneration of society. The struggle for this fundamental change of the basis of education goes hand in hand with the struggle for free, compulsory, general and technical education from crèche, kindergarten, pre-school, primary to secondary school. The freeing of women and a special emphasis that the education of children is a social responsibility. All pupils should have their food, clothing, shoes and scholastic equipment provided free by the state. Support for students, especially for working class students to enable them to attend universities; many-sided state aid for the workers, semi-peasants and peasants (such as there are): further education institutions, libraries, adult schools, open universities, courses, lectures, cinemas , etc. The extensive scientific and technical, professional training of all students above the age of 17.

Abolishing of segregated areas: The interconnection of the banks and housing provision means that under capitalism the segregated group areas will remain. This is the objective reality that underlies and perpetuates racism. Side by side with the integrated housing demands as set out in demand 4 above, the demand is made for integrated schools and social amenities and services.

Free universal Health care: Over 70% of the national expenditure on health goes into the private sector. Only 7 out of 45 million people benefit from this. The rest of the people (38 million) face a collapsed health system that makes profits more important than health. We demand that all private hospitals and clinics be expropriated and free health care be provided to all. There needs to be a speedy training of a new generation of socially conscious health workers.

End to Privatization of state assets: In the current period of capitalist decay, the profiteers desperately seek new fields to exploit as they struggle to overcome falling profits. Electricity, public land, schooling, water, health care, social welfare, etc all become targets of the capitalists. We demand the expropriation of all privatized state assets (without compensation) and for them to be placed under working class control.

An end to the stranglehold of imperialism over the economy: All the banks, the major food companies, the big mines, in fact over 80% of the JSE (Johannesburg Stock Exchange) are controlled by imperialist banks and monopolies. These imperialist companies are therefore the primary reason for the mass unemployment, low wages, high prices, mass homelessness, collapse of what little health care there was, super-exploitation of the working masses and oppression of the peasantry across Africa. Imperialism made massive profits during the period of National Party rule, on the back of the most brutal exploitation and slavery of most of the working class. Only when imperialist rule was threatened by revolution in the 1980's did they accept a transition to a limited, bourgeois democratic rule. Now they continue to profit at a rate higher than ever before. We demand the immediate expropriation of all imperialist assets and for them to be placed under working class control.

An end to tribalism and regionalism: For hundreds of years the capitalist class has depended on the mechanism of 'divide and rule'. One such mechanism is the promotion of tribal divisions. The overall result, irrespective of some privileges to one or other group, is the continued poverty of the masses. We demand an end to all tribal councils and their replacement with workers councils, where leadership is elected, subject to instant recall and who receive the average wage of a skilled worker. In fact all elective structures should be on the same basis. All provinces should be disbanded (they are modelled on the lines similar to the ex-Bantustans) and a new system of central planning introduced so that the differences between urban and rural are abolished.

Away with xenophobia: The development of the SA economy has always been based on the labour of workers from all over the world. Workers from Malaysia, China, India, southern Africa, Europe, etc have from time to time played a role in building the economy. Once again, the media and institutions of the capitalists play up artificial, national differences to divide the working class, with the sole objective of maintaining control, ie of ensuring the continuation of exploitation of the entire mass. There are only 400 capitalist families that control the bulk of the world's wealth. The same

imperialists who are behind the wars in Africa and South America, in the Middle East, who are behind the exploitation of workers in every country, are also responsible for the exploitation of the working class in SA. We have more in common with the migrant worker than with the local capitalist. We reject the notion of 'illegal migrants'. We stand for international working class unity in struggle against our common enemy- world imperialism-capitalism. Workers have no country and indeed the world is our home. Our struggle for Socialism cannot be separated from the world struggle for Socialism. In this struggle we stand shoulder to shoulder with all workers of the world.

Equal rights for women: To solve the Gender question we believe that what has been traditionally regarded as 'women's work' should be socialised: We thus demand cheap, public laundries; cheap public restaurants/eating houses; child care and education should be a social responsibility. Nursing mothers should have crèches at their workplace. Light duties should be prescribed pre and post-birth for an adequate period. Housing cleaning should be a collective responsibility.

Federation of Southern African Socialist states: Due to the inter-connection of the Southern African region we stand for the establishment of a federation of Southern African Socialist states as a transition towards a Union of Soviet Socialist states in Southern Africa. At the same time we stand for the establishment of a United Socialist states of Africa. The broader context however, must always be the advancing of the world Socialist revolution, which will not proceed in a straight line but will open up various possible combinations that cannot be determined in advance. At the same time it is imperative to realise that any revolutionary overthrow of capitalist relations in Africa, or anywhere in the neo-colonial world, cannot be sustained without a successful Socialist revolution in one or more of the imperialist centres.

For the formation of workers' defence committees: The capitalists and their agents are launching ongoing attacks against the working class, through high prices, mass retrenchments. The capitalists' desperation for greater profits is increasing. This means that attacks on the working class will intensify and as in the case of Bolivia, may mean the possibility of workers facing armed fascist gangs. It is necessary for workers to become organised in our workplaces and in our communities through setting up of rank-and file defence committees. These committees may become the embryos of workers councils that reflect workers' democracy outside of parliament, and will be the basis of building local, regional, national and international struggles and campaigns.

For the Dictatorship of the proletariat: Change will come outside of and against parliament: In essence, what we stand for is the total transformation of the political-economic-social relations- ie the establishment of working class power. The transition to Socialism can only be through the dictatorship of the proletariat (the dictatorship of the majority), organised in soviets (workers councils), with delegates subject to instant recall, earning the wage of average skilled workers, the disbanding of a standing army and the rule of the armed working class; as opposed to bourgeois parliamentary 'democracy' (in reality the dictatorship of the handful of capitalists) we propose workers councils which will be legislative and executive at the same time.