

CLASS WAR

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Contents:

Marikana Massacre	pg. (1)
Chevron Richmond Refinery	pg. (1)
The Elections	pg. (4)
Defeat Stop and Frisk	pg. (5)
Down with the Sugar Tax	pg. (7)
Occupy May Day/Occupy Lenin	pg.(7)
Letters	pg. (9)
The spit in the HWRS	pg.(12)
Where we stand	pg. (14)

Marikana Massacre

Down with the ANC! For a Workers and Poor Farmers Government

The cold blooded killing of 34 miners by SAP (South African Police) at Marikana on Thursday is a deliberate warning by the ANC (African National Congress) that a militant breakaway of rank and file unions from COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) will not be tolerated. The [evidence](#) is there that the ANC and its SACP (South African Communist Party) leadership instructed the police to 'shoot to kill'. The global crisis has put pressure on ANC to make South African workers pay for the crisis. The militant miners are the vanguard of the proletariat and have begun to break from the Tripartite (ANC/SACP/COSATU) regime.

The militant miners were members of the AMCU (African Miners and Construction Union) a breakaway union that split from NUM (National Union of Miners) [when its founding leader was disciplined](#) by the NUM for leading a 2 week mine occupation for his reinstatement by the company. As the NUM has become more bureaucratized and oriented towards the better paid workers the AMCU has grown to represent the poorest and most militant workers.

This poses a problem for the ANC as imperialism demands that it uses COSATU to discipline the workers but workers are breaking from COSATU to form independent unions to resist paying for the imperialists' crisis.

The ANC has no choice but to try to blame the striking workers and turn other workers against them, and when that fails, to 'shoot to kill'. Thus South Africa is entering a revolutionary situation of open class war to decide which class will control

and benefit from its vast labour and mineral resources.

Imperialists Mine Southern Africa for super-profits

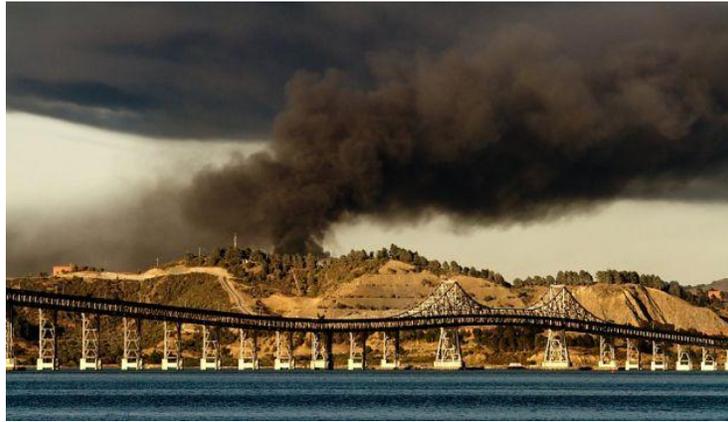


This clearly exposes the role of the ANC as a capitalist party that runs the SA semi-colonial capitalist economy on behalf of international finance capital. (Continue pg. 3)

Chevron Contaminates Richmond! Again! And Again!

Rockefeller's Standard Oil came to Richmond in 1901 but we're here now! Chevron, spawn of Standard Oil, poses as a good neighbor and responsible corporate citizen but actions speak louder than their propaganda puff pieces found in full-page advertisements all their YouTube PR videos. (Continue pg. 2)

The 2012 Richmond fire is the rule not the exception. The Chemical Safety Board investigation showed that the vapor cloud engulfed workers at the plant. Had a spark ignited the vapor cloud we would have had fatalities like those experienced at the Chevron oil rig platform collapse and fire in [Nigeria](#). Chevron's disregard for the communities, for the environment and for the workers is willful, persistent and well documented. "On May 28th, 1998 Nigerian security forces hired, paid for and 'closely supervised' by [Chevron](#) opened fire on peaceful demonstrators on an off-shore barge in the oil-rich Niger Delta, killing two men and injuring at least two more." In Ecuador Chevron runs from its responsibility for poisoning the indigenous people and their Amazon river basin home. Even in the first world in Wales four workers were killed at Chevron's [Pembroke](#) fire last year. Looking at Chevron's cases, the Exxon Valdez and B.P.'s Deep Water Horizon we find criminal neglect is the norm not the exception in this industry.



The disregard for the environment, health and safety which was the norm in the early days of industrialization was never sustainable and is no longer tolerable. Far from the Reaganesque "Morning in America" mythology, our world, run for capitalist profit, now replicates the grade B movie [Zardoz](#) in which the privileged few live far from the polluted environs sustained off the product of the masses' labor while those masses live in the ubiquitous contamination generated by archaic production methods.

Workers and our communities from Richmond to the Amazon, Nigeria, Wales and beyond are subject to the consequences of a hundred years of unsafe practices. Despite federal regulations and mandated standards the capitalist imperative for profit prevents the those standards and best practices from being implemented, just as the big shareholders demand

that the board of directors refuse to bow to any adjudicated liabilities. Control of energy resources is a cornerstone of the capitalist system. Their profits thrust nations into war, they act to crush national and social liberation struggles around the world, and their disregard for the environment has created global warming, poisoned the water and air and threatens our survival. Their survival means our death! Big oil, the energy industry, the military industrial complex and the imperialist war machine take a lion's share of the responsibility to defend Wall Street and the "1%'s" interests from the democratic and economic aspirations of the people.

Today it is Richmond that takes a stand but we know we are not alone here and that our fight is echoed by workers, indigenous and poor people

across the planet. We know our community is connected by the insidious web of capitalist corporate inter-ownership and their thousands of bureaucratic, financial, military and political tentacles to the victims of DOW Chemical's Napalm and Agent Orange used against the Vietnamese, to the Bhopal victims of Union Carbide and to all the willful neglect endemic to the capitalist organization of production.

Our people's lives are too precious, our environment is too fragile and the consequences of the continued rule of the corporations are too dire for us to continue to allow these industries to be run for profit. To apply the highest levels of environmental health & safety standards and practices, these

industries need to be nationalized and the assets of the big ruling class shareholders need to be put use to remediate the damage. Both the remediation and the energy industry itself must be run under democratic working class/community control!

Only the working class and the community can guarantee the highest levels of science, technology, land-use planning, maintenance, and oversight are applied.

Wrestling ownership and control of the energy industry from the profit takers will not be achieved through the ruling class' twin capitalist political parties, the governmental institutions nor as a result of the moral effluvia of the liberals, progressives, Greens, the lawsuits of the NGO's, CBO's and the meditation of the New Age movement combined. This task falls to the self-organization of the working class.

The working class requires its own political party, fighting for the interests of workers, poor farmers and the oppressed internationally. Such a worker's party must not foster reformist illusions in capitalism or its institutions.

Working class action committees initiated in the workplaces, schools, the building of popular assemblies locally, regionally and internationally, are the natural method of working class self-organization. Yet history teaches us the development of local organizations of workers democracy must be coordinated through the work of an international revolutionary workers party, conscious of its historic task, in order to coordinate and guide the working class in the art and science of revolution, leading to the seizure of political and economic power from the capitalists by the working class.

(continue pg.3)

(Chevron Refinery fire continued from pg. 2)

Thus to achieve a clean community in Richmond we fight to:

- **Form up local, national and international rank and file workers, community, student action committees/councils.**
- **To build a workers party independent from the ruling class, to institute the worker's program!**
- **Nationalize Chevron, the entire energy industry, the financial sector, the health care and war equipment industries, with no reimbursement to the big shareholders!**
- **Put the assets under workers/community control and democratic planning!**

(Marikana Massacre continue from pg. 1)

The owners make huge super-profits at the cost of workers poverty and lives. Apartheid slavery was the method used in SA until '94. Equally or more barbaric conditions still exist all over Southern Africa. Africa was divided up by the imperialist powers into many artificial states that cut across whole peoples and nations as well as the rich mineral belts of gold, copper, diamonds, platinum, etc., all plundered by imperialism. Masses of workers migrate across Southern Africa to work for imperialist corporations or traders. In the DRC warlords from Rwanda and Uganda control mining in the North-East while the [Chinese mines](#) flout labour laws in Katanga. In Zimbabwe the army and ZANU-PF control diamonds. In [Zambia](#) and [Tanzania](#) Chinese and other mines have a poor safety record. As the global crisis worsens, we see the [conditions of miners deteriorate](#) across the whole of Southern and Central Africa as the rival imperialist

powers compete to pump surplus profits out of the mines. This means that to defeat imperialism and their client regimes and warlords in Africa, workers have to unite across the colonial borders to create a Socialist Federation of Southern Africa!

Popular Front

The brutality of apartheid gave way in '94 to the 'power sharing government' with the ANC as the party representing the black majority. But the black majority never got to rule. The ANC was formed by the Stalinist SACP as a vehicle for national liberation and the end of white racist capitalist rule. But it could never fulfil this task. Even before it shared power in government with the white bourgeoisie, the ANC was a "popular front party" in which the black working masses were subordinated to a black petty bourgeoisie who aspired to become black capitalists serving imperialist finance capital. The fake Trotskyist left betrayed the socialist revolution and became apologists for the Stalinist ANC popular front. The Cliffite, Mandelite, Barnesite and [Militant](#) tendencies voted for ANC as if it would bring about the 'Freedom Charter'. A few Trotskyist currents such as the British "Workers Power" called for a vote for 'workers candidates' and a break from the ANC. As the Trotskyists predicted, the ANC victory turned 'national liberation' into a new form of imperialist domination and over the last 18 years the ANC has presided over the super-exploitation and impoverishment of the masses while pocketing its share of the spoils of imperialist plunder.

Today the Trotskyist program demands a break from ANC popular front regime. Against the Stalinist lie of bourgeois democracy for the masses we can see that to survive the ANC must use the guns of bourgeois

dictatorship to kill the masses. We reject the call by [Julius Malema](#) for strikes to change the 'corrupt' ANC leadership. He is trying to keep the workers in the popular front to be betrayed again and again. What we call for is a political general strike to bring down the ANC regime to expose it fully as the agent of imperialism. A general strike will force a showdown. The regime is fragile and it will try to use the army to stay in power. We have to spell out that the strike committees and defence guards of today must become workers councils and workers militias, and that the ranks of the army must be won over to defend workers from a military clampdown. This is eminently possible as the rank and file of the military has unionized despite the attempt by the ANC to crush the organizing drive. The unionization of the military drove a wedge between the most militant youth and the leadership of the Tripartite regime. Workers' councils and militias will become the basis of workers power and a Workers and Poor Farmers Government that will empower the working masses to fully participate in the permanent revolution for socialism.

Trotskyist program: Permanent Revolution the order of the day

We support the immediate demands of the [WIVP](#) for workers in all unions and all sectors to go out on strike against this massacre and to form self-defence squads against further repression. We also support the WIVP call to build for a general strike, and to break with the ANC and SACP!

- **General Strike to break with the ANC, Smash the Popular Front!**
- **Down with SACP Stalinist traitors!**

- **Rank and file take control of COSATU, throw out the corrupt leadership!**

But a call for a general strike to break with the ANC must show what will replace this regime. We need socialist demands for workers councils, workers militias, for the ranks of the army to refuse to shoot workers and form soldiers' councils.

- **For a general strike to bring down the capitalist Government and form a Workers' Government!**
- **Build Workers and Soldiers councils, and Workers militias!**
- **For a Workers and Poor Farmers Government!**
- **For a Socialist South Africa in a Socialist Federation of Southern Africa!**
- **For a New World Party of Socialist Revolution.**

*Liaison Committee of Communists.
20 August 2012*

The Franchise and Elections 2012

Until recently we were members of the HWRS we were expelled though it feels like we were sprung from jail(!) on the pretext that we urged a tactic of critical electoral support for SYRIZA upon the Greek workers in an unauthorized departure from HWRS policy toward parties of the 2nd International. Of course SYRIZA is not one of these. The flimsy pretext covered up something else altogether. By pulling this on us they exposed dirt under another side of their carpet, which dirt combined a conception of critical support irrationally weighted on the side of political support with a neo-anarchist contempt for the workers right to the franchise, i.e. to the vote. This, while ultra-lefts sneer at this right and as capitalist political operators attack it everywhere in the US, and even have carried off the

passing of onerous voter ID laws in twelve states.

A constitutional challenge to the particularly reactionary Pennsylvania voter ID law just failed in court. Building Trades Department unions protested this ruling in Philadelphia, Pa. on August 11th, but shot themselves in the foot right away making a “support the friends of labor” rally out of the militant protest. Members did get to see one more time that the bureaucrat “leadership” are more Democratic Party than UNION! The very thing we need the most—class political independence—is what they have none of.

Still the franchise itself is a right to be extended and defended to those who have never had it, even low this many years after the “Voting Rights Act of 1965.” We would wish that there was a fighting workers labor party on the ballot everywhere to champion every struggle of our social class and all the oppressed.

Within such a party we would fight for a transitional program, exactly as outlined by Leon Trotsky in “How to Fight for A Labor Party in the US,” in March 1938. In such a party we would fight all delusions about a peaceful electoral road to socialism, whether of the linear extension of democracy or the accumulation of reforms or any other pipe dream type.

Because no such independent party of the working class exists and because the principal work of one would be propaganda and agitation for extra-parliamentary militant direct action, we have to consider whom and what we could vote for, in the circumstances of the Presidential carnival and the rest of this rigmarole

where the “choices” we get to select are exclusive of what’s good for us.

We **can** vote as a protest and a poll for candidates of the left groupusules.

We had hoped to convince some of their candidates to popularize and otherwise involve their campaigns in supporting the Sean Gillis case, defending the Marikana miners against the South African state, and championing the rights of the Palestinian people in condemning Zionism. We have had no luck yet and will make no endorsement until and unless we do. The reader can be guided by her/his own conscience/consciousness re critical support. Our criticism would surely



hang the political projects of parties like the Peace and Freedom Party and the Freedom Socialist Party who can not bring themselves to champion **all** class war fighters.

We find no useful reasoning to support bond measures or propositions that tax or insure indebtedness for the tax payer, either the workers or even the dodging rich, to pay the bills of the graft machines that are the state governments. Taxing the rich as some propose (the millionaires tax) moves the bourgeois money clip from one pocket to the other, in conditions where all public education and social services are being abolished and no mechanism is in place to enforce the

(continue page 5)

(The Franchise Cont. from page 4)

spending of specific levies on their dedicated purposes. Nor would such legal mechanisms be approved by any professional flimflammers, by the politicians. So Jerry Brown blackmails parents in California with proposition 30. The parents' tax increase in this plan would supposedly replace the money Brown's own budget took from the schools! The governors reps and the Democrat US Senators also threaten, saying that more than one measure on the ballot to support school funding will mean that no measure will pass.

Of course that's just more blackmail. This is aimed at supporters of proposition 38, backed by the PTA of California, which would "tax the rich" for twelve years—but not beginning this year!—with the result that shortfalls would give the go ahead for all the school cuts included in **Brown's budget!** Who can win this game? Certainly you can't! Not in the voting booth!

The capitalists seek to "dumb down" your kids to prepare them for a degraded life in sweat shops and shantytown. Or the prison industrial complex. Or for cannon fodder for a war with China and Russia to re-divide the worlds markets. You do not have to accept this. To effectively resist their plans for your kids, electoral politics will play only a minor part in what we as a class will do. Principally we will vote with our feet, sometimes on the streets, more and more in our work places. We need to prepare a General Strike movement to establish a changed relationship of forces in favor of the working class. We need General Strikes of unspecified duration to beat back the austerity and privatization attacks. Ultimately we can not finish with living under incessant bourgeois attacks until we have a worker's government. And for that we must have self organized workers power, workers councils with workers militias to back them up, replacing the capitalist class dictatorship with the exclusive power of our own state. Then you yourself will decide on

every important matter. And as the occupy saying goes, **"You will vote every day."**

NO STOP AND FRISK, DEFEAT RACIAL PROFILING, COPS OUT OF SCHOOLS! COPS OFF PUBLIC TRANSIT!

Organize Political Strikes Against Racist Cop & Vigilante Killings! Organize multiracial labor/community self defense guards!

Last year, on July 16, 2011 the [unarmed Kenneth Harding Jr.](#), 19, was shot in the back, by the SFPD, for allegedly not paying the \$2.00 fare on the MUNI "T" line.) This murder enraged the Black and Brown communities beleaguered by unending racist cop and vigilante murders, like those of Oscar Grant, Raheim Brown Jr., Luther Brown, James Rivera and now Alan Blueford, Derrick Gaines and the list of victims keeps growing by latest estimates one every 32 hours!

These murders took place on streets or in schools you all know, but only a little further afield in other victimized communities like yours, rightist racist vigilantes and neo-Nazis express themselves politically with gunplay and rising fatalities. These events took place in an atmosphere of approving police opinion, where a Black or a Brown person is killed by cops once every 32 hours nationwide and the corporatists' campaign* for "Stand Your Ground" laws.

Thus we have the Trayvon Martin

murder in Florida and the attack on the Sikh Temple in Michigan to accompany Bloomberg's NYPD snooping and harassment campaign against Muslims (illegal secret NYPD agents cross the river into New Jersey!) No paranoia or hysteria is involved in noting that the prison guards have been the recruiting ground of the Nazi party for a generation and they are recruiting police nowadays and sending their youth into the army (and not just in Greece, as the papers would have you think and where the fascist Golden Dawn party got more than half the police vote.)

We stand shoulder to shoulder with the activists, friends and family of the Kenneth Harding Jr. Foundation,



Occupy, Decolonize Oakland, and Labor Black and Brown who shut down a section of MUNI in a direct action on the July 16th anniversary. Today we stand with the street actions of blue collar Anaheim, CA, which challenged the racist police murders of Manuel Diaz and Joel Acevedo. This can happen in your neighborhood tomorrow!

Like foxes guarding the hen houses, the reformists, church leaders, pacifists and the petty bourgeoisie generally want to channel your anger off of the streets and into electoral frauds and phony Police Review Commissions. This flimflam was put over in New York in the Lindsay era (1966-73) for that purpose. We remember the "Civilian Complaint

Review Board” like we remember the victims and we say *“don’t fall for it!”*

We ask where is the revolutionary party of the working people and the oppressed? We ask because like such a party we and only some few other individuals call for Labor-initiated, Community/Labor Defense Guards for the neighborhoods targeted by the capitalists for racist terror. This terrorism is a policy. It has the overarching purpose of revitalizing racist ‘white skin privilege’ among suckers and shopkeepers, of frightening the white elderly into believing they must identify with the “haves” of America and their police, and to mask real racketeering of government institutions (see the Sean Gillis story.) We want to build such a party to unite the working class and its allies for the defeat of all oppression and its root causes in the dictatorship of the capitalist/imperialist elites.

Learning from the ILWU October 23rd 2010 political strike to Jail Killer Cops who murdered Oscar Grant, the James Rivera family, in Stockton called for a **"May 31st General Strike demanding: No Work, No Schools, Shut it Down!"** It was in this spirit that the July 16th MUNI shut down was called. The movement against racist terror is beginning to look to strike actions to shut the bosses system down! Labor must reestablish its leading role in the defense of the most oppressed and organize the fight against racist terror across the entire working class.

Networking of the families of victims of racist state and vigilante murder is essential and building. But the victims’ families cannot win justice alone! The weight of organized labor arm in arm with the Black and Brown communities is required to end racist vigilante and cop terror/murder. Only by united action can labor, Black and Brown people defeat the terrorism capitalism uses to demobilize us!

Rather than adopting the families of the victims as “labor’s own” as our motto **“AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!”** demands, the class collaborationist labor fakers who

have captured our unions run from the families of the murdered Black and Brown youth. It is against the interests of labor to ignore the victims of racist capitalism’s state terror. Ignoring our class duty to the most oppressed perpetuates a slave mentality that arrests the development of class unity and class consciousness.

The enforcement of austerity on the working class and poor is carried out internationally as the capitalists seek to boost their profits in a world crisis of their system. The violence of the state against our youth is how the ruling class acts to prevent labor, Black and Brown awakening and unification. The capitalist class is afraid of multi-racial working class unity in action for good reason!

To survive labor must organize alongside the terrorized Brown and Black communities, **achieve political independence from the bosses twin capitalist parties and develop a transitional program to help the masses progress from where we find ourselves now to the logic of smashing the capitalist state through the building of our own working class democratic organizations.**

To be successful we must unite rank and file workers by building class struggle caucuses in our unions which initiate anti-racist self-defense and strike actions! We need to build action committees, factory committees, workers and oppressed peoples’ local, regional, national and international assemblies to organize our own self defense. These will challenge the controlling power of the 1%.

Self-organization, indefinite general strikes and insurrection are all tools the working class will need to employ to end racist capitalism. Multi-racial class unity in action is the glue that builds our movement. To unite the entire class around a winning program we need to build a revolutionary workers party based on the method of the 1938 Transitional Program of the 4th International.

Defend Fly Benzo Bayview/Hunter

Point persecuted community activist and leader! Hands off Sean Gillis who exposed the Oakland EMT for failure to investigate the withholding of medical treatment for Oscar Grant! Rehire Dorian Maxwell who blew the whistle on MUNI unsafe conditions.

Develop transitional demands that link immediate needs to the logic of a workers government:

- **Cops off public transit! Cops out of schools! End stop and frisk nationwide!**
- **Form up labor Black & Brown defense guards at our union halls and in our communities to defend our communities from racist killer cops, vigilantes, scabs, union-busters, KKK and neo-Nazi's.**
- **Establish labor Black & Brown tribunals to arrest and try killer cops, vigilantes, scabs, union-busters, KKK and neo-Nazi's.**
- **Demand labor federations form up unions of the unemployed and precarious workers!**
- **Free Public transit for youth and unemployed.**
- **End school closures! End charter schools and university privatization! Nationalize private educational institutions run all education under student, parent, teacher, worker’s control!**
- **Free education from day care to university level. Open admissions and free tuition!**
- **Jobs for all at union rate! Share the work! 30 hours work for 40 hours pay! For a sliding scale of wages & prices--abolish poverty!**
- **Build a general strike movement to prepare the indefinite General Strike!**

Communist Workers Group
www.cwgusa.wordpress.com
August 18, 2012



DOWN WITH THE BOSSES SUGAR TAX & BOTTLE BILL

We think you should vote down the “sugar tax” and “big bottle” bill on the two coasts. This started as another one of Mayor Blumberg’s “nanny state” ideas whose time has never come. In New York this proposal would hit 32 oz soda bottles, exactly the size families buy to economize. In Richmond California, under the leadership of the Green Party the ostensibly left Solidarity in their cross class alliance, the Richmond Progressive Alliance, has outdone even Bloomberg in absurdity with a tax on all soda bottles at the rate of .01 per oz.(!!) Since tastes have **never** had anything to do with laws (think of “obscenity laws,”) in the entire history of bourgeois rule, we think this is another regressive, ghetto/barrio tax a racist supertax.

The scientific fig leaf provided by bought dieticians—unless they are political chumps—concerning “fighting childhood obesity” is completely beside the point. We were just reminded by the Weather Channel that New York had the hottest summer since 1936, and the US had the hottest summer ever recorded. This reminded us that in 1936, when the working

class was forging the CIO in that heat, a frightened bourgeoisie was building playgrounds, athletic parks and swimming pools all over America’s cities and the vanguard was attempting to integrate them.

That was when US imperialism was on the rise, even as it was in a deeper depression than this one. Now it is in decline, has trouble selling its goods and at making capital flow at all. Then they were frightened by the General Strike in France (1936.) Now they are in a mean frame of mind, much like the French capitalists were then and they plan to take it out on us. This tax is an example of that meanness. ***Don’t go for it!***

Occupy May Day! Occupy Lenin!

*Reprinted from CWG/ANZ blog
<http://livingmarxism.wordpress.com/>*

First, let’s get this idea that Occupy is finished out of the way. It hasn’t finished and this is why. You can’t evict an idea when that idea is to make the Bankers pay for their crisis. They won’t and they can’t without renouncing the whole basis of capitalism – making profits. Therefore Occupy is forced to confront the system in all of its dirt and blood. Physically Occupy lives on in the many actions and meetings that are taking place globally. Occupy is outreaching to working class struggles in workplaces, education, housing, unions, media etc and much of this activity is live-streamed, twitted or blogged continuously.

The #Occupy Mayday General Strike call is an attempt at a global general strike. There is [intense political](#) and [theoretical discussion](#) among liberals, radicals and Marxists about what Occupy is, its class composition, its demands, its prospects, and so on. This is not new as liberals, radicals and Marxists have had to debate Occupy’s progenitors – the Arab Revolution and the

[European revolt](#) of the Indignados and the [British youth riots](#). So what do revolutionary communists make of Occupy as a social movement and the ideological struggle between reformists, radicals and revolutionaries?

The reformists want to suck occupy back into legislative politics on the instalment plan. Bad! The radicals want a movement of the streets and workplaces that occupies everything. Good! But can the mass radical movement resist the reformists without an organized, disciplined leadership? As Bolshevik/Leninists we say that Marxism does not spontaneously grow on the streets under attacks from the cops. You can be academically anti-capitalist like Chomsky or violently anti-capitalist like black bloc without understanding what capitalism is.

Those who want to challenge capitalism [have to take power](#) and that means the class conscious, organized armed insurrection to take power. So how is the revolutionary left working towards this? Let’s look at a discussion kicked off by Pham Binh that is directed at the failure of the organized ‘Leninist’ left to relate to Occupy fruitfully. Binh argues that is because today’s Leninists are a caricature of Lenin. He remonstrates that Lenin would have done a much better job. So the question is what would Lenin have done? At its heart this is the question posed by many revolutionaries today. Let’s look at the three positions in turn.

Reformists co-opting occupy?

The reformists in Occupy are trying to turn Occupy into a support base for the re-election of Obama. Leading this co-option is the 99Spring which is a “campaign” fronted by organizations like Move-On, Jobs with Justice, Greenpeace and others who have signed the [99% Spring pledge?](#)



It claims to be a broad base movement based on the grass roots. The 99% Spring label attempts to trade off both the Arab Spring and the 99% concept of Occupy. Yet it's objective is to coopt Occupy behind Obama. That is why it has not endorsed the MayDay General Strike. That is the test. Since the call for the reclaiming of MayDay is a radical initiative to put International Workers Day on the agenda of Occupy and making clear that Occupy and the base of the labor movement must join forces, this will embarrass the machine politics of the Democrats. So 99Spring is using its training schools for "nonviolent direct action" as a way to divert Occupy from MayDay. There is also the Occupy NATO in Chicago, but that would be too close to the bone for the party of Bomber Obama!



At the same time we don't want to write off Occupy just because it has a large number of reformists. This is a factor of the backwardness of US political culture where no workers party exists and the weak unions act as conveyor belts into the Democrat Party. But Occupy signals a huge upwelling of anger at the effects of the capitalist crisis especially as it effects middle class youth. The whole point is that Occupy has the capacity to develop into a revolutionary movement.

But first it has to outgrow its reformist limits, and this is made more difficult when some radicals inside Occupy do not present a clear alternative to the Democrats. This is the result of adopting key electoral slogans like Tax Capital or Tax the Rich that are directed at the political parties. On top of that there are prominent supposed

radicals like Chomsky, who when it comes to the election will give critical support to the Democrats.

[Chomsky](#) is a classic case of the celebrity anarchist who is trapped in the petty bourgeois politics of

individualism that offers no way out of the existing state apparatus other than to adapt to it. Much pseudo radicalism is based on the notion of 'horizontalism' ostensibly directed at the 'hierarchy' of political parties. It implies Occupy can operate without a leadership and function on the basis of direct democracy. It can build a 'counter-power' that does not need to challenge the bosses' state power. But inevitably if you don't contest the power of the state uncompromisingly then you end up joining that state. Chomsky and Co are the reverse side of the anarchist coin to the Black Bloc. Both offer no alternative to capitalism because they have no program to replace it.

Radicals: Occupy Mayday!

Occupy proved in a few short weeks that the reformist platform is bankrupt. This is why reformists like Hedges attacked the Black Bloc. But the Black Bloc is an easy target and does not represent more than a tiny minority of Occupy. The reformists have more difficulty in neutralizing the real breakthrough which is the [radical unity of Occupy with union rank and file](#). This proved to be the 'circuit breaker' that built mass support for port closures and forced the ILWU union bosses to expose themselves as in the bosses' pocket at Longview. That is to say, as soon as Occupy, rebounding from the vicious attacks of the state forces, joined up with the militant union rank and file, the reformist's strategy to recruit Occupy to Obama was blown out.

What was blown out was the pacifist politics of electoralism where 'Violence' is reserved for Obama's bombs and drones. In its place Occupy found that the mass picket justifies violence in defense of the 99%, and in the process confronting state violence put them in solidarity with the 'wildcat' strike at [Longview!](#) The linking of Occupy and the ILWU rank and file at Longview also exposed the union officials who panicked by the fear of losing control of

the dispute signed a sell-out deal with the EGT bosses. To its credit [Portland Occupy](#) who were not shown the rotten terms of this deal, saw it as a small victory as part of the ongoing war against the 1%. There is a long way to go to build solidarity to the point where the unions take strike action against Taft-Hartley and return to the militancy of the early days of the US labor movement.

The Occupy decision to reclaim MayDay as a general strike follows directly from the experience of solidarity with workers in struggle. It's a first attempt at a national strike which falls far short of a general strike. But it is a political strike that prepares the ground for a political general strike at the power of the 1%. But the labor solidarity at Longview and other struggles may not lead directly to militant class conscious struggle in the ranks of the unions or Occupy unless revolutionaries intervene directly. This is because neither the unions or Occupy as yet has a Marxist analysis which explains that the labor bureaucracy act as the labor lieutenants of capital that keep the unions confined to the labor law. The labor bureaucracy is no friend of the workers!

As Earl Gilman says, "Yes, labor unions of course are prohibited from striking for political demands...they are prohibited from striking to support other unions, etc. The list of legal prohibitions on unions goes on and on..." *(cont. pg.9)*

The reason the unions in the U.S. are gradually dying is because they obey the law. The law was made by the rich to protect themselves from the poor. The auto workers who occupied the Detroit auto plants were defying the law. John L. Lewis, when he was head of the miners during the Second World War, called strikes in defiance of the law. I don't think we on the Left should let the labor bureaucracy off the hook...so the courts throw them in jail for a few days...so what? But we have to educate/prepare/organize workers that defying the bosses' laws are the only way to save their jobs. Thanking the union bureaucracy for "supporting" the movement with resolutions is political bootlicking!"

Fortunately Occupy has labor solidarity groups like #OOLaborsolidarity where revolutionaries can put [forward analyses](#) of what must be done. It requires the revolutionary Marxists to speak plainly and tell the truth. So this means Marxists advocating [labour solidarity actions](#) that unite workers' strikes against the employers with Occupy's commitment to 'breaking the law' to [advance the 99%](#). In essence it means making Occupy MayDay General Strike the [launching pad](#) for an unlimited political general strike for an insurrection to bring down the ruling class and put a Workers' and Oppressed peoples' Government in power!

The radical reclaiming of MayDay by Occupy is an attempt to generalize this revolutionary thrust. But it's not enough. Lenin and Trotsky recognized the limits of Trade Union Consciousness as falling short of revolutionary consciousness. Trade unions operate as economist institutions that negotiate wages but do not fight to end the wage system! Without a revolutionary Marxist party neither the unions or Occupy can develop beyond an [economist consciousness of capitalism](#) into a class conscious revolutionary movement. Let's examine this point

because it is central to the debate on what kind of revolutionary party is needed to lead workers to revolution.

What would Lenin have done?

The need for a revolutionary Marxist party is the need for a revolutionary Marxist program. Capitalism throws up a smoke screen that hides the class basis of exploitation. A Marxist program proves that capitalism cannot be reformed and that to survive the working class must become class conscious and overthrow it. The program also spells out how to go about making a revolution. Such a program needs to be kept alive and kicking by a revolutionary party.



Whether a program works or not is decided by testing it in practice. So a revolutionary party must be organized to put the program into practice, and to change it if it doesn't work. The Marxist left sees the need for leadership and a revolutionary party, but what does this party look like. There are two basic models of a Marxist party. The first is a 'class party' (or "multi-tendency" party) including reformists, radicals and Marxists. The second is the so-called 'vanguard' party of class conscious Marxists. The question of how Marxists should intervene in Occupy has raised this question again. And the advocates of both types of party both [claim to be Leninists](#).

For the class party side is [Pham Binh](#) who argues against le Blanc and others that the idea that Lenin built a new type of vanguard party is a myth. He claims Lenin didn't form a party of Bolsheviks separate from the broad party of the class in 1905 or 1912. The Bolsheviks in 1905 were a small minority inside the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (RSDWP) which was a mass party including a number of currents which shifted course so that both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks (minority) were never actually distinct or separate parties.

What Binh is arguing here is that today left parties are tiny sects modelling themselves on the mythical

Leninist 'vanguard' and [competing in a sectarian way](#) to win support in Occupy and meeting resistance. He looks back to Leninism as he understands it for the model of a broad class party, that contains workers at different levels of political consciousness, where the different factions compete to demonstrate how a Marxist program can be applied to solve the problems of the 99%.

There is some truth in this as the Bolsheviks did function as a faction in the old RSDWP until 1917. Yet that faction acted more as a vanguard party within a much broader party from 1905 when it declared itself to be a separate party, and after 1912 when it

actually became a separate party. The Bolsheviks growing split from the Mensheviks was necessary to defend the Marxist program. The basis on which the Bolsheviks formed a faction/party distinct from the rest in the RSDWP was a programmatic principle: the refusal to 'liquidate' *(cont. pg. 10)*

(Occupy Mayday cont. from pg. 9)

the proletarian class into subordination and even political alliances with the exploiting classes. In other words the Bolshevik faction stood for the [independence of the workers](#) as the revolutionary class against those who 'liquidated' this class independence

into cross-class or popular fronts with the bourgeoisie. Allied to the 'liquidators' were the 'conciliators' who while formally opposed to liquidation, in practice vacillated towards the 'liquidators'. The liquidators in various degrees all took the Menshevik position that 'backward' Russia would have to go through a prolonged bourgeois revolution before it was ready for a socialist revolution.

The long battle against 'liquidationism' faced the critical test over the question of whether the RSDWP would give 'conditional support' to the bourgeois Provisional Government in Russia after the February 1917 Revolution. Up to that point the Bolsheviks had won support for a Bourgeois revolution led by the workers and peasants (the 'Revolutionary Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasants') since the bourgeoisie was too weak and dependent on Tsarism. The Bolsheviks would give 'conditional support; to a bourgeois government 'insofar as it acts in the interests of the revolution'. That is, mobilise workers and peasants to control it and push it left (for peace, land, and bread) to complete the tasks of the Bourgeois revolution and so prepare for the socialist revolution.

Yet when the workers rose up in February and a Bourgeois provisional government was formed Lenin rejected 'conditional support' for this government as 'liquidation' into the class enemy. He argued that the working class was capable of completing the bourgeois revolution 'uninterrupted', or in Trotsky's terms, in a 'permanent revolution' for socialism. Subordinating the workers and peasants to the Provisional Government would leave workers defenceless against a Bourgeois/Tsarist counter-revolution. There would be no peace, land or bread. No road forward to socialism, only back to barbarism.

The lesson for Leninism in Occupy today is that after 1903 the Bolsheviks formed a faction in which the principle of revolutionary independence of the working class against any political alliances that subordinated it to the bourgeoisie was the test of membership. When revolution broke out in Russia the Bolsheviks had the history of building an organisation with a long experience of both democracy and discipline to act to defend this principle and change its program from one which involved a 'popular front' with the bourgeoisie, to that of socialist revolution. The change in program defeated the counter-revolution and made the revolution. So if this is the Leninist party we need today how do we go about building it?

Lenin in Occupy

The global capitalist system is facing a terminal crisis. The world economy must go through a deep depression to restore the rate of profit. No bourgeois or capitalist party can stop this, only a working class revolution. We face socialism or barbarism. The bourgeoisie cannot rule without invoking extreme repression, first smashing of democracy and then unless workers stop it, fascism. The workers cannot live with capitalism. For workers to live, capitalism must die. Lenin would call it a revolutionary situation where the extreme rottenness of global capitalism threatens destruction of humanity and where the working class is ready and willing to fight to the death but has yet to overcome a huge lack of class consciousness and organisation.

So Lenin would recognise Occupy as a spontaneous mobilisation of objectively anti-capitalist youth and other workers but with its majority trapped into an economist ideology and still misled about the possibility of reforms. However the severity of the crisis means that the capitalist attacks and resistance of Occupy to them will quickly prove that the capitalists must destroy rather than grant reforms. One

term of Obama has gone a long way to destroy economist illusions. Several social democratic government in Europe have been voted out after imposing drastic austerity programs. Even so the reformists are fighting like hell to hijack Occupy and stop its revolutionary development. So Leninists must join in this fight against all attempts to subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie via the Democrats, Social Democracy and the labour bureaucracy, and raise instead the need to build an independent mass workers party with a revolutionary program.

Leninism is about how Marxists lead in the wider working class struggles. This means a program for socialist revolution. It means to fight against today's liquidators and conciliators who want to bury the Marxist program into the popular front of the workers, petty bourgeois and bourgeois elements who make up the 99%. Leninists intervene to oppose the politics of all those who claim to be anti-capitalist yet act as the agents of the popular front with the bourgeoisie.

Lenin's tactic of a Bolshevik faction engaging in patient explanation combined with contesting the leadership of the class struggle would weed out those among the 99% who are agents of the bourgeoisie. Cops, Ron Paulites, libertarians, etc. yes. But more dangerous are those that pose as workers. We oppose pacifist and reformist appeals to the 1%, the cops, the middle class, the Democrats, Social Democracy and the labour bureaucrats of the trade union federations.

We do this by calling on Occupy to follow Occupy Oakland's lead and unite with the union rank and file members to Occupy all the strategic sites of production of profits – the workplaces, the banks, transport and communications, schools, hospitals etc – to demand workers administration and control. Reformists will oppose such direct action, and radicals will join with Leninists to build workers councils and workers militias (Cont. pg. 11)

capable of smashing the capitalist state and installing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

We advocate reading Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, and [Luxemburg](#) but not the petty bourgeois radicals [Zizek](#) or [Chomsky](#), [Bourdieu](#) or [Badiou](#). The latter offer no revolutionary answers as in their various ways they oppose the Leninist-type party and the practice of democratic-centralism. For us the only way that the Marxist program can be tested is if a majority agrees to unite in action to test it, and then to debate the results democratically to see if it works or not. That is the basis of democratic centralism, or, dialectics – which in its highest form is the class conscious intervention of the vanguard of the working class to resolve the contradiction between socialized production and private profit by means of a socialist revolution.

That is the method of Leninists in Occupy. The crisis of capitalism is destroying the working class and driving it to resist its destruction. Leninists are Marxists; we do not separate ourselves from the masses, but champion their class interests locally and globally. We intervene only to help workers become class conscious fighters, organized in strike committees, democratic councils of action, defense militias, and as militants of an international party of socialist revolution, able to unite internationally as a force to smash the capitalist system and its military machine and replace it with a socialist society producing for need and not profit!

**Turn Occupy into revolutionary workers councils!
For a new World Party of Socialist Revolution!**

Letters:

Could the Caterpillar strike been won?

The IAM struck one plant in Joliet, Ill. But Caterpillar says it has 500 factories, service centers, dealers throughout the world. It just opened a new factory in China. Striking one factory of a multi-national corporation is an exercise in futility.

Of course, striking other factories,

service centers, etc. would have probably resulted in defying the Taft-Hartley Law. But unions will continue to be defeated if they obey laws and injunctions that benefit only capitalists. Caterpillar is carrying out



CLASS WAR against its workers, but the present union leaders think they can negotiate contracts without winning strikes because the union lawyers tell them to.

The current unions in the U.S. are negotiating themselves into non-existence. If we are save the unions, we will need a different kind of union: like when the auto workers in 1937 occupied the auto plants....

Earl Gilman
August 18, 2012

It appears that the indigenous movement in Colombia is being used by the Colombian government. "Peace" of the

oppressors is the perpetuation of exploitative capitalism. There is a class war taking place in Colombia: the guerrilla movement may have made mistakes but I believe we should support them in their struggle. The danger is a repetition of "Peace Accords" as in El Salvador, which did not punish the right wing death squads and where the system continues the policies of neo-liberalism under a so called "progressive" President.

Earl Gilman
August 12, 2012

The "ObamaCare" Sham

The New York Times 8/12 published an article entitled: "Ambiguity in Health Law Could Make Family Coverage Too Costly For Many":

"Under rules proposed by the service (IRS), some working class families would be unable to afford family coverage offered by their employers, and yet they would not qualify for subsidies provided by the law....Critics say the administration should also take into account of the costs of covering a spouse and children because family coverage usually costs more....Under the IRS proposal, such costs would

be deemed affordable for a family making \$35,000 a year, even though the family would have to spend 12% of its income for full coverage under the employer's plan. The debate over the meaning of affordable pits the Obama administration against its usual allies. Many people who support the new law said the proposed rules could leave millions of people in the lower middle class uninsured...."

Many advocates of the "Affordable Care Act" have seen it as a step forward and have given up on "Single Payer". But we are now in a capitalist crisis where "reforms" may not be reforms at all or they are given to us with one hand and taken back with another. It appears we may need a

REVOLUTION to even get genuine reforms!

EARL GILMAN

August 12, 2012

The CWG USA, publisher of CLASS WAR has recently emerged from within the ranks of the Humanist Workers for Revolutionary Socialism (HWRS). A bitter factional fight resulted in the expulsion of the comrades who founded the CWG. The following is a letter explaining the CWG A/NZ's view of the split. The CWG US is build the Liaison Committee of Communists alongside the comrades of the CWG A/NZ & RWG (Zim) as a step toward the founding of a new communist international.

Dear Comrades of the HWRS,

We don't claim to have all the documents or correspondence around recent developments in HWRS. We have some of the pre-congress documents forwarded by CR and DJC. And we have a certain amount of email correspondence, including two letters from DW to CWG and to DB personally. We also draw on our common experience in the Liaison Committee since mid 2010 and our experience from our joint work around the LRCI in 1990-91 and the Liaison committee between CEMICOR and Workers Voice in 1997-8. We will however try to keep this letter tight and to the point.

On the basis of what we have read we have come to the conclusion that the factional fight in the HWRS is another instance of an internal fight that leads to an unnecessary split. In our view the two sides to this dispute remain factions of HWRS and recourse to formal rules of majorities and minorities of one, two or three, only makes an unnecessary split appear inevitable. Let's start with what the two factions have in common and then see how differences blew up to bring about an unnecessary split. Then we can conclude with a proposed solution.

The pre-congress documents

circulated during May raised many important questions about how to overcome the problems facing the small group.

DW's contribution "What must be Done?" argued that given the lack of commitment of members, the group needed to put its efforts into contacts, recruitment and educationals. Someone needed to organise this. Without this the group would remain Menshevik rather than Bolshevik. 'Mass work' in unions was not possible until the group got bigger. "Personal commitment" was the immediate priority of members. The fact that DW wrote a pre-congress discussion paper indicates that he was planning to return to membership.

SH's "Balance sheet" also identified lots of problems but also important gains, and it too saw trade union caucus work as beyond the capacity of a small group. Lack of organisation too was the main issue.

CR and DJC in "Tasks and Perspectives" argued that it was necessary to develop theoretical and practical work in tandem, trade union work was part of that necessary practical work, lack of a full time leadership was a problem but the real problem was lack of commitment of individual members.

Up to that point no problems had been identified out of the ordinary for any small struggling propaganda group.

CR and DJC then went on in another document on 'Alienation' to try to identify what was causing the failure of particular members to commit to active membership. DW was seriously sick and had resigned. SH although a member had personal reasons for not being active. EB a supporter was more interested in his social life than politics. This left CR and DJC (the two EC members) and the newly recruited CD as the only active members.

The EC then talked of the 'elephant in the room' as the problem that was behind the inability of the group to

function effectively. This was the tendency of DW, despite being on sick leave for long periods of time since 2009 when the group became active again, and currently not a member, to dominate the group.

They spoke of DW being an expert in alienation who was advanced in theory and method, and yet at the same time expressed alienated behaviour in the form of his 'egoism' in dominating members and preventing them from developing as fully functioning members. In particular they said that DW dominated his partner SH and held back her development as a full member.

Although this was a strong criticism, in itself it was within the scope of a frank internal pre-congress discussion when Marxists have to be brutally honest in their criticism of the material bases of deficiencies. Moreover the reference to alienation as an explanation for the groups dysfunction can be seen as not a personal attack on DW but a particular problem all members shared since as they had put up with DW's egoism for years and were therefore alienated co-dependents.

DW, however, saw these criticisms as a personal attack, and because the EC compared his alienated behaviour to Healyite and even Stalinist practices (a clumsy comparison in our view) took it to be personal slander demanding a Control Commission to look at the evidence and come to a decision. In response the EC said that it would not meet with those who accused it of slander unless the charge was withdrawn.

At this point the publication of an article written by the EC for the RWG newspaper *Revolutionary Worker* on the Greek elections became a new issue. DW opposed the EC article because a late amendment calling for 'critical support' tactic for Syriza it had not been discussed with all members. DW accused the EC of being undemocratic in failing to discuss an amendment to HWRS program.

DW then 'rejoined', sympathiser EB was made a member, and the four signatories, DW, SH, CD and EB published an alternative 'majority' position on Syriza refusing to give critical support and calling for an unlimited general strike. What was a tactical difference now resulted in two public positions on Syriza signalling a deeper disagreement which led to both CWG and a member of GB (France) to write that this tactical difference was not the basis for a split.

The EC members rejected the charge of lack of democracy over the article. They said they had applied the HWRS method on critical support in the case of Syriza. And in any case it was a tactical question which as the EC they were authorised to take. DW then accused the EC of Stalinism, cowardice, etc. in refusing to debate the political question of critical support. The EC said it would not discuss politics with those who accused them of slander. DW offered to withdraw his accusation of slander but reserve the right to take it to a CC after the congress. The EC said withdraw it in total and we will discuss Syriza even with someone who is still a *non-member*.

The EC declared that SH and CD who were members, and DW who had resigned for health reasons in February, and EB who was a supporter now constituted an "inside/outside" faction as they had broken Leninist norms to create a 'majority' of the HWRS. The EC did not recognise any meetings between these individuals and asked that members SH and CD dissociate themselves from the charge of slander and meet with the EC which they failed to do.

The new 'majority' of HWRS then expelled the 'former' EC for a breach in democratic centralism. The internal discussion on alienation had now become a public dispute over democratic centralism. There were now two public factions of HWRS, the 'majority' and the 'EC'. There were more exchanges on email lists and in some public meetings over method of work in trade unions, gangs, community groups, etc. where the two

factions had, apparently, different ideas. These 'differences' like that of critical support for Syriza however, were no more than would have been normal in any functional let alone dysfunctional group except now they were infused with public factional content in two rival HWRS groups.

In our view, the two factions are still adhering to the program and method of HWRS even if that common approach is now poisoned by strong feelings of personal insult and slander. We can see no programmatic reason why the HWRS shouldn't make a big effort in the interests of the international proletariat and try to resolve these differences. They stem from a dysfunctional group where most if not all the active work was loaded onto two comrades in the EC. Even with DW on leave or out of membership the EC came under criticism for 'mass work' when that mass work was necessary to keep in touch with potential contacts and recruits. As a result those comrades felt they were still under the domination of the physically disabled historic leader in absentia. When they honestly ventured to get to what they saw as the root of the problem and confront the leader in the terms of the theory of alienation that he had himself developed, DW 'saw red' and turned the pre-congress discussion into a personal attack on himself and his political reputation and pursued a split to remove his critics.

DW needs to recognise the effects that his long-term disability on his role and functioning in the HWRS, and that this has disqualified him from acting as the main leader. Like anyone isolated from the active struggle, DW's isolation from events has led him to take sectarian, abstract positions on most questions, Syriza being the latest. It is not the activism or 'opportunism' of the EC that is the problem. As the EC argues, activity in the class struggle is the only course to overcome elements of alienation short of socialism. Inactivity compounds the alienating pressures of capitalist society. For sure having written

strongly about alienation would be hard for DW to have this very good theoretical work reflected back as a weakness. It would be difficult to take a critical look at one's self and role in HWRS. Yet this has been a big point in DW's theory of leadership – the need to show responsibility and maturity as an example to others.

Further, DW's response to the question of alienation is surely evidence of his alienated condition. He responds to an internal criticism of his domination of the group with a political offensive. He makes a charge of slander that shuts down political discussion with the EC. He refuses to withdraw it unconditionally which surely would have allowed the question to be resolved inside the HWRS. Then along comes Syriza. DW accuses the EC of a breach of democratic centralism for refusing to have a political discussion on Syriza. Then he creates a public inside/outside faction. Then he dredges up minor political differences to prove that this breach of democratic centralism is rooted in the past wrong methods of the EC members. Minor differences are blown out of proportion to create a smoke screen rather than confront the real cause of a dysfunctional group.

So far the CWG has viewed the two factions of the HWRS as potentially capable of resolving their differences. However, we agree with the comrades of the EC that DW has created an unprincipled faction and is now claiming that the faction fight is over. We appeal to DW and his faction to withdraw the charge of slander directed at the EC and return to a pre-congress discussion with a view to overcoming the root causes of the group's dysfunction. DWs work on alienation essentially described the ideal comrade as a "compassionate loving person": the HWRS factions need to get back around a table with at least comradely respect. Failure to take this step will mean CWG ending its relations in the Liaison Committee with the 'majority' faction.

Fraternally,

DB & AS

What we Fight For

We fight to overthrow Capitalism

Historically, capitalism expanded world-wide to free much of humanity from the bonds of feudal or tribal society, and developed the economy, society and culture to a new higher level. But it could only do this by exploiting the labour of the productive classes to make its profits. To survive, capitalism became increasingly destructive of "nature" and humanity. In the early 20th century it entered the epoch of imperialism in which successive crises unleashed wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions. Today we fight to end capitalism's wars, famine, oppression and injustice, by mobilising workers to overthrow their own ruling classes and bring to an end the rotten, exploitative and oppressive society that has exceeded its use-by date.

We fight for Socialism.

By the 20th century, capitalism had created the pre-conditions for socialism – a world-wide working class and modern industry capable of meeting all our basic needs. The potential to eliminate poverty, starvation, disease and war has long existed. The October Revolution proved this to be true, bringing peace, bread and land to millions. But it became the victim of the combined assault of imperialism and Stalinism. After 1924 the USSR, along with its deformed offspring in Europe, degenerated back towards capitalism. In the absence of a workers political revolution, capitalism was restored between 1990 and 1992. Vietnam and China then followed. In the 21st century only Cuba and North Korea survive as degenerate workers states. We unconditionally defend these states against capitalism and fight for political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy as part of world socialism.

We fight to defend Marxism

While the economic conditions for socialism exist today, standing between the working class and socialism are political, social and cultural barriers. They are the capitalist state and bourgeois ideology and its agents. These agents claim that Marxism is dead

and capitalism need not be exploitative. We say that Marxism is a living science that explains both capitalism's continued exploitation and its attempts to hide class exploitation behind the appearance of individual "freedom" and "equality". It reveals how and why the reformist, Stalinist and centrist misleaders of the working class tie workers to bourgeois ideas of nationalism, racism, sexism and equality. Such false beliefs will be exploded when the struggle against the inequality, injustice, anarchy and barbarism of capitalism in crisis, led by a revolutionary Marxist party, produces a revolutionary class-consciousness.

We fight for a Revolutionary Party

The bourgeois and its agents condemn the Marxist party as totalitarian. We say that without a democratic and a centrally organised party there can be no revolution. We base our beliefs on the revolutionary tradition of Bolshevism and Trotskyism. Such a party, armed with a *transitional programme*, forms a bridge that joins the daily fight to defend all the past and present gains won from capitalism, to the victorious socialist revolution. Defensive struggles for bourgeois rights and freedoms, for decent wages and conditions, will link up the struggles of workers of all nationalities, genders, ethnicities

and sexual orientations, bringing about movements for workers control, political strikes and the arming of the working class, as necessary steps to workers' power and the smashing of the bourgeois state. Along the way, workers will learn that each new step is one of many in a long march to revolutionise every barrier put in the path to the victorious revolution.

We fight for Communism.

Communism stands for the creation of a classless, stateless society beyond socialism that is capable of meeting all human needs. Against the ruling class lies that capitalism can be made "fair" for all; that nature can be "conserved"; that socialism and communism are "dead"; we raise the red flag of communism to keep alive the revolutionary tradition of the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, the Bolshevik-led October Revolution; the Third Communist International until 1924, the revolutionary Fourth International up to 1940 before its collapse into centrism. We fight to build a new Communist International, as a world party of socialism capable of leading workers to a victorious struggle for socialism.

Join us in the task of overthrowing capitalism!

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