

CLASS WAR

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For the Bosnian Revolution!

Bosnia is a creation of the Imperialists and that is why the multi-ethnic workers now rise up against nationalism and imperialism!

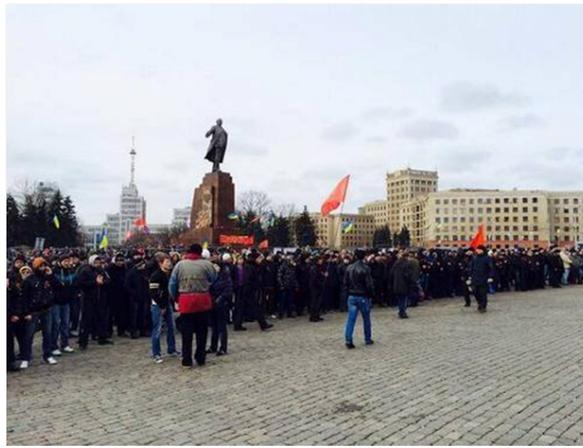
The Liaison Committee of Communists (LCC) is encouraged by and enthusiastically greets the rise of a multi-ethnic class struggle in Bosnia that seeks to undo the capitalist restoration which has turned the Balkans into semi-colonies of imperialism, brought unemployment and economic insecurity unheard of in Yugoslavia and divided a once united working class along ethnic and religious lines. In Tuzla, in other cities and even in some Serbian cities, workers are calling for a return to workers' ownership, and for workers' control and self-management. We disagree with those who see this rise of class struggle as any kind of resultant extension of the U.S.-sponsored Bosnian war against the then workers state of Yugoslavia. This uprising is where *the thing* (the counter-revolution) *begins turning into its opposite*. Events require this illustration of the Marxist method and to show how a parade of failed socialist sects and currents turned their back on this method and were suckered by the imperialist project of an independent and ostensibly democratic Bosnia, and how they ultimately organized support for capitalist restoration. The LCC provides a programmatic alternative to these democratic illusions in contrast to those who will not learn the lessons of history.



Bosnian workers demonstrate in solidarity with laid off Tuzla workers

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US/NATO hands off the Ukraine! No mistakes! Russia out of the Crimea! Workers Smash the USA/EU backed putschist government!



Workers in Kharkiv, Ukraine defend Lenin statue against fascists

Workers must not go to war for Putin or for Obama; the only force that can liberate the Ukraine from the current crisis of capitalism is the resurgence of the social revolution. The economic interest of the U.S./EU imperialist bloc is to separate markets like the Ukraine and CIS members from Moscow. Concurrently it is the Bonapartist Putin's mandate to sustain and deepen the Russian oligarchs' hold on investments and protect super-profit extraction from the former 'socialist republics'. Loans, business deals and credits from both east and west to the Ukraine came with a price and that price has intersected with the falling price of gas on the international market. The formally 'independent' Ukraine received the dreaded margin call! Marxists explain modern imperialism negates formal 'independence' with the shackles of debt service.

Unless the workers of the Ukraine rise up/ emerge as an independent force, fight for a workers government based on workers councils and workers militias that repudiates the debt, seizes the commanding heights of the economy, the pipelines, the shipping and transport hubs, all the imperialist assets

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Volkswagen, Lockouts, Two-Tier Contracts and Temp Workers

The United Auto Workers (UAW) organizing drive at the Volkswagen (VW) plant in Chattanooga, Tennessee reveals the utter bankruptcy of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy today. Once the powerful flagship of the American labor movement, forged through militant class struggle such as sit-down strikes, mass picket lines and flying picket squads, the UAW is a shadow of its former self. Decades of class-collaborationist partnership with the bosses in imposing concessionary contracts on the membership have seen the decline of the UAW from 1.5 million members in 1979 to 390 thousand members today and they only produce 54% of the American autos. The labor tops have no answer to runaway plants overseas or to the open-shop South.

The South remains largely unorganized today because the CIO leaders were unwilling to challenge Jim Crow segregation during its Operation Dixie organizing drive in the early 1950's. It was race hatred during Jim Crow segregation, perpetuated by the bosses and enforced by the racist sheriffs and police and the terrorists of the KKK, that kept Black and white workers from uniting against their true enemy, the bosses. Pulaski, Tennessee was the birthplace of the Klan and in 2013 the KKK staged a fascist rally in Memphis, while white supremacist groups of all kinds are active in the Chattanooga region. However, it was not the anti-union Klan that lost the union vote at VW. The organizing drive failure at VW rests on the heads of the UAW union leadership.

Anyone looking at the pictures of the Walter Reuther and UAW organizers getting the shit kicked out of them at the Ford plant in 1937 in Detroit would know that what defeated the organizing drive in Tennessee was not the anti-union KKK or vicious company thugs,

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EDITORIAL:

The Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall was for Marx and Engels the most important law for the explanation of recurrent capitalist crises. Our U.S. reformist/radical protest-only culture thinks—or, is it just wishes?—that you would not believe this to be true.

Instead we have been told by liberals that we are in a recovery of the “jobless recovery sort,” a phenomenon we are apparently experiencing for the 3rd time (Reagan’s recession, Bush Sr.’s and this one). This is nonsense! How can there be any actual recovery without increased value production? We’d like to hear the various answers because the facts puncture all of them!

We are experiencing a SPECULATORS’ RECOVERY. Stock prices exceed summer, 2008 levels by 14-15%. Rather than reflecting the health of a market economy recovery these prices reflect an increased money supply to capitalist institutions (“Quantitative Easing” Q1, Q2, & Q3) and investment by foreign capitalists whose own markets are faring that much worse and thus seek safe haven in the speculative bubble in imperialism central.

We are in the midst of a Global Financial Crisis of capitalism and our enemy social class is NOT enjoying the “record profits” the reformist left and the Robertsonian tendencies say they are. Neither of these political groupings will admit that capitalism already has no way out without either a deeper, more grinding depression or an inter-imperialist war, either or both serving to destroy surplus capital so as to revalue it. And in the process they destroy large numbers of us and quite possibly the life sustaining capacity of the planet as well. Capital believes we and our planet are theirs to do with as they please. The reformists are helpless and close their eyes

with holy dread at the thought that revolution will be required to avert this. They would perish righteously with the planet before they would raise a hand to the bourgeoisie! And the Robertsonians of the various Spartacist ilks cannot imagine an inter-imperialist war, because for them China is still a “Deformed Workers’ State!” So each tells us fictions that presume a “jobless recovery.”

Capitalism has not found ways to invest that increase profits from actual production and circulation of goods. Commuter train waiting rooms are filled every weekday at 2 p.m. with folks dressed like they came from church. These are job hunters on their way home. They say little, trying to keep their chins up. They keep coming because they have swallowed the bait. The government says 173,000 jobs were created in February and that the unemployment rate fell to 6.6% (since revised to 6.7%.) This is more nonsense, which the government has in ready quantities, and for as long as you are willing to listen! Anything less than 250,000 jobs a month is a net loss and actual unemployment increases.

Consider how their economists said over and over that a 2.5% GDP growth rate would be required to produce jobs. In January (2014) we were told the 2013 GDP had risen 3.2%. Now they have had to admit it was 2.4% and the number of new unemployment claims for the last week of February was 348,000. Just like a week in ‘08-’09. So we see Toys R Us closing 110 stores, Aeropostale shutting 175, Staples shutting 225 and Radio Shack announcing it will close 1100 of their outlets. (see [North Jersey News, “Wave of Store Closing Growing”, Joan Verdon, 03/07/14](#)) We hear the bureau of labor statistics say that this is partly due to a bad weather winter and partly the result of e-retailing. We think it’s because people don’t spend much without incomes.

The ‘consumer economy’ in the imperialist heartland was always ‘a fluff-a-nutter sandwich’ sold by media hacks to the labor aristocracy and professional managerial, strata, those who had the education but not the will to see the internal rot that decaying capitalism really creates. Rubbing shoulders with power turned their heads and fostered hopes the

decay would not reach them. Today it has and by their millions they watch what was never supposed to happen again after 1929 happen to them. The decay is chipping away at the ephemeral hope they had that the crisis would not touch them, would not cross the tracks. So in February we heard the President of the New York Central Labor Council say “*We...(the labor movement, ed.)...are going to stop managing our decline. We are going to get back the power we had....*” But this won’t be possible without a wholesale junking of the AFL-CIO’s strategy of support for imperialism and the political parties and politics of its expression and projection. Something the present “leadership” will not do.

Among the credulous who went for the idea of “record profits” for capitalism in the present period is the Chicago Socialist Campaign. Then they make this fiction the foundation of a compounded error. They claim these record profits are the money that can pay for a \$15/hour minimum wage, and they say this wage will go a long way toward relieving the super-exploitation of the oppressed. We say this is as cruel as it is false. The first defining characteristic of the super-exploitation of the oppressed is the refusal of racist employers, including “union bosses,” to hire non-white workers. And the second defining characteristic is job insecurity for non-whites, i.e., “last hired, first fired.” These bosses need to be exposed by Workers’ Tribunals. They need to be struck when their projects and contracts are at critical stages. Our demand is “Jobs For All!” We will not accept the exclusion of ANY members of our social class from gainful employ. With Trotsky and the Transitional Program we say that the right to employment is the last serious right the workers have left before the complete triumph of tyranny!

We support all workers’ wage demands and stand alongside all workers fighting for them. However, we will not support the minimum wage concept, which has been a poverty wage at all times and a plank of the Democratic Party program to keep millions employed indefinitely at less than a living wage. The fact that this has not either been raised to correspond to inflation or enforced results in 4.7% of the U.S. labor force working at or BELOW the present \$7.25 minimum wage. That’s more than 3.5 million workers in the visible economy alone (see [Bureau of Labor Statistics, Character of Minimum Wage Workers: 2012.](#)) The “minimum wage” thus never means what our U.S. reformists imagine it means. Not for the most oppressed

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For article footnotes and links go to <http://cwgusa.wordpress.com/>

nor for anyone else.

We call for a living wage, a union prevailing rate wage for all, employed and unemployed alike. Firms that cannot come across with this pay and cannot hire 25% more workers in the enforcement of the 30 hour week for forty hours pay deserve to be nationalized under workers' control and without compensation to the major shareholders. Survival of the one productive social class in modern society stands at the head of the program of revolutionary Marxists. To pretend that a parliamentary reformist party can smash the deepening depression and the bourgeois drive to war is a crime against humanity.

Again and More on Nuclear Power

One of the surest signs of the capitalists' drive to war is the Obama administration's almost done deal to subsidize the new Vogtle nuclear power plant to the tune of \$6.5 billion. In our last issue we explored a host of reasons why nuclear power not only is not "green," but also makes no economic sense (see [Class War VI.#6](#).) Thirty miles southeast of Augusta, Georgia the Atlanta-based Southern Co. is building this state-of-the-art white elephant. Apart from the quasi-religious "too cheap to meter" dogma of the 1950's, the one overarching reason to build the first new nuclear plant since the 1970's is the renovation of the U.S. nuclear arsenal, which the generals and admirals have spent a lot of time on "The Military Channel" reassuring the twin-party congress WILL happen, even as large troop cuts take place. So while we are supposed to believe that Iran's desire to have nuclear power can't possibly be related to a desire to reduce dependency on refined petroleum products, we in the U.S. corporatists' captive TV audience are supposed to believe we want to pay for this monster for green purposes and not the processing of new weapons grade nuclear fuel.

Why the AFL-CIO has the XL pipeline all wrong.

Trade union political directors fancy themselves the great interpreters of what is practical and real in the world. The AFL-CIO leaders perhaps more frequently but just like their Democratic party masters say they are fighting for good jobs. Then in practice any job at all turns out to be a good job. So in Pittsburg, CA, the end of the line for the Keystone XL pipe line project, they plan to build an enormous tank farm for offloading 242,000 barrels a day, a lake of tar sands for

the six local refineries to process and export. Economist and regime mouthpiece Larry Summers says the Obama administration's crown on the top of economic recovery will be making the U.S. a net energy exporter. We see this as a plan to pollute the west and Gulf coasts with tar sand waste, while the east coast will principally be polluted by fracking and near offshore natural gas terminals. Of course California will not be exempt from fracking and a historic drought will not deter the energy companies and the Brown administration from devoting many billions of gallons of precious water to hydro-fracking "exploration." (see [New York Times, "Hydrofracking Could Strain Water Resources", 05/02/2013](#)) Naturally some more people will be employed in these pursuits as they develop but these are not good jobs, and they are not jobs for all. Indeed these jobs could even be the death of us all. Instead and in absolute contrast we need a "Manhattan Project" for environmental remediation. Because this is dangerous work we will want to limit the hours of exposure and we will want state of the art equipment and protections for millions of workers employed in this ecological defense program. These should be good jobs in the sense of sophisticated training and true living union wages. These concepts are alien to the energy giants and almost as alien to labor leaders who consider these corporations their "industry partners." This understanding indicates that capitalism and its apologists stand in the path and do their best to block a program for a future for humanity and other living things. A revolutionary workers government is needed to face planet pollution squarely and make a rational plan to direct the required resources to the remediation. This means the profit system has to go and be replaced by self-management of the working class organized in mass workers councils that deliberate, decide and execute their economic plan.



Hands Off Korean Workers! For International Labor Actions to Defend South Korean Rail Workers!

The following was distributed as a leaflet at the Feb. 25th San Francisco rally at the Korean consulate.

The 22-day Korean KORAIL railway strike by more than 8,000 workers of the Korean Railway Workers Union (KRWU) and the Korean Public Services and Transportation Workers Unions (KPTU, a federation of unions) against privatization of the state-run service ended on December 31st. The longest ever South Korean railway strike ended as the "ruling Saenuri and main opposition Democratic parties agreed to set up a parliamentary subcommittee under the transport ministry" in a move to try to placate and scam the striking workers.¹ This "agreement" has no guarantee to stop privatization or halt attacks on the railway workers, but is simply a ruling class means of ending the strike and putting on the appearance of "fairness". It only states that they "can also form an advisory panel, to include officials from KORAIL and experts, to ensure no rail privatization takes place." **Workers supporting and placing faith in capitalist political parties, government agencies, labor boards or binding arbitration is a recipe for defeat.** In fact, the repressive South Korean (ROK) government of President Park Geun-hye is going after the workers with revenge prosecutions while the official line of class reconciliation has all the real content of Orwellian "double-speak."

The Minister of Land Infrastructure and Transportation has "reconfirmed its position that 'the illegal strike is illegal'." Police are continuing to target union and strike leaders, like KRWU President Kim Myung-hwan. During the strike, on December 22nd, the 4,600 riot police, including 900 SWAT, laid siege to the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU) office and broke in, pepper-sprayed and arrested 120 trade unionists, including KCTU leaders.² The ROK has a history of vicious, anti-labor and anti-democratic repression, particularly against teachers and public sector workers, who can be held personally financially liable for strike actions. During the 2006 railway strike, which was

Does the ‘minority’ critique of the CWI leadership position on the causes of the crisis get to the roots of its empiricist method?

Written by the CWG-NZ and endorsed by the LCC: <http://redrave.blogspot.com/>

position.

This tells us that Wallace separates the [L]TRPF from both Marx’s method and program. He splits the objective from the subjective aspect of the dialectic. The ‘objective’ in this case is the mechanical working of the [L]TRPF ‘law’ but behind our backs, while the ‘subjective’ aspect is the CWI’s reformist program. This is classic Menshevism, the objective laws march on and the petty bourgeois leadership tells the workers what demands to raise to keep pace (a \$15 per hour minimum wage). We use inverted commas here because we don’t think the objective and subjective factors can be reduced to their caricature of Marxism.”

Some comrades have claimed that this assessment is unfair to Wallace and others as they specifically blame the CWI’s wrong theory of crisis for failings in the CWI program today. Also, Wallace is not alone in his criticism of the EC (Executive Committee – the leading body of the CWI). To ensure that we are not misrepresenting Wallace or the other comrades involved we will devote this part of our defence of dialectics to a recent article posted by them on MarxistWorld.net, titled *Building a Revolutionary Party in the 21st Century*, and subtitled “A Critique of the Socialist Party Executive Committee’s Methods and Perspectives.” It sets out explicitly “to explain the deeper underlying reasons for the EC’s rejection of the Law [L]TRPF and its subsequent effect on our program, as well as the wider issues that this debate has revealed with the methods of the EC.” Since it was jointly written by three comrades and signed by others as well, we will refer to the authorship as ‘the minority’.

We will proceed by subjecting the ‘minority’ critique of the CWI’s EC theory and practice to our own critique of empiricism in terms of theory, method and their effects on program. First we will summarize the article’s main points and then give our critical commentary. The article has a number of subheadings; we will combine them into three main headings.

Democratic Centralism

The fight of the ‘minority’ inside the CWI over the LTRPF resulted in a partial suppression of the debate and disciplinary measures directed against it. The ‘minority’ explains this as a failure of *democratic*

centralism in the CWI. For it there should be no bar on internal discussion and even public discussion of matters that do not require ‘unity in action’. The EC by banning public discussion creates a pretext to discipline the ‘minority’. In response the ‘minority’ cites Lenin and the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (RSDWP) as the exemplar of “freedom of criticism”.

Generally we agree and think that Lenin’s practice was to favor a high degree of “freedom of criticism” so that the whole working class could reflect on the different tendencies and social class standpoints. We also support the ‘minority’ defending the use of strong polemics after the fashion of Lenin. **More importantly, it is correct to state that “workers are interested in theory” and to reject arguments of the EC that workers get bored with “theory”.** It drives home this point by using the example of Marx’s *Critique off the Gotha Program* to demonstrate the necessity for strong polemics to correct important theoretical errors. Obviously, then, none of the EC’s objections to a public polemic over the LTRPF justify the suppression of freedom of criticism or expulsion.

The ‘minority’ concludes that the CWI leadership does not apply “genuine democratic centralism”. We would of course agree but ask: when did the CWI and its antecedent, *Militant*, practice genuine democratic centralism? We would suggest that the CWI internal regime is that of ‘bureaucratic centralism’ and dates back to the time of Ted Grant. In *‘Militant after Grant – the unbroken thread?’*, Workers Power in 1994 wrote: “*Schematic, dishonest politics necessitate the construction of a tiny, really sectarian, world where reality does not penetrate.*” This refers to an internal regime that grew up over 40 years of deep entrism into the Labour Party requiring *Militant* to dilute its ‘Marxist’ program so as to remain inside the Labour Party.

There is no possibility of democratic centralism surviving in such a regime since it requires, in dialectical terms, total freedom of criticism to **test the Marxist program** against social reality. The opposite was the case. Ted Grant adopted the ‘objectivist’ view that socialism was inevitable as workers moved to Labour and the Marxists inside the party would win the majority and pass legislation to “nationalize the 200 monopolies.”

In 1989 Workers’ Power in *‘Militant and the State’* wrote: “*The ‘Enabling Bill’ is the*

In the last issue of *Class War* ([Vol 1 No 6](#)) we continued with the wider discussion [see [Class Warrior #5](#)] of the Transitional Program and the transitional method and its foundation in dialectics.¹ For us continuing Trotsky’s struggle to defend *dialectics* against *empiricism* is the key to rebuilding a new Trotskyist International based on the 1938 Transitional Program.² To succeed we have to defeat all those fake Trotskyist currents that have liquidated the Trotskyist method, theory and program. Among the tendencies that we regard as having junked dialectics for empiricism is the Committee for a Workers International (CWI.) We said: “*The CWI lines up alongside all the degenerated Trotskyists who think they can bargain with the bosses to deliver what the workers need. Their whole history is one of covering for reformists from the UK Labour Party to the US Democrats.*”

We welcome the recent attempts by CWI members around Bruce Wallace to challenge the CWI’s rejection of Marx’s Law of the Tendency for the Rate of Profit to Fall (LTRPF), for an eclectic set of causes including neo-liberalism, financialization, and under-consumption. However, we don’t think that the ‘minority’ critique represents a complete break with the CWI’s empiricist method which we trace back to the version of Pabloism that germinated in the tendency founded by Ted Grant in post-WW2 Britain.

We wrote: “*The current public debate in the Committee for a Workers International (CWI) over the [L]TRPF is a case in point. The CWI is a reformist outfit that long ago gave away any pretence to serious Marxism. Yet they have been forced by this public spat to refer to the [L]TRPF as the ‘ultimate’ cause of crisis, while at the same time denying its role in the Global Financial Crisis (GFC). Even so, blogger and CWI member Bruce Wallace, who challenged the CWI on this inconsistency, shows that he too doesn’t actually see any direct impact of the TRPF on the CWI program. He applauds the victory of Sawant in her election to the Seattle City Council based on a program that rejects the transitional method. That would explain why he can side with Kliman (see [The Failure of Capitalist Production](#)) on defending the [L]TRPF without any worry about the latter’s petty bourgeois academic state capitalist*

centerpiece of Militant's strategy. It is the fig-leaf covering its opportunism. Taaffe explains the purpose of the enabling legislation in these terms; 'It is for this reason that Militant, in opposition to the program of piecemeal reforms of the supporters of the Alternative Economic Strategy, have demanded that a Labour Government introduce enabling legislation into the House of Commons to nationalize the 200 monopolies, with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need.' The difference between Militant and the 'parliamentary cretins' was that it would nationalize the 200 monopolies in "the first few days".

Had any degree of democratic centralism operated in the Militant, Grant's suppression of the Marxist program would have been challenged and his reformist perspective defeated, or a split taken place, so that a revolutionary party could have been built. For example, in 1982 a principled opposition to Thatcher's war in the Malvinas may have led to a Leninist position of defeatism in Britain. Or, during the miners' strike in 1984-85, internal opposition to the Militant's line that the police were "workers in uniform" may have won majority support. As it was, Militant staggered on after its expulsion from the Labour Party looking for other political movements or currents it could enter, the consequences of which are its political bankruptcy today, held together only by a bureaucratic centralist regime. (see [Militant after Grant- the unbroken thread?](#))

The LTRPF and Freedom of Criticism

The 'minority' understands that without freedom of criticism the Marxist program cannot be defended and corrected. This has become very apparent in the debate over the LTRPF. The EC's wrong theory of crisis has to be challenged because "The EC's position on the cause of crisis does not imply revolutionary conclusions, but rather reformist ones." We will see below examples of this. The 'minority' goes on: "It is identical to Kautsky's view that crisis occurs because capitalists 'suffocate' in their own surplus." Specifically, capitalists adopt the wrong policies and socialists must adopt the correct ones. Hence "aspects" of the EC's wrong theory has "compromised program." Freedom of criticism is therefore necessary to correct the program and stop false theory leading to bad program.

For example, the CWI leadership's response to the 'minority' critique is that the LTRPF does operate, but is not the only, or in the case

of the 2008-09 great recession, the main cause of the crisis. For the leadership, the crisis is an eclectic mix of financial speculation, neo-liberal policies and under-consumption, all of which are deviations in the normal functioning of capitalism characterised by rising profits. The evidence for rising profits is from one French economist, Husson. His usefulness to the EC is that he shows that profits are rising because he includes in the mass and rate of profit the incomes of the self-employed! The 'minority' as the Marxist opposition in the CWI, says this is not Marx's concept of profit since the self-employed do not create surplus value. The 'minority' is backed up in their critique of Husson, in particular by Andrew Kliman and Michael Roberts.

We agree with the 'minority' and many others, that the LTRPF is fundamental to Marxism and to the revolutionary program. Without it the EC's position does indeed lead to "reformist conclusions". We would again, however, ask what is new? Even if Ted Grant used Trotsky to give [courses on Capital](#); even if these courses included Vol. 3 and the LTRPF, it would not prove that Militant ever took this law seriously. Why? Because as the 'minority' recognises, it implies 'revolutionary conclusions' such as the contradictory character of capitalism as a crisis-ridden mode of production creating the conditions for its own overthrow by socialist revolution. ***The LTRPF is the most important law in Capital for Marx because it is the logical expression of the contradiction between the forces and relations of production that ultimately leads to the 'breaking of the integument' and the socialist revolution.*** Since Grant [rejected](#) such a revolutionary transformation for the 'peaceful parliamentary road to socialism,' the LTRPF would have always been a closed book for him. Again, we say it is not the EC's failure to understand or apply democratic centralism, or the Marxist theory of crisis, or the immediate implications for program, that are really at issue here, but the historic liquidation of the Militant tendency into a Menshevik reformist current in the 1940's. We think that the programmatic concerns the 'minority' raises today proves this point.

"Compromising" the program

Why, when in the past the CWI, and Militant before it, called for the rapid wholesale nationalizing of the 200 monopolies is there now a *2-stage nationalization* plan; first the banks, then after a delay the rest of the monopolies? The 'minority' says this is

because the EC adapts to the TUSC's 'left reformism' which favors nationalizing the banks only. The Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition (TUSC) is the CWI's own 'front' for trade unionists and socialists to fight 'austerity.' Thus the CWI has diluted its program to tail the consciousness of this 'front.' The 'minority' says this puts the CWI in the company of "a whole bunch of left-reformists and radical Keynesians [who] call for the nationalization of the banks." But the CWI's 2- stage nationalization program is compromised most by being legislated in a capitalist parliament. Against this the 'minority' quotes Trotsky in the *Transitional Program*: "*However, the statization of the banks will produce these favorable results only if the state power passes completely from the hands of the exploiters into the hands of the toilers.*"

Further, the 'minority' argues that adapting to the TUSC's left reformism "*raises the spectre of political liquidationism; the dissolution of the revolutionary party into a broader, non-revolutionary formation*", such as the CWI's liquidation into the Scottish Socialist Party. While the EC claims that its nationalization demand is a 'transitional demand', the 'minority' says it is not. It adapts to the existing consciousness of workers angry at the banks. In defence of a "*genuine transitional approach*" the 'minority' quotes Trotsky on the Transitional method; "*the task of the party is to bring the [workers] mentality into harmony with the objective facts*". Therefore, it is no use basing the demand for nationalisation on the angry mood of workers, it is necessary to raise demands that prove through struggle that the nationalization of the banks will require the expropriation of all capitalist monopolies; and that can only be done by the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state.

The 'minority' argues that just as the CWI doesn't raise its full nationalisation program in the TUSC, it does not raise the demand to occupy workplaces under threat of closure in the unions. In the case of the closure of Grangemouth oil refinery, the CWI tailed McCluskey, the Unite president, and both hid behind the excuse that the workers were "in no mood for occupation". Taaffe, in criticizing the errors of the CWI at Grangemouth still blames the workers for not being prepared to fight. The 'minority' accuses the EC of tailing the Unite union and adapting to the union's political alignment to New Labour. It quotes Trotsky on how revolutionaries should fight in the unions: "*communists in trade unions...*"

must act as the transmitters of their party's program and tactics" and further states that "Trotsky insisted that all demands must reflect the objective situation. We have to recognise that, if we are in a period of crisis, the faulty slogans of Grangemouth derive from a faulty assessment of the crisis of capitalism and an incorrect application and understanding of Marxism." The 'minority' conclusion is that the CWI does not understand the united front and does not fight for independence inside the TUSC or the unions.

However, the 'minority' fails to see that the CWI does not fight for independence from the labour bureaucracy **because it does not fight for independence from the capitalist state**. Break from the bureaucracy! Break from the bourgeoisie! These were the two main demands Trotsky put to workers in [the unions](#). "The primary slogan for this struggle is: complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy." In our view, the reason that the CWI does not raise its program in the united front is that it **does not have a Trotskyist program**. After 40 or more years, its program has been revised and diluted so that it bears no relation to Marxism. This is why the EC tails workers consciousness and does not apply Trotsky's method of changing the mood of workers. This is the underlying reason that the EC does not see the inherent contradiction of capitalism manifest as the LTRPF as the cause of the crisis, but rather the bad policy of financialization and neo-liberalism leading to bloody minded bosses' austerity and closures/sackings.

The 'minority' doesn't make the connection between the CWI's 2-stage nationalization policy today and Grant's nationalization of the 200 monopolies with "minimal compensation". Since the cause of crisis is the wrong policies of the 'greedy bankers' and bosses, then socialism can be introduced as Ted Grant [once put it](#), by electing "Labour to power with a socialist program." This is why the CWI wants to nationalize the banks now and delay nationalizing the other monopolies. The main problem with capitalism is that the banks are out of control and need to be regulated to restore normal capitalist growth. The 'minority' recognises that the LTRPF as the cause of crisis means there is no room for reforms and that this must contradict the CWI's crisis theory that socialism can be won by legislating reforms within capitalist

parliament. This contradiction has clearly put the EC on the defensive and forced it to go through the motions of a debate with the 'minority' in order to maintain its pretence of 'democratic centralism'. Yet the 'minority' does not get to the roots of the problem in the CWI's method.

Assuming that the CWI was capable of adopting true freedom of criticism, and genuine democratic centralism, and as a result the 'minority' was able to convince the majority that the LTRPF is the main cause of the crisis, how would this translate into a genuine Transitional Program? Would adopting the LTRPF imply 'revolutionary conclusions'? The 'minority' argues that this would bring the subjective mood of the working class into line with the objective reality of a deep structural crisis. But this needs to be spelt out. The objective reality of the capitalist crisis today must be transformed into a new objective reality, the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist mode of production. Workers would discover that fighting for transitional demands to make the bosses pay for the capitalist crisis would require our class to take power. But to implement such a program the *Militant* empiricist method and Menshevik reformist program which goes back to its roots would have to be overthrown along the way. The CWI today would have to repudiate not only its theory of crisis, but its economist tailing of the prevailing consciousness. That would mean a rejection of the version of Pabloism introduced by Ted Grant into the *Militant* decades ago. It would mean drawing the practical conclusions from the lip service paid by Taaffe to the Paris Commune that the capitalist state cannot be taken over and used by the proletariat to establish its dictatorship by means of 'enabling legislation'. The CWI would need to abandon its empiricist method and return to dialectics and the Transitional Program of 1938.

A return to dialectics would clearly have major consequences for the CWI's sections in other countries where the empiricist method and Menshevik policies are obstacles to the building of a new revolutionary international. The 'minority's' article on building the party in the 21st century takes an important step in this direction, but nevertheless falls far short of what is necessary. In an upcoming part of this series on the Transitional Program we will take up the consequences of the CWI's practices in countries where it has sections as part of its "international". We will show how the CWI has erected another Menshevik barrier on the path to building a

revolutionary worker's international and the world revolution.

10th February 2014

(Endnotes)

1 See *Class War* (Vol 1 No 6), "Capitalist crises, Sawant, the CWI and Trotskyism" and [Class Warrior #5](#), "BART STRIKES: Once again on the method and relevance of Trotsky's Transitional Program."

2 The rejection of the revolutionary transitional program that follows from the quasi denial of the operation of the LTRPF results in accommodations to bourgeois power. For example, the Marcyites in New York adapt to Democrat Charles Barron. While Occupy was occupying and putting people in foreclosed housing in Brooklyn, the Marcyite forces within Occupy put this appendage to the bourgeoisie, to the real estate developers, front and center during and after Occupy. http://www.workers.org/2012/us/charles_barron_0621/ <http://www.villagevoice.com/2014-01-22/news/charles-barron-inez-barron-east-new-york-politics-black-panthers/>

The *Militant* in Liverpool in the 1980's, abandoned class struggle for the politics of "municipal socialism", issuing redundancy notices.

"On 14 June 1985 Liverpool Council passed an illegal budget, in which spending exceeded income, demanding the deficit be made up by the government.^[52] As bankruptcy loomed and plans for all-out strike action were finally discussed, they were narrowly lost, and not all unions balloted their members.^{[53][54]}

Liverpool councillors were advised in late August 1985 by the District Auditor that the council was about to break its legal obligations and would not be able to pay wages to its staff by December of that year. In September 1985, rather than face immediate confrontation with the law, the Labour group on the council decided on the 'tactic' of issuing ninety-day notices to the 30,000 strong workforce to gain leeway to "campaign more vigorously than ever before".^[55] In his autobiography, Deputy Council leader [Derek Hatton](#) acknowledges that taking this advice was an enormous mistake, from which the council never recovered.^[56] Although the notices went out with a covering letter explaining the background and stating that the council did not actually intend to make anyone redundant,^[57] many council staff felt the future of their jobs at the council were no longer guaranteed.^[58] ^[59] The 90-day notices were seen as three months notice of redundancy in all but name and treated as such by the media. It was, the *Militant's* general secretary wrote, "a major tactical error."^[60] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Militant_tendency#Militant_in_Liverpool

"The Labour group [in the Liverpool council] decided on the 'tactic' of issuing 90-day redundancy notices to the 30,000 strong workforce to gain that period as a breathing space in order to build the campaign.... However, the issuing of 'redundancy notices' turned out to be a major tactical error." - Liverpool – A City that Dared to Fight, Peter Taaffe, pg. 281

".....your eyes drift to other great social conflagrations of 1984 - principally the miners' Great Strike. Militant's ability to get money out of Thatcher can be put down to the latter's unwillingness to see a second front open up in that battle - like, for instance, a generalised strike movement or other rebellion in one of the UK's major cities. In effect, Militant was bought off with small change from the state in the anticipation that it could be dealt with later. Indeed, it was - Thatcher froze Liverpool out, and the Militant leaders of the council ("a Labour council!" thundered witch-hunter Neil Kinnock) responded by adopting the 'delaying tactic' of issuing 90-day redundancy notices to all its employees. This

finally ended all hopes of council workers launching an all-out strike. The Labour leadership had its chance - Militant was purged." - *Two Souls of Socialism, CPGB* <http://www.cpgb.org.uk/home/weekly-worker/841/the-two-souls-of-socialism>

Socialist Alternative not only refuses to come to grips with this past, but brags about the record of the Liverpool Militant councilors:

"In Liverpool, England in the mid-1980s, our sister organization played the leading role in the establishment of a socialist majority on the city council. At the time, there were huge class battles culminating in the heroic British miners' strike where the workers faced a ferocious onslaught from the hated Thatcher government. The Liverpool socialist council, backed up by mass demonstrations and strikes of the city's workers, refused to impose cuts as dictated by the Thatcher government and in fact brought in a range of reforms for ordinary people despite Thatcher's best efforts to shut the council down." - *Why We Run Socialist Candidates, Socialist Alternative* <http://www.whysocialism.org/2013/09/05/why-we-run-socialist-candidates/>

In addition, the Lambertistes of Socialist Organizer, as well as various Bay Area former U.Sec. members and ex-Grantites, all placed great hopes in the appeal made to Obama in Feb., 2009, by the left labor bureaucracy's "Workers Emergency Recovery Coalition," the "WERC." For us, this amounted to class betrayal.

Cont. from pg. 1 Ukraine...

and puts them under workers control, austerity will be imposed and the debt will be extracted to the advantage of either Putin's or Obama's paymasters. The parameters of 'acceptable' capitalist state 'norms,' today range from parliamentary 'democracy' to military Bonapartist and paramilitary fascist dictatorships. Under their control no section of the international working class can escape the crosshairs of the supply and demand curves. For the working class there is only one solution to avoid a repeat of the Balkan catastrophe, and it does not include united fronts with Putin, Svoboda, the Right Sector or the West.

Workers of the Ukraine are under a two-sided attack by competing imperialist blocs. When the crisis hit the workers had no Bolshevik-Leninist party to fight for working class independent action. In the vacuum the democratic and popular masses who came out into the Maidan were outflanked by the organized fascists, whose links to western imperialism have a long history. For lack of a revolutionary workers party the vacuum of leadership allowed the fascists to exploit the frustrations of the masses all out of proportion to their real strength and numbers.

So the debt will be extracted either under the bludgeon of fascists' batons and/or the bullets of western hired snipers. Or the Russian

oligarchs, the emergent imperialists out for a walk in 'their historic backyard,' will send tanks to collect on their invoices! All during the Cold War and again recently, Ukrainian fascists were assured of the approval and blessing of the U.S./EU imperialist bloc, chiefly by the security organizations. It is because U.S. imperialism is in decline, while still the dominant power on the world stage, that it seeks to employ every counter-tendency to the Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall (LTRPF). So its renewed, post Cold War interest in robbing the Ukrainian market from the Russian orbit is both an expression of and a result of the global financial crisis of capitalism. Trade wars turn into hot war!

In response to the Ukrainian nationalism stoked by the fascists, a Crimean nationalism is being revived in the Simferopol parliament. And it has resulted in a national referendum, which while being boycotted by the non-Russians, predictably polled in favor of independence and affiliation with mother Russia. Neither formal independence nor a requested annexation into Russia will change the economic conditions for the Crimeans.

Posing as liberator of the Crimean Russians (and according to the International Communist League, the ICL, liberator of the Tatars) Putin's incursion has no intension of stopping fascism. Rather, he intends to defend the economic interests of the Great Russian capitalist class which seeks advantage over the collapsed Ukrainian economy.

We are oftentimes schooled that the USA is the most powerful by any measure or metric and this is no doubt the case. However size alone is not the only measure of an imperialist power. Today the U.S. is in decline and Russia and China are emergent and ascendant. To the Messrs. sectarians we want to say that the clash in the Ukraine is not one between a Kerensky and a Kornilov but between two Kornilovs! The working class must train its guns on all imperialisms. Dual defeatism is the only option that allows for the multi-ethnic workers councils and militias to emerge and create a solution that favors the working class.

The 'united front' with Russia that Socialist Fight, Steven Argue, et. al., call for abandons the task of turning the imperialist forces of Russia into the armed battalions of the world revolution. World revolution appears nowhere in their analysis. Instead we are told that Russian actions are those of an anti-imperialist state. These fake Marxists try

to cover for their Stalinophilia now being transformed into Russian chauvinism. They provide a qualifying proviso that they are giving no political support to Putin, who they know is acting in the interest of the oligarchs, not in favor of democracy or for the 'right of self-determination' or even to stop the fascists. (Socialist Fight actually takes Putin's "anti-fascism" as good coin and says defeat of the fascists requires a bloc with Russia or even the devil.) The ICL position of the Spartacist League (SL) is scarcely any better, indeed their proclamation that "Crimea is Russia" accepts the Russian Tsarist borders as inviolate. They say support for the Russian intervention is principled, providing the rights of the Tatars are guaranteed and they insist that Putin will protect the Tatars. They cite guarantees given by Crimean and Russian capitalist politicians, whom the ICL thinks you should believe. This is remarkable! So here goes the ICL, applauding the agency of enemy class forces as the liberator of the oppressed Crimean Tartars. No national revolution, no permanent revolution, no world revolution, no socialism. Because of their transformed Stalinophilia they refuse to see the role of Russian OFDI (Outbound Foreign Direct Investments) seeking super profits and markets abroad in an attempt to re-divide the semi-colonial markets. Thus like the Workers World Party, the Spartacist's have abandoned the theory of permanent revolution. By insisting there is a progressive role for 'independent' anti-imperialist capitalist states they have joined the stagist theoreticians of the Second International and post Lenin Comintern. Instead of revolution, the workers movement is asked to wait on the sidelines for Jim Robertson (emeritus leader of the Spartacists,) to come forward with a coherent analysis of Russia.

Either Russia is imperialist and no support for Russian intervention is permissible for Marxists, or it is some form of independent or oppressed nation that functions as an anti-imperialist state in its collision with the U.S./EU bloc. We find that idea preposterous. But then what is its Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) alliance with China, another superpower? The ICL/SL doesn't tell us! Instead they adopt the language of bourgeois academics denying the inter-imperialist re-division of the world's markets, and instead reduce the conflict to a "great power rivalry." Some materialism that is! When Lenin referred to great powers he explicitly meant imperialists.

We call on Russian soldiers and sailors: You are not being sent to liberate Crimea or to stop

From Bosnia to Venezuela – flashpoints between the US-EU and Russia-China imperialist blocs

Written by the CWG-NZ and endorsed by the LCC: <http://redrave.blogspot.com/>

Ukraine, Bosnia, Syria, Egypt and Venezuela are all currently flashpoints in the growing rivalry between the U.S. led bloc of older imperialist powers and the rising Russia/China bloc of emerging imperialist powers caused by the onset of the global crisis of falling profits. These flashpoints reflect the life and death struggle of these imperialist powers to restore their profits at the expense of their rivals. Ultimately this struggle is downloaded onto the masses who suffer attacks on the living standards and their lives. The uprisings and revolutions in these flashpoints represent the mobilisation of the global working class entering the stage to break free from imperialist oppression and the national bourgeois regimes that are its lackeys. There can only be one of two outcomes. Either imperialism destroys the planet and humanity, or the working class overthrows imperialism and builds a socialist society. For humanity to live, capitalism must die!

Crisis in Ukraine

Ukraine has provoked much hot air as a crisis flashpoint between the U.S./EU and Russia. The bourgeois intellectuals are all trying to join-up-the-dots. The conservative bourgeoisie are into realpolitik. Stratfor, for example, shows that [Russia's resurgence](#) is based on economic realities of scarce resources. This realpolitik view sees the 'Great Game' between Russia (and today China) and the West over oil and gas in Asia as driving geopolitics. Some draw the [one-sided conclusion](#) that rival imperialists have billions invested in each others' economies so that war becomes irrational. This was the conclusion that Karl Kautsky drew from the bourgeois economists of the early 20th century. John [Mersheimer](#) argues that in the post-WW2 period nuclear arms led to a stalemate in Europe so that economic conflicts stop short of war. Today self-claimed Trotskyist [Louis Proyect](#) makes this argument when he lists the overlapping investments of the imperialist powers and sees their common interest in opposing Islamic radicalism as

a barrier to war. This position is one-sided because it is clear that the two imperialist blocs are already engaged in proxy wars from Sudan to Syria and actively enlist Islamic radicals as proxies.

An equally one-sided conclusion is that imperialist conflict and risk of war results from the *irrational policies of rival political elites* rather than the economic laws of imperialism. These policies lead to [corruption](#) as in the case of the [misguided self-interest](#) of the neo-cons or the Russian oligarchs. We can see both positions on Ukraine argued on [democracynow](#) between Snyder and McGovern. Snyder presents the U.S. neo-con position as that of defending human rights from terrorism around the world. McGovern characterises the neo-cons as part of a CIA [conspiracy](#) to dominate the world. This position is one-sided because while the bourgeoisie are into power politics, rational or irrational, the revolutionary left does not reduce economics to power politics – or does it?

Most of the self-proclaimed revolutionary left in the Western imperialist states see geopolitics as the result of either U.S. global hegemony oppressing [Russia](#) (or [China](#)) as a semi-colony or as an independent capitalist state, in all the flashpoints; or like the [Third Camp](#) they see Russia (and/or China) as imperialist but not in the Marxist-Leninist sense of newly emerged state monopoly capitalist rivals to the U.S. led bloc of imperialists. Both are wrong. The pro-Russia camp makes the fundamental mistake of defending one imperialist power (Russia or China) against another (U.S./EU) ultimately calling for workers to go to war on behalf of Putin's regime or its semi-colonial allies like Assad in Syria. The Third Camp, which dates Russian imperialism back to the Stalinist regime in the late 1920s or 1930s or Chinese imperialism to the Maoist regime in the 1950s. It fails to understand that without the experience of the Degenerate/Deformed Workers States (DWS) the conditions could not exist to allow these countries to escape the fate of the semi-colonies and become new imperialist rivals to the U.S./EU bloc.

Neither camp understands Lenin's theory of imperialism as arising out of the export of capital to counter the Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall (LTRPF). Imperialism is merely the political competition of rival superpowers. The pro-Russia camp misses the increasing export of capital by Russia and China, not to mention the conditions arising out of their history as

DWS's that have allowed them to escape domination by Western imperialism. For the Third Camp, modern imperialism emerged as a political regime in Russia and China where the law of value was suppressed by the state so that the extraction of 'surplus-labor' was planned rather than realised by a capitalist market. Therefore, the reintroduction of the law of value in the early 1990s is insufficient to explain why Russia and China escaped the fate of semi-colonies to become imperialist today.

On the contrary, for Marx and Lenin, the activation of the counter-tendencies to the LTRPF requires the rise of monopoly state capital as a stage in capitalist development in which imperialist states export capital and compete economically, politically and militarily to plunder the world. Armed with this theory we can explain why the U.S. is now trying desperately to defend its hegemony from the rise of [Russia](#) and [China](#) as new rival imperialisms. As we will see each major crisis embodies the unresolved previous crises and is a bigger threat to capitalism's survival. So each crisis is not merely a repeat of previous cycles of crises. [Paul Mason](#), one time a member of the League for Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI), compares the flashpoint of Ukraine to Russia facing another '1905'- the first Russian revolution against the Tsar.

This historical analogy breaks down precisely because it confuses a crisis before WW1 when Russia was a weak peripheral imperialist power ruled by the Tsar, with Russia today as part of a rising imperialist bloc emerging out of a DWS. So while the analogy holds as a prediction that the imperialist war raises the prospect of revolution, it ignores the global nature of the crisis and the existing proxy wars already underway in all of these flashpoints. Similarly, those who take the Kautsky position of [ultra-imperialism](#) as a barrier to war fail to see that despite collaboration in some regions, e.g. Afghanistan and Syria, the rival blocs have also been involved in proxy wars from Georgia, Sudan, Iraq, Syria, DPRK, etc. Not only are they taking sides behind their proxies to grab oil, gas and other resources, in some places they are also backing rival Islamic sects as their proxies in these, e.g., Syria where the Russia/China bloc including Iran supports al-Assad while the U.S. and its allies Turkey and Saudi Arabia support the Sunni bourgeoisie.

That is why the flashpoints we talk about here are places where the [two major imperialist blocs](#) clash face to face to re-divide the

world and force their rivals and ultimately the workers and peasants to pay for their policies to restore their profits. As with all crises the imperialists fear that workers have the potential to rise up and obliterate their rotten society. So they fund their political ‘cronies’ and paramilitaries to divide and rule the workers and peasants. This happens everywhere from Bosnia to Venezuela. The failure of the revolutionary left to enter as an independent force in these struggles leaves these counter-revolutionary forces able to divide and rule the masses by appealing to racism and chauvinism. Yet we have seen that workers are ready and willing to fight. What they need is a revolutionary leadership. It is time for the self-proclaimed revolutionaries to take the crisis of leadership seriously and call for international regroupment such as the Zimmerwald Left which rallied the revolutionaries who did not betray the world proletariat to the imperialists with the outbreak of WW1.

Imperialism – the epoch of crises, wars and revolutions

The capitalist world economy is in the grip of a classic crisis of falling profits and overproduction of capital that characterises the imperialist epoch. Crises perform the function of destroying value to restore the rate of profit. By WW1 capitalism was already ripe for overthrow. The basic contradiction between capitalist profits at the expense of workers living standards had created the conditions for socialist revolution. War necessarily opened the road to revolution. But the revolution was betrayed by the reformist Second International. Even so WW1 failed to destroy enough value to open a period of sustained new accumulation. Within 10 years crisis reared its head again in the great depression and WW2.

Again, capitalism survived world war only with the connivance of the Stalinist Comintern and the isolation and capitulation of the 4th International to Stalinism/reformism. The post-war boom was made possible by the massive concessions forced on the working class by the war and the onset of the cold war. It was brought to an end in the late 1960s by the LTRPF and a new crisis of overproduction. But neither the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet bloc nor the neo-liberal re-colonisation of the semi-colonial world could re-create the conditions necessary to restore capitalist profitability to the pre-crisis levels of the 1960s. Each failure to overthrow capitalism in the throes of crisis since WW1 brought historic defeats for the

world’s workers. What was lacking was an international vanguard party.

What we have got today is the structural crisis coming to a head as a crisis of overproduction that is causing trade wars and military wars to resolve the crisis. But unlike the bourgeois reformists, Marxists understand that trade wars necessarily become real wars as the rival imperialists fight to defeat their rivals and plunder the global market and super-exploit the workers. The imperialists drive to destroy value to restore profits also destroys workers living standards which are reflected in wider gaps in income. They compete to grab the resources of their rivals to drive down the value of raw materials necessary for profitable production.

So who are the main imperialists today and how is it that we see China and Russia emerging as a power bloc in competition with the U.S.-led power bloc? What we have in all these flashpoints is a frontline between the U.S./EU bloc and the Russia/China bloc. But how did Russia and [China](#) become [major rivals](#) of the U.S./EU imperialist powers?

China/Russia bloc

As we have seen since the early 20th century the imperialist powers have gone to war to re-divide the world market so that the stronger benefit by defeating the weak. But once the imperialist epoch had arrived at the turn of the 20th century and the world market was divided among the existing powers, no new states could escape colonial or semi-colonial servitude to arise as new imperialist states. [Orthodox Trotskyists](#) assume that the restored workers states must become semi-colonies of existing imperialism. The Third Camp as we have seen think that Russia and China developed as imperialist powers outside the sphere of the capitalist world market. But it cannot account for their resistance to imperialist domination and rapid growth after their re-entry into the world market. ***We argue that this was made possible because of their [history as DWSs](#).*** That is, their economic ‘independence’ from global capitalism allowed the centralised state apparatus developed under the DWSs to be ‘taken over’ by the new bourgeoisie as the apparatus of the monopoly capitalist state to retain overall control of capital restoration and accumulation.

Hence it was its history as a DWS that allowed the Russian state to capitalise on former workers’ property not only in cheap resources from devalued state enterprises,

but also science, technology and military hardware. These are forces of production developed by the DWS that allowed Russia to escape re-colonisation by the existing imperialist powers and align itself to China (which was able to undergo the same process) in a new bloc rivaling the U.S./EU bloc. This is the only explanation for the developing global faceoff in many hotspots between the declining U.S./EU bloc and the rising Russia/China bloc. The bourgeois liberal and pseudo-Marxist explanations are based on empiricism. As Trotsky pointed out in his [In Defense of Marxism](#) empiricism takes only surface impressions of events and fails to see them as a living whole and part of a contradictory process of change.

Thus facing the current crisis, there is no prospect of any capitalist semi-colony, e.g. South Africa (SA), Brazil and even India, of escaping semi-colonial dependency and making the transition to imperialism. Unlike the DWSs they never expropriated the bourgeoisie and were unable to maintain a relative independence from the capitalist world. While the liberal left got excited about the [BRICS](#) it is now obvious that when these states got exposed to the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) of 2008 only Russia and China had the capacity to continue accumulating capital, while Brazil, India and South Africa went into decline. This has allowed Russia and China to emerge as new imperialist states and form a global bloc against the U.S. and EU.

This analysis alone explains why the U.S./EU are pushing against this bloc in a number of hotspots where their interests clash, as in [Ukraine](#), Syria or in Africa (Sudan) and Asia (North Korea-DPRK). There is a global face off between the two blocs in a new struggle to divide the world economy to stave off their decline and fall and with it the capitalist system. Without this Marxist analytical framework it is not possible to arrive at correct analyses of the class interests at stake in any flashpoint, nor produce a revolutionary program to guide the struggle for socialism. We can demonstrate this by looking at each flashpoint in turn.

Bosnia

Bosnia is one of the longest suffering colonies fought over by rival imperialisms. Trotsky documents this in *“The Balkan Wars: 1912-13: the War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky”*. Here we have the story of a colony ravaged by imperialism in three historic crises; WW1 WW2 and most recently

Cont. from pg. 9 *Bosnia to Venezuela*

the current structural crisis that began in the 1970s accompanied by the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet bloc. With the collapse of the USSR and other DWSs in the late 80s and early 90s, Yugoslavia was once again Balkanized by U.S. and EU imperialist powers backing their proxy states. The war in Bosnia was provoked by imperialism to [breakup Yugoslavia](#) into capitalist semi-colonies. The Dayton Accords in 1995 redrew

including the gas pipelines that takes Russian gas to Europe and \$billions in bonds. It co-owns with EU capital the planned [South Stream](#) pipeline that will go across the Black Sea close to the Russian naval base in the Crimea due for completion in 2015. China has also increased its [economic stake](#) in Ukraine to push its [investment strategy](#) in Eastern Europe, notably a major port development in the Crimea that will cut 5000 miles off the new 'silk road' between Asia and Europe.



its borders as a UN protectorate opening it up to imperialist plunder of its industries and workforce.

Today, nearly 20 years later Bosnian workers are now mobilising on a multi-ethnic basis to take back the privatised industries. We have to unite with them to break from imperialism and their imperialist puppet regime. This includes Russia and its interests in the Balkans. Like Kosovo, Bosnia is a U.S. protectorate as part of the U.S./EU (NATO) expansion into Eurasia to make a bridgehead to break-up the new Russian empire in Central Asia. At the same time Russia is pushing back into the Balkans with its South Stream gas pipeline that branches into Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia and on into Italy [see graphic above].

Ukraine

Ukraine gained its independence with the breakup of the USSR in 1991. Since then it has balanced between EU and Russia. Late in 2013 the U.S./EU bloc gave an ultimatum to Ukraine to turn its back on Russia and sign a free trade agreement. This ultimatum included IMF and EU policing of economics, politics and law designed to [strip Ukraine](#) of its wealth. It was no surprise that Yanukovich balked. Apart from its historic connections, Russia has much at stake in Ukraine,

Despite the inflammatory rhetoric in the West, and Russian sabre clinking in Crimea, the U.S./EU and Russia/China [have an interest](#) to [do a deal](#) here to keep Ukraine intact and split the booty at the expense of workers and poor farmers. [Boris Kagarlitski](#) thinks so too. “The sheepskin is not worth dividing up”. Russia depends on Ukraine’s pipelines. France is delivering a [helicopter carrier](#). Germany has [strategic economic ties](#) with Russia. In fact the EU and Russia have integrated economies. [Stratfor](#) concludes: “In the long run, most of Russia’s levers are intact. Central and Eastern European nations are still dependent on Russian energy, and the lingering economic crisis in Europe still makes Russian investment attractive -- especially if it does not come with the conditionality that defines loans from the European Union and the International Monetary Fund. Moreover, the political fragmentation in Europe and the lack of cohesion in NATO predate the Ukrainian crisis and will still influence decisions by Central and Eastern European nations long after the current crisis in Ukraine is over. Even if we currently see strong rhetoric coming from Central and Eastern Europe, these countries will return to their original strategy of seeking accommodation with Moscow after the Ukrainian crisis is over.”

The pro-Russian and Third Camp left has to be exposed. Both fail to understand the threat the Russia/China bloc poses to the U.S./EU bloc. We also have to expose the Mensheviks and Mandelites that argue for a new Constituent Assembly which is a popular front with imperialism. Revolutionaries are for mobilising all independent working class forces into a revolutionary party, into councils and militias to [resist both imperialist](#)

[blocs](#) and their Ukraine proxies and fight for a workers and farmers government.

Syria

Syria has to be seen as key to revolution in MENA (Middle East and North Africa) because of the prolonged armed struggle linked to the Palestinian struggle. At the same time Syria brings all the contradictions to the surface in the form of inter-imperialist rivalry. We have argued in an [earlier article](#) on the Arab Revolution that Syria is the site of proxy wars between the two imperialist blocs. We showed how in MENA both blocs want to keep the status quo to share the booty and suppress the Arab Revolution. They learned that in Libya, where they failed to disarm and contain the rebels, that there was no payoff in terms of oil contracts for either bloc. As yet there is no pro-imperialist regime able to reap the oil profits for either bloc, unlike Iraq where oil contracts have been shared and Afghanistan where China reaped the largest copper mine in world. On the contrary it is reported that the rebels in the East are [selling oil](#) to the DPRK! Although the DPRK ship was intercepted on March 10th by the imperialist puppet Transitional National Council forces, revolutionary armed militia find themselves in ongoing conflict with the puppet state.

Thus the Syrian revolution is a microcosm of the balance of forces in the world situation. We refer you to a good [analysis](#) of how all imperialists are ganging up on the Syrian revolution and doing deals to keep the workers down and share the spoils. The bourgeois factions are all fighting to prove to ALL the imperialists that they can destroy the popular revolution and stabilise the region. They can only do this because the imperialists embargo arms to the fighters while they use their proxies—Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf States on the one side, and Iran on the other—to arm their respective bourgeois factions. **The key to the Arab revolution in MENA is that the rival imperialist blocs fear escalating proxy wars into open inter-imperialist wars will risk uniting the uprisings from Tunisia to Syria into wider armed regional uprisings.**

The tragedy in Syria is that the pro-Russian camp and the social imperialist Menshevik camp have abandoned the revolution, isolating the small revolutionary forces confronting the bloody slaughter of the al-Assad regime as well as the reactionary Jihadists. We must overcome this great betrayal by the Western so-called Marxist left

and fight to unite the Syrian and Palestinian struggles with those all across MENA, and in particular that of Egypt where the revolution is still alive and kicking.

Egypt

Egypt is decisive in the completion of the Permanent Revolution in MENA as it has a strong and militant labor movement capable of rising to the task of overthrowing the military regime now in place. The uprising of January, 2011 arose out of years of workers strikes. It was never going to succeed in splitting the ranks of the army from the SCAF (Supreme Council of the Armed Forces) and overthrowing the regime without firmly basing itself on organised workers and mounting a general strike. The SCAF is the most powerful force in Egypt and the dominant bourgeois fraction owning more than a third of Egyptian business. It has traditionally been a proxy for U.S. capital. The uprising of 2011 forced the SCAF to make concessions in deposing Mubarak and holding elections. It did a deal with the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) regime which proved unpopular with the masses. Morsi had tried to appeal to [China](#) to stave off economic bankruptcy. But despite China's [military](#) and [other](#) investments, Morsi was forced to impose tough austerity measures. His break with al-Assad in Syria failed to win further U.S. backing and his regime went to its doom. Under pressure from a mass uprising of millions, the SCAF deposed Morsi and proved that it was not a neutral champion of the Egyptian people but the dominant bourgeois force in Egypt prepared to smash the revolution in return for economic backing from both imperialist blocs.

The SCAF has failed in this aim, as despite heavy repression the revolution has deepened and a major strike wave has spread across Egypt, uniting in a new union federation. This is the proof of what we said [last July](#) about the revolution deepening. The deposing of Morsi was not a decisive defeat of the working class. It was not a 'coup' in the sense of that of Pinochet or the Brazilian junta since it was immediately met by mass resistance of the MB supporters and the revival of a mass strike wave. The sectarian attempt by the SCAF to turn the labor movement against the MB as 'terrorists' has failed. Now that the revolution has returned to its base in the labor movement, the unity of the working class on a non-sectarian basis behind a revolutionary party and a transitional program to break from the SCAF is the order of the day.

This will bring the revolutionaries up against the misleaders of the pro-Russian camp who will declare al-Sisi's new relationship with [Russia](#) and [China](#) as the 'lesser evil' in relation to the U.S./EU camp. It will also expose the misleaders of the Menshevik camp that subordinates [labor struggles](#) to the call for a popular front with the 'progressive' bourgeois, for yet more constituent assemblies and more elections. Neither is capable of mobilising the working class as the revolutionary force to overthrow both the national bourgeoisie and its imperialist masters in both blocs. It vindicates our revolutionary perspective we held since 2011 that the revolution that does not base itself on the working class in industry will not succeed. Our program is to build from the strike waves towards a general strike based on workers councils and militias that will force a split of the ranks of the army from the SCAF and open the way to the revolutionary insurrection and a Workers and Peasants' Government.

Venezuela

On the surface the flashpoint in Venezuela is unlike those in Europe and MENA. However, beneath the surface we can see the two main imperialist blocs engaged in a fight for control of Latin America. Long the 'backyard' of the U.S., China has stolen a march on the U.S. since 2008 to become a [major rival](#) in Latin America. As we proved in our [Cuba Sold Out](#) article, China has played the key role in restoring capitalism to Cuba. Not only that, China now bankrolls ALBA (Bolivarian Alliance of the Americas) aligned with China against the U.S.-led regional associations such as the Organization of American States (OAS). The current struggle in Venezuela is therefore in the last analysis the fight between the U.S. to roll back ALBA, and China to protect its investments in Latin America. It appears that the U.S. is opening up a serious attack on Venezuela to break China's hold over ALBA including Cuba. It was the U.S. puppet regime in Panama that called for the OAS to 'mediate' in Venezuela, spurring President Maduro to [sever relations](#) with that U.S. puppet state which could be detrimental to its trade with China.

The U.S. is backing the anti-government opposition in Venezuela and using its proxy states in the OAS to further destabilise the Bolivarian revolution. Revolutionaries must defend Venezuela against this U.S. trade war, internal disruption, and attempted coups, without giving any political support to the Bolivarian bourgeois regime or its alliance with Chinese imperialism. Most of

the Latin American Menshevik left supports the Bolivarian states and their popular front regimes as progressive against U.S. imperialism. But as we have [shown](#), these are bourgeois Bonapartist regimes balancing between the masses and both U.S. and Chinese imperialism. *Our program is for the formation of independent workers and peasant organs to break with the Bolivarian regimes and their links to both imperialist blocs.* It is necessary to fight for workers councils and militias capable of uniting the working class around a revolutionary program for workers power to overturn the bourgeois state and impose Workers and Peasants governments in a federation of Socialist Republics of South and Central America!

Conclusion

Against those who see geopolitics as driven by rival power elites dragging nations and peoples into their irrational wars, we see geopolitics as the necessary expression of the laws of motion of capitalism in the imperialist epoch. We understand that in this epoch capital is concentrated into the banks of a small number of imperialist powers where only the strongest survive at the expense of the weakest. Today, Russia and China have escaped the fate of semi-colonies and are testing their strength as rival imperialists against the U.S./EU bloc. Each bloc must win out over the other to offset the LTRPF in its own camp. This is already sparking numerous conflicts and proxy wars. But as they are dragged into these conflicts workers begin to fight back, starting with the struggle to defend basic democratic rights against dictatorial regimes. These struggles are met invariably by state repression which in turn forces workers to unite and organise. But there is no prospect of workers currently trapped in national struggles, isolated and desynchronised, of uniting across national, ethnic or other divisions as an armed revolutionary force without a revolutionary Marxist program. And that program requires an international Marxist Party that can unite the most class conscious workers around the world to make a victorious socialist revolution.

We urgently need an emergency international conference of revolutionary Marxists committed to build a new 'world party of socialism' based on the 1938 Transitional Program and Trotsky's Transitional Method.

Covering for their incomplete political break from the League for the Fifth International (L5I), the Revolutionary Communist Internationalist Tendency (RCIT) asserts the February, 2014 Bosnian workers uprising was a logical continuation of the Bosnian “war of liberation,” which the RCIT materially supported in the 1990’s, while in the leadership of Workers Power (WP), like much of the British left, some leading figures of U.Sec., and Socialist Action in the USA, among others. All of these tendencies to one degree or another justified their support with a bogus reading of a Leninist understanding of the right of nations to self-determination. Where nations have a defined territory, language and culture, and an independent economic life, and not incidentally also a popular will for self-determination, and an acute consciousness of national oppression, we support the oppressed nation against its oppressor. We do this so as to engage the working class of both nations against their exploiters.

We do not agree with Titoists and the Stalinists who claim that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had satisfactorily resolved all questions of national oppression. When Communist Party leaders became capitalist restorationists after the death of Tito, they began to incite ethnic hatreds and divisions. At the same time, Izetbegovic was peddling his U.S. and German capitalist-sponsored Jihadist state project. This had little political traction for many years as the “Bosniak” population was the most Yugoslav of the multiple populations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They were the most proletarianized, they spoke Serbo-Croatian, they lived in completely integrated cities, and were the most urban population, **and they had no separate economic life.** Their psychology of political awareness of their national oppression was enhanced suddenly with the influx of Muslim refugees from Croatia. It was then that Izetbegovic conducted his U.S.-inspired plebiscite. The Serbian minority of the Bosnia-Herzegovina population overwhelmingly voted against independence. When Izetbegovic declared independence a new Bosnian state was immediately recognized by Germany and the U.S.A.

Then began the great contradiction of Serbian history in the 1990’s. What would have been an entirely progressive defense of the workers state against capitalist restorationist projects in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia was itself led by capitalist restorationists such as

Milosevic, side by side with truly reactionary and even fascist elements who wished to build a greater Serbia. On balance, each of these three regimes were noted for mass murder, and in the end the only principled way to choose between them was to choose against the imperialist project and aims, to defend not Milosevic or his regime, but the Serbian people and the remaining conquests of the deformed workers state. ***Instead of giving backhanded support to NATO bombers, the revolutionary workers vanguard, the Marxists, needed to call for multi-ethnic workers militias to put an end to and prevent further ethnic cleansing and capitalist restoration.*** We said the nationalist madness was incited exactly to serve the capitalist restoration. Consequently, any “leftists” who took the bait tail-ending layers of the British trade union bureaucracy and built the Bosnian relief effort and even made it the center of their activity materially aided capitalist restoration.

We do not take issue with the impulse to try to help a suffering population, but we wonder why the Marxist outfits who participated in this project made no effort to help the contemporaneous victims of Mt. Pinatubo, or the many millions of victims of ethnic violence and displaced survivors of the Rwandan genocide. Despite the extreme need in the world, “workers aid” charity campaigns should not be at the center of the tasks of any revolutionary Marxists. Our central task everywhere is first to fight for the program of revolutionary Marxism. That program demanded multi-ethnic workers self-defense guards be built, armed and sustained by the vanguard workers of the region and internationally. The establishment of workers self-defense guards and their ascendancy would be the precondition for a workers aid program, uncontaminated with the sentimental effluvia of the petty bourgeois moralists and pacifists, who pave the road to imperialist pacification from 30,000 feet!

Who is to Blame for the “War of Liberation?”

Completely missing from the RCIT analysis was the 1991 Foreign Operations Appropriations Law, U.S. 101-513 passed by Congress in November, 1990. A law that even the CIA predicted would lead to a bloody civil war.¹ This act resolved upon a policy of economic strangulation and military measures to carry out capitalist restoration in all six provinces of the bureaucratically deformed workers state of Yugoslavia. Additionally, in the case of the RCIT we see a deepening

of an error we trace to their days in Workers Power, where they not only misunderstood the activities of imperialism in the creation of Bosnia, or the multi-ethnic Bosnian defeat codified in the Dayton Accords, but also deepened their original error of 1991, where they took the side of the fast track Yeltsin group of capitalist restorationists in bringing about the downfall of the workers state and the USSR. This put them even to the right of the Mensheviks, who were trying to organize defense of social property.²

As Trotsky wrote in defense of the Soviet Union during the fight against Burnham, Schachtman, and Abern:

“What does ‘unconditional defence’ of the USSR mean? It means that we do not lay any conditions upon the bureaucracy. It means that independently of the motive and causes of the war we defend the social basis of the USSR, if it is menaced by danger on the part of imperialism”. – Leon Trotsky, “Again and Once More Again on the Nature of the USSR”, October 1939³

Consequently we called for class-independent mass mobilization of the USSR workers to defend the conquests of the October Revolution from fast-track and slow-road restorationist bureaucratic plots alike.

We are airing these differences in front of the workers movement principally for clarification for militant workers. We had hoped to make progress in opening a more general debate on these questions of method with the RCIT, however, their statement on the Bosnian workers uprising shows that our invitation of September, 2012, to revisit this discussion, so as to try to resolve differences that have stood in the way of increasing unity in action and more formal affiliation, have fallen on deaf ears, we are sorry to say.

Reassessment is Not a Crime

Lenin in *Left Wing Communism* states that: ***“a political party’s attitude toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is, and how it fulfills in practice its obligations toward its class and the working people. Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification, that is the hallmark of a serious party...”***²⁴ We can understand why the bureaucratic

careerists of the Workers Power leadership from whom the RCIT founders split must justify all of its past and go on defending it, or as they are now doing in their February 2014 issue, burying the whole episode. But we do not understand why the RCIT cannot revisit decisions made by that Workers Power leadership, as if they were still under Workers Power discipline. What obliges the RCIT to make articles of faith out of these errors? When we of the LCC mistook the tempo and timetable of the capitalist restoration in Cuba, we accounted for this mistake soon afterwards and explained what led us to make it. This may not be the usual *modus operandi* among the sects, but it is Leninism and we resolve to practice it.

Once Again Self-Determination

Veteran Trotskyist Harry Turner summarized the Leninist conception of the right of nations to self-determination as a democratic right in order to uphold *“the right of nations to self-determination, i.e., the right to secede, as a correct understanding of the dialectical unity of national and international, which would enable the Marxists to lead the working classes of both the oppressed and oppressor nations to proletarian internationalism.”*⁵ It was never meant to replace class questions. Workers Power and much of the Left abandoned defense of workers gains against imperialism for petty-bourgeois illusions in “democratic” Bosnia. For Leninists, the unconditional defence of workers states against imperialism supersedes the democratic right to self-determination. Moreover, a ‘nation’ created by imperialism as part of the breakup of Yugoslavia, and at the expense of the oppression of other ‘nationalities’, has no right to self-determination. Despite the episodic popular will for secession, it was made possible by NATO bombs at the expense of the Serbians. Later in 1999 in Kosovo, for instance, a right for national secession nominally existed, but under the real material circumstances would in no way be supported by Marxists because this secession was imposed by imperialism against the remains of the deformed workers state.

Bosnia was born as a reactionary, capitalist restorationist state occupied by imperialism that suppressed its national minorities, particularly the Serbs. We must repeat: the Congressional 1991 Foreign Operations Appropriations Law, U.S. 101-513 codified and set in motion the imperialist drive to destroy the Yugoslavian workers state. As one of our predecessor organizations, *Workers*

Voice wrote in 1997:

“...Thus the Balkan wars really began as U.S. aggression against a workers’ state (Yugoslavia), which was threatened with severe punishment unless it allowed its own break-up into capitalist ministates dominated by the U.S. Bosnia was the key country that the U.S. had in mind.

Bosnia-Herzegovina was created after a referendum in which 99% of the Serb population rejected the idea of belonging to an “independent” Bosnia and demanded their right to secede. The referendum, ordered by Izetbegovic, was conducted against the advice of the EC, which at the time was against the break-up of Yugoslavia. The Serbs’ refusal to belong to the new capitalist Bosnia started the war there...”-(See *“Could the Muslims in Bosnia Have the Right to Self-Determination?”*⁶)

The Workers State

The destruction of the Yugoslavian workers state was truly a tragedy as along with capitalist restoration and imperialist bombings, came ethnic civil war and genocide. The League for a Fifth International (L5I)/Workers Power response to counterrevolution was to send food, medicine and clothing to Bosnia through the *International Workers Aid* campaign. So the Marxist answer to genocide and imperialism, following the L5I, is humanitarian aid? Is the response to counterrevolution begging the UN to stop arms blockades? Was this arms embargo real or a diversion from the imperialists’ arming of Izetbegovic? We know it was a diversion; it was for public consumption by the credulous.

And what was the L5I and assorted “Trotskyists” basis for siding with the Bosnians in an all-sided genocidal civil war? The Bosnians were victims of Serbian and Croatian chauvinism, but the Bosnian state also oppressed the Serbian national minority in Bosnia. The capitalist restorationist forces utilized chauvinism to destroy working class unity, thus preventing even a discussion of the internationalist workers military aid in the form of dock strikes, hot cargoing and mustering armed multi ethnic workers detachments formed up by the trade unions that were needed to fight the restoration and stop the reactionary forces from breaking up Yugoslavia. Lest there be any doubt about this, it should be common knowledge that the multi-national membership of the miner’s union of Bosnia-Herzegovina had sent material aid to the striking British miners in

1984-85, a sore point for Anglo-American capitalist politicians and mentioned in the commentary on the 1991 FOA law.

As ethnic cleansing became a major content of the conduct of the inter-ethnic warfare the capitalists so desired, what was needed from revolutionary Marxists was a concentrated effort to raise multi-ethnic, multi-national international armed workers brigades (mobilized through a fight against the social chauvinist bureaucrats) to defend the workers state against the counterrevolutionary breakup and to defend all ethnic groups in the three-sided genocidal civil war. And alongside the Yugoslavian workers, to fight to defeat imperialism and to fight for a workers political revolution to oust the Milosevic Stalinist bureaucracy of slow-roader capitalist restorationists. Workers actions, from strikes against NATO intervention to shutting down NATO airbases should have been organized in the imperialist countries. Instinctively, if not laboriously misled, any politically class-conscious worker would have opposed NATO bombing of Serbia as part of the struggle against her or his “own” ruling class. Not only on the principle of opposing imperialism, but also in defense of the workers state. It takes social-chauvinists and their left tail to dissuade advanced workers of their historic program.

Instead, the L5I/WP and Socialist Action, et. al., applied the idealist logic of the reformist left which proceeds not from dialectical historical materialism, but from bourgeois morality, the “good” guys versus the “bad” guys. Thus they had independent little Muslim Bosnia being attacked by big power Serbia. This is semi-Cliffism and belongs methodologically to the Third Camp renegades from Trotskyism. It was Burnham who openly renounced dialectics and then discovered poor little “democratic” Finland attacked by the big Russian power on his way into the Third Camp. And then shortly thereafter he renounced Marxism setting off on his path to serving U.S. imperialism.⁷ It was the bourgeoisie, local and international, that attacked the moribund, deformed workers state and social property in the Balkans, while the Third Camp cheered in the name of democracy.

And the L5I/WP was not far behind, failing in their internationalist duty to defend the working class gains in Yugoslavia. Instead of subordinating the armed defense of the Bosniaks to the defense of the Serbian deformed workers state (which would have facilitated multi-ethnic militias on

two fronts.) Workers Power made the main contradiction between Serbia as oppressor nation and Bosnia as the oppressed, and then gave imperialism the role of attacking Serbia and defending Bosnia. So the exercise of aid to the Bosniaks is a cover for capitulating to democratic imperialism. The RCIT tells us that none of the revolutionary forces would have called upon NATO to intervene on the part of Izetbegovic's Bosnian rebellion. We have to ask what forces would those be? Do they mean Tariq Ali or Alain Krivine, or other U.Sec. leaders who like Workers Power called for NATO to arm Izetbegovic's forces? In any case, they were more fastidious, and stated that they did not want the intervention of NATO troops. Workers Power (LRCI) didn't make this fancy distinction. As the Liaison Committee of Militants for a Revolutionary Communist International (LCMRCI/CEMICOR) wrote:

"The LRCI opposes defending Yugoslavia against imperialism. It doesn't want to expose the devastating consequences of imperialism's blockade and the ethnic cleansing that more than one million Serbs suffered. When NATO launched its worst attack ever, in 1995, the LRCI refused to defend the Serbs. They demanded that imperialism "Send heavy artillery, tanks and planes to the Bosnian army" and "tanks and heavy artillery, and yes if possible planes and Scud missiles" and even "international volunteers" to support their Bosnian proxies. They said: "Far from condemning the B-H forces because they are carrying US weapons revolutionaries should demand the maximum necessary arms to the B-H forces. Unfortunately those with the arms are generally imperialist countries or third world dictatorships."

When the imperialist puppets (Croatia and Bosnia) were wiping out all the population from Krajina and western Bosnia, Workers Power (October '95) demanded of them more resolution in that task: "if they can now surround and annihilate Arkan's fascist volunteers in Western Bosnia that will be a service to the workers of the whole world". These troops not only annihilated the Serb military resistance but expelled one million native inhabitants.

We always defended the Croat and Muslim communities against Great Serb ethnic cleansing (like we defended the Serb civilians against the Croat and Muslim pogroms). We said that the only way to achieve that was, as Trotsky recommended in the 1912-13 Balkan wars, to unite the multi-ethnic proletariat against all their rulers. The LRCI, as we showed in other documents, shifted

*its position many times during the war."⁸ – "Trotskyism vs. centrism on Kosovo", *Class Struggle*, No 21 April-May 1998*

*"In the Balkan wars the LRCI leaders sided with everybody. In the conflict between Serbs and Croats they sided with both camps at the same time. Until November 1992 they opposed the independence of Bosnia and condemned Izetbegovic's Bosnian Muslims as reactionary, ethnic cleansers and pro-imperialists. One month later they decided to support them, and later on to ask imperialism to send weapons money and men for them. In 1992 they organised a common demonstration in Vienna with Great Serb monarchists and a year later with Muslim and Albanians who were asking for NATO intervention against the Serbs. They always said that they were willing to defend the Serbs against NATO and its Muslim and Croat allies if imperialism bombed them. However, when it happened they called for a dual defeatist position in those bombardments, for more resolute action by the Muslim-Croat troops who were ethnically cleansing almost one million Serbs, and for imperialism to give tanks, planes and missiles to their local puppets." – "10 Years of the LRCI", *Jose Villa*, *Class Struggle* No 29 September-October 1999*

And now the RCIT is left to try to somehow clean up their treacherous act. No amount of spin can cover this up or undo it. At the same time, Socialist Action in the USA predictably performed like post-Barnes Barnesites. It is not too great a stretch to say that Barnesism never met a nationalist movement it didn't like. This was integral to their sectoralism. They are not good at understanding the international activities of the U.S. government except where troops are concerned. They called for a Bosnian victory over Serbia. Their program is pacifist democracy and capitulates to imperialism. At anti-war conferences they vote to refuse to blame capitalism for imperialist wars.

In place of the Third Camp's overweening concern with the squeamish moralism of the liberal intelligentsia, Marxists take their stand on the working class position and employ the scientific method in the examination of history, the activities of all social class forces and the influences of all relevant cultural facts. As early as 1970, with the publication of his book, *Islamic Declaration*, it was possible to identify Izetbegovic as a reactionary Bosnian Muslim nationalist whose goal was a mono-cultural, anti-communist, and even Jihadist independent state. Naturally he became a personality of utility for the U.S., German and Austrian imperialists, among others, and

thus for the Gehlen Organization, the C.I.A. and "Radio Free Europe." When Bosnia-Herzegovina was inundated with Muslim refugees from Croatian ethnic cleansing in 1991, Izetbegovic conducted his secessionist plebiscite with U.S. authorization and support. The subsequent "U.N. Arms Embargo," the subject of Workers Power's echo of the old Schachtmanite "poor little Finland," was propaganda for the initiated, and to hear this repeated nowadays by Austrians, who must understand in detail the dark prehistory of the restorationist movements in the circles of the veterans of the Grand Mufti's Bosnian army and the Croatian Ustashes', is truly shocking. The Austrian RKOB section of the RCIT should ask themselves whose troops are doing EUFOR occupation duties in Bosnia, threatening the mass movement with imminent repression? Our readers should be advised these are Austrian troops. We demand NATO/Austrian troops out now!

Izetbegovic did not seek and certainly did not get any measure of democracy. The workers of all communities know this now from experience, and they want their factories back!

Workers Struggle Today

The multi-ethnic demonstrations and strikes today put the notion of the national question of Bosnia below the ground. Workers today are explicitly rejecting nationalism and ethnic chauvinism as they recognize that they have a common enemy in the bourgeois state and imperialism. If as the RCIT claims, there was a continuation of the "war of liberation", you would see continuing inter-ethnic violence and not the multi-ethnic strikes where the workers are demanding their factories back. Self-determination is not the question and never really was. Bosnia was an artificial imperialist creation and everything since the Bosnia-Croatia Federation has been a top-down regime and no expression of any national aspirations of an oppressed nationality for self-determination. The Bosniaks *were had* by U.S. and German imperialism. On the left it was LSI/WP and Socialist Action who attached the national question to Bosnia, tail-ending the trade union bureaucracies of the NATO countries. In the end, the idea of the Bosnian Muslim independent state was junked by the Dayton Accords.

As can be seen by the recent protests and mass strikes against privatization of the remaining state enterprises and the effects of the market, capitalist restoration has been a bust. The

workers reject the bourgeois parties. All of these parties perpetuate the ethnic divisions that don't take place in the neighborhoods or factories. Solidarity protests have also now reached Serbia, raising the specter of multi-ethnic workers struggle throughout the Balkans.

Workers are rapidly coming to the conclusion that capitalism and imperialism have nothing to offer them but starvation and death. They desperately want to go back to workers ownership and control. But they can only go forward and a good first step is that they are building 'forums' and 'assemblies' on majority votes. We should call these embryonic workers councils, which however need to throw out the non-workers, i.e., bourgeois and oppositional petty bourgeois agents, who will try to sidetrack the workers back into a bourgeois parliament. Thus we have a problem with the call raised in many places for a government of technical experts. We have seen governments of technical experts manage the crisis of capitalism at the expense of the working class in Italy and Greece. The Balkan states need workers governments.

If the messrs. imperialist stooges of the nationalist parties, the so-called democrats, propose a new constitution, then we call for a delegated and accountable Revolutionary Constituent Assembly (RCA) instead, exactly to give the masses' demands full expression instead of lip service and suppression by the mouthpieces of the banksters. However, so far we think this is an unlikely development in the utterly fake democracy of the Federation of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose parliamentary output at all times is subject to the over-ruling or the pleasure of the Dayton Accords' 'High Representative,' a bourgeois Czar installed by the U.S., NATO and the IMF. Therefore we see no point in raising an RCA demand which at this juncture would have to seem confusing to the workers and cause them to ask 'which is your REAL program? A constitutional bourgeois democracy or a multi-ethnic government of the councils of workers and peasants?'

We make it clear what **OUR** real program is:

The embryonic workers councils need to coordinate across all of Bosnia on a strictly multi-ethnic, gender and age equality basis, and put out the call to all of the former Yugoslav states for a workers council government, a call to implement a campaign of occupations, strikes, workers militias, building to a political general strike to put a

workers and peasants government in power with a program for the renationalization of all industries, enterprises and banks, etc, under workers control with no compensation for major stockholders.

Our program must also be directed towards the entire European working class and be capable of stopping NATO and the UN and other agencies from inevitably imposing martial law and repressing the development of the revolution. Like the Marikana miners, Syrian revolutionaries, Egyptian workers, Brazilian and Greek youth, to name just a few militant masses in motion, the Bosnian uprising is a signal for all to join forces in struggle internationally. For the working class to live, imperialism must die. It is the Bosnian workers who are teaching the self-proclaimed Trotskyists in the imperialist countries the lessons of history - get out of their way!

Critically the order of the day is the creation of a Leninist-Trotskyist revolutionary workers party to provide leadership to fight for a workers and peasants government of democratic workers councils and militias. For workers revolution throughout the region! For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans! For a revolutionary workers international, the world party of socialist revolution! Workers of the world unite! 02/24/2014

1 <http://www.iacenter.org/bosnia/origins.htm>

2 This effort was led by Boris Kagarlitsky. Ironically we learned of him and his effort from Workers Power's own theoretical magazine!

3 "Again and Once More Again on the Nature of the USSR", Leon Trotsky, October 1939, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/edom/dm/04-again.htm>

4 Left-Wing Communism An Infantile Disorder, as cited in Harry Turner, Vanguard Newsletter, Vol. 2 No. 8 September, 1970. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/205502737/Trotskyism-Today-by-Harry-Turner>

5 Vanguard Newsletter, Vol. 1 No. 2 July 1969, "Nationalism and Internationalism / Theory and Practice", Harry Turner <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/vanguard-newsletter/V1-N2-Jul-1969-Vanguard-Newsletter.pdf>

Also see "The Discussion On Self-Determination Summed Up", VI. Lenin <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/jul/x01.htm>

6 http://www.humanistsforrevolutionarysocialism.org/IT_Archive/Bosnia_cover.html

7 "A Petty-Bourgeois Opposition in the Socialist Workers Party", Leon Trotsky, 1939 <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/edom/dm/09-pbopp.htm>

8 http://www.geocities.com/communistworker/interbul3.html#Trotskyism_vs_centristism_on

9 http://www.geocities.com/communistworker/interbul3.html#For_the_Military_victory_of

Cont. from pg. 7 Ukraine...

fascism. You are being used as tools of the oligarchs! Build soldiers and sailors councils! Unite with multi-ethnic workers defense guards to build the democratic workers' councils needed to defeat imperialism and the lackey capitalists and politicians.

In the U.S. the vanguard workers must organize the workers movement to oppose any U.S./EU/NATO strangulation of the Ukraine and oppose the funneling of arms to any proxies. As this has the character of an inter-imperialist war, we call on American workers to rise up in 10,000 places to stop the war machine. Hot cargo armaments, stop delivery and distribution of military hardware, etc. U.S. troops will not likely be deployed so long as there is any chance that idle threats or substitute NATO troops will pose a sufficient threat to cause the Russian bloc to compromise. The U.S. Armed Forces are involved in a large-scale redeployment called the Pacific Pivot. Gone are the days when the U.S. economy can maintain a force ready for "two-and a half wars." They are prepared for one war in the Pacific and can only pay for new mass murder technologies by reducing payroll (i.e. the ranks). The EU countries who are pretending to back the U.S. "to the hilt" are highly dependent upon Russian exports and so will huff and puff but are not likely to shoot unless the U.S. is truly determined to push all its friends into a bloodbath.

We say no mistakes! These actors are capable of blundering into a shooting war. The putschist regime in Kiev set itself up for the Russian militarization of, and plebiscite in Crimea when on its second day, February 23rd, it banned speaking Russian in the Ukraine. Another blunder of this scale could start the bloodletting.

On the question of fascism

Apparently for the Messrs. bourgeois democrats of our twin party system and for the regimes of our EU allies, just now "fascism is a matter of taste," where the Ukraine is concerned, just as it was at one time for Molotov and his boss Stalin. We are not suggesting that the new rightist regime in the Ukraine is fascist, but only because the very top spots are held by the I.M.F.'s handpicked bankers. The Ukraine is broke. Right away the U.S. came up with the promise of a billion dollar aid package (this may be stalled until the next congressional session) and the E.U. arranged a \$15 billion loan almost overnight.

Bankrupt IAM International Leadership Betrays Boeing Workers

This article has been slightly abridged in the interest of space. The full version can be read online at <http://cwgusa.wordpress.com/>

In yet another significant major defeat for organized labor, the top leadership of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) in secret negotiations with Boeing, reopened the contract and shoved through a vote of the membership to accept devastating concessions. Devastating not only for the Boeing workers but for all workers who look to their unions to protect defined pensions and wage packages. The contract was not even set to expire until 2016, and despite the fighting spirit of the membership demonstrated by an initial overwhelming NO vote, the IAM leaders bowed down to Boeing's blackmail threat to move future production to as yet non-existent, non-union plants, in areas lacking the skilled labor force needed to construct the 777X. This sell-out contract will eliminate the defined pension plan in 2016. Workers will pay large increases in medical premiums and will receive a paltry 1% yearly raise. Boeing new hires will need 20 years plus employment to reach the maximum pay grade, more than three times what it takes now. The contract will extend to an indentured servant-like eight years from 2016 to 2024, with workers bound hand and foot to a no strike clause.

The first vote in November was overwhelmingly rejected by the 31,000 IAM ranks, with 67% opposing the 8-year contract extension scam. Coming out in force to vote, the Machinist ranks booed the union leader sellouts that were pushing concessions. As one Machinist stated, *"I've never seen a turnout like this. There was very little in the way of signs or banners. Just a lot of workers making sure they had their say."*¹

The auxiliaries of the Democratic Party within the workers movement did their job for the ruling class, while Democratic Party politicians that included Washington Governor Jay Inslee, the mayors of Seattle and Everett, and U.S. Senator Patty Murray jumped into the fray demanding that the IAM accept concessions. The "International" betrayed the membership from the first, bringing a rotten tentative agreement out of their secret meetings with the bosses. When the ranks rejected it, the IAM tops stepped in and forced a second vote. By changing the procedural manner of the vote counts



and holding it during the Holiday season on January 3rd, they got it to narrowly pass amid allegations by the ranks of voter suppression and manipulation. As a 35-year Machinist wrote a few days before the vote in [LaborNotes](#):

*"This is the one time of year when our membership is completely atomized. Not only are there no union meetings, but we won't even be able to talk to each other at work! The whole thing stinks. A complicated absentee ballot process was worked up."*²

Another Major Defeat for Organized Labor

This is a defeat for the whole working class. Everywhere pensions are under attack like in Detroit and Chicago, and this defeat will only accelerate those attacks for workers who still have pensions. "Work until you die" is becoming the harsh reality for workers everywhere. ***We Say everyone should be guaranteed a full pension and free, quality healthcare and education***, whether they are a Boeing IAM mechanic, Industrial, Agricultural, Office, or Public worker, a teacher or a low-wage fast food worker, and even the victims of long term structural underemployment must be provided a safety net that ends poverty. Socialists called the Johnson War On Poverty a fake at the time and we have witnessed a 50-year war on the poor run by the Republican and Democratic administrations alike! They have devastated and impoverished the black and brown communities, swelled the prisons with millions of unwanted workers and subverted public education, while militarizing the police forces, which terrorize the working class and poor communities. The capitalist government has proven it cannot provide the basic economic and social guarantees of the American Dream. Their only concern is protecting the 0.1%.

This attack comes at a time when Boeing is enjoying huge profits and tax breaks. And even with the concessions, Boeing reserved the right to move sub-assembly production at will. Boeing employs a skilled workforce and they would have to invest in a new plant and

find qualified workers to do the job. And meanwhile Airbus would be right there, ready to jump in and snap up the IAM workers if Boeing relocated. Thus there was no excuse for the IAM leaders to cave without a fight.

Not Labor Leaders, but the Labor Lieutenants of Capital

As a Machinist wrote of IAM International President Buffenbarger:

"On December 26 Buffenbarger posted a [letter on the IAM website](#) that channels Boeing management.

*There is no hint of any fight in him; and his portrayal of the contract offer is misleading in the extreme. He paints this offer as a substantial improvement over the first offer (the one we rejected 2-1), by counting as an almost \$1 billion gain the fact that we are to keep the progression step system exactly as it has been for almost two decades! Never mind the fact that the only reason we kept it is that we voted down the first offer, which he spoke of in equally glowing terms! In his calculation of the "gains," there is no mention of the enormous cut in retirement benefits."*³

After the second vote's results were announced, "...top officials at the Machinists national headquarters and in Gov. Jay Inslee's office were almost giddy....", the *Seattle Times* reported, "...It's going to be sunny in Seattle for another 40 or 50 years....," gushed Rich Michalski, who represented the International Association of Machinists (IAM) national headquarters in the 777X negotiations. *"Boeing is going to be here forever now."*⁴

The *Seattle Times* further reported:

“The IAM International’s Michalski, who was in Seattle for the Friday vote, emphasized the “silver lining” of job security. “If you’re a young person, you’ve got a future here in aerospace,” Michalski said. “Parents and grandparents should be happy...It’s all about being able to compete with the rest of the world,” he added, expressing a common sentiment with Boeing executives.”

Wisconsin, Michigan, the Longview ILWU struggle, the Chicago Teacher’s strike, the BART strike...American workers have been willing to wage struggle, but have been betrayed at every step by the chauvinist, bankrupt, pro-capitalist union tops and officials. From secretly meeting with Boeing to reopen the contract to concessions, to pushing for a shady second vote, the IAM bureaucrats were determined to shove this down the workers’ throats. Bowing to pressure from the workers, the local leadership, the lower echelons of the bureaucratic apparatus, for a period swung to the side of the outraged workers, but later closed ranks again with the International union tops. This demonstrates in miniature what threat an organized, militant rank and file presents to these labor traitors at the top of our unions and how brittle the hold of this parasitic caste really is. They must maintain an atomized rank and file, so as to count upon a subdued consenting membership which only comes out at its command, and then mostly to phone bank for the Democrats.

As the CWG wrote previously:

“The union bureaucracy is a privileged caste within the workers’ movement that derives and maintains its privilege by accommodating the entire power of the working class to capital through political subordination to the bosses’ governmental apparatus. This is accomplished through the thousands of networks that chain labor’s organizations to Big Business’s company management, its state, and its political parties. In order to fight, a new generation of worker militants must rise up from the ranks that understand that there can be no compromise between Labor and Capital! The real power lies with the organized working class in alliance with the oppressed based on a political program of irreconcilable struggle against capitalism. We would not have a labor movement today if past generations of workers had not defied the union-busting laws, injunctions and strike-breaking cops and hired strikebreakers; had not

organized mass pickets that stopped scabs, flying pickets and sit-down strikes; or had they relied on Democratic Party politicians instead of their own collective strength.”⁵

The Democratic Party labor-fakers and other union officials unwilling to fight the bosses are an ideological obstacle and need to be swept aside by a resurgent labor movement, so that workers can defend and advance their own interests. The historic gains of labor are all quickly disappearing. The bosses recognize their class interests and they wantonly wage a one-sided class war against the unions, the non-union and precarious workers and the oppressed. Class conscious workers must not let this state of affairs continue.

The CWI’s 15 minutes of fame

On the job a usual term of derision among our fellow workers is to call someone a “politician.” This is a gut level correct evaluation and historically it is a conquest of the IWW from its earliest days when they understood that voting gets the workers nothing or nothing good. Of course this immediately caused a contradiction and a problem for IWWers who knew socialist candidate Eugene V. Debs as the great organizer of the rail road unions. Debsian model revolutionary electoral work still resonates for us and exists in renewed vivid contrast in the glare of Socialist Alternative’s (Soc.Alt.) recent Seattle city council victory. Kshama Sawant, member of Soc.Alt., the Committee for a Workers International organization in the USA, ran a centrist campaign properly-so-called. Because Sawant has captured the national spotlight, outfits like the FSP and ISO bury whatever their criticisms might be and hope to be identified with her. So like the FSP, the ISO fails to call for sit-down strikes at Boeing and industry-wide. Instead they play up socialist Kshama Sawant’s election victory as the way forward for workers in general and for the IAM. So we find Socialist Worker saying...

“With “friends” of working people like the Democrats, who needs enemies? The IAM would do well in the future to follow the lead of the brave local unions that backed the Seattle City Council campaign of Socialist Alternative candidate Kshama Sawant. Political independence from both corporate parties is imperative if labor is ever going to get free of the stranglehold of the two-party corporate political system in the U.S.”¹¹

They correctly call for class independence, but fail to mention the burning need for

a class struggle fighting workers/labor party to organize and lead **struggle** against capital. And what about political program?

The **purpose** of socialists running for bourgeois political office is not to invest the electoral process with illusions, but to use the election and office for propaganda and agitation, to bring a revolutionary Marxist program to the working class. On Nov. 21, 2013, Seattle’s [newly elected Socialist councilwoman](#) Sawant told Boeing workers at a rally:

“The workers should take over the factories, and shut down Boeing’s profit-making machine.....The only response we can have if Boeing executives do not agree to keep the plant here is for the machinists to say the machines are here, the workers are here, we will do the job, we don’t need the executives. The executives don’t do the work, the machinists do.”¹²

This militancy definitely found an audience among the workers at the rally, as well as across the nation and internationally. But talk is cheap and advocating labor militancy is not enough while singing Kumbaya on a platform of labor leaders and Democrats. Sawant, who was elected primarily on a liberal/populist reformist program of a \$15 minimum wage, “tax the rich” and affordable housing, failed to mention the class collaborationist union bureaucracy or the capitalist state and their repressive apparatus during this speech. In contrast, the CWG says that the workers **should take over not only one Boeing operation, but the entire transport industry without any compensation to any of the major shareholders and run it under democratic workers control**. But that requires workers developing an independent, class struggle political program, methods and organization if they are to win. Had Sawant called for expropriation, she would have still found wide favor among the working class. Of course this would have alienated her liberal/progressive allies, which is excluded for the CWI. It certainly might have upset Socialist Alternative’s (Soc. Alt.) [15now](#)¹³ coalition and the fight for what even Soc.Alt. says in NYC is a non-living, poverty wage¹⁴ (CWG in contrast says **\$15 is not a Living Wage, period**).

The Way Forward for Boeing Workers

Boeing workers, justifiably outraged, have filed NLRB unfair labor practice charges against the IAM International to “*overturn the 777X contract extension vote that passed by a slim margin.*”¹⁵ This is misguided and

demonstrates the backwardness of American workers' class consciousness, which the AFL-CIO/Change to Win labor tops have worked overtime to repress. The fight against the union bureaucracy is primarily a political fight and they will not be defeated through legalistic maneuvers. Using labor laws, the courts and labor boards against **the bosses or non-worker/non-leftist organizations** is a viable tactic when used to expose the state and the system, but cannot substitute as a path to victory. Only the workers own self-directed mass actions and political independence can conquer historic gains for the entire class.

Many trade unionists think the NLRB, the courts and the government are neutral or that they will work in labor's interest. This is a dangerous illusion, as even the gains encompassed in labor laws, such as the formal (but not practical,) legal right to unionize (which should be defended,) are double-edged swords. The whole legal system of collective bargaining, arbitration and government labor agencies arose as a means for the ruling class to contain working class struggles within the framework of a formal system of labor laws. Workers were organizing unions without legal blessing and engaging in strikes (and always will), particularly during the rise of the industrial unions of the CIO, so the bosses needed a method to divert all this energy into safer, non-disruptive channels that would not shut down production. CWG says: **No illusions or reliance on the NLRB, labor laws, the courts or binding arbitration! No lawsuits or NLRB charges against workers' organizations! Government out of the labor movement! Labor must clean its own house!**

There's the idea that the NLRB complaint is what is needed NOW, before the ink is dry on the contract extension, but this is also wrong. The concessions are not retroactive; they go into effect in the extension (in 2016). **So right now is the time to fight for a mass Emergency IAM Convention of the entire union to throw out the Buffenbaggers** for having done this to Machinist Lodge No. 751, to denounce them and run them off and replace them with militants that understand we are in a class war and that the working class needs to play for keeps. The "Barffenbaggers" will try to block this bureaucratically, of course, but an organized, insurgent rank and file that has a clear understanding of the situation and the political tasks can defeat the labor skates. **Organize rank and file class struggle caucuses/committees to throw out the bankrupt union leadership! We need accountable worker**

leaders who are willing to organize and lead an uncompromising fight under democratic rank and file direction! All union positions from the local through the international should be elected and subject to immediate recall by a vote at any time by the ranks! No union official should get paid more than the highest paid worker they represent!

Once the IAM ranks send the labor traitors within the IAM back to the shop floor to work for a living, **mass rank and file democratic strike committees can be convened to organize** and defeat the Boeing concessions. **An injury to one is an injury to all! No more concessions! Draw a line in the sand! For industry-wide solidarity/general strikes and class struggle tactics such as flying pickets, mass picket lines, sit-down strikes and hot-cargoing to win!** This is how the unions were built and how we can start to defend them and rollback these attacks.

Of course, these tactics will immediately come up against the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state, the anti-labor laws and the courts/cops. Almost every member of ILWU (Longshoremen) Local 21 in Longview were arrested during their recent struggle and the Obama administration deployed the Coast Guard, using the military for union-busting. The Longshoremen were not defeated by the state though, but by their own servile International leadership who forced a concessionary agreement on them, just like the IAM International is doing now.

In 1966, the transit workers in New York City went out on strike and were hit with a strike-breaking injunction. Mike Quill, the leader of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) told the judge he *"can drop dead in his black robes. I don't care if I rot in jail. I will not call off the strike."*¹⁶ He was true to his word. He didn't call off the strike and he was jailed. But the workers won! **Taft-Hartley and strike-breaking injunctions can be smashed through united struggle!** For the AFL-CIO/Change to Win labor tops that are not willing to do what it takes, may we suggest they need to change careers and find one of those forthcoming \$15/hour fast food jobs.

Fight for a Workers' Political Program of Struggle to Win

The fight for jobs can unite the entire class with all the oppressed. This requires a struggle not for a minimum wage, but for jobs for all through spreading the work around through a sliding scale of wages and hours. **For a 30 hour work week at**

40 hours pay! A Living Wage historically is a wage that is the prevailing union rate. In cases where the union wage falls short, a living wage must be fought for! The living wage should be determined by mass assemblies of labor, labor's own wage and price committees, and not by the Democratic Party, their union bureaucratic hacks or their reformist coattails, and ultimately without a doubt the living wage will be enforced through united labor actions, not elections, petitions, or referenda. The living wage can only be realized through struggle, through organizing the unorganized "wall-to-wall".

Boeing workers should seize the plant, but it should not stop there. **Workers should nationalize without compensation to the major shareholders the finance sector along with major industries. These then can be run under democratic workers control.** This way job necessity can be determined by the workers, by social need and not the dictates of profit.

Political demands require a political party. Thus, in order to win workers must break from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and build a fighting, class struggle workers/labor party which opposes the anarchy of the profit system. Such a party would mobilize the working class to save Boeing jobs at home and to organize international solidarity with our working class sisters and brothers abroad, such as the Korean railway workers who today fight the privatization schemes of the ruling class. Such a party would fight for a government of the working class to organize a rational, planned socialist economy committed to ending exploitation and oppression, to recovering from the economic devastation and environmental destruction capitalism in its decay has wrought.

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The BART Strikes:
Once again on the relevance and method of Trotsky's Transitional Program



Introduction:
Every strike potentially becomes a school for revolution and the two BART strikes of 2011 posed questions of revolutionary dynamics: how does the working class improve its position in a period of capitalist crisis and what worker democratic organizational forms and political programs are needed to win the battle? These questions are progressively answered by the Transitional Program. In this report we illustrate our differences with respect to political tendencies in the period of the Transport Workers Solidarity Committee (TWSOC). Much could have been learned, let us now reflect on its lessons and why the workers' program cannot be reduced to slogans or bullet points. Yet when we read it as an action program it is readily derided by all remnants of centrists and reformists as a "theory" of the workers' program cannot be reduced to one point unless that point is the Socialist Revolution, which while correct in explaining what is objectively called for, does not take workers from their current backward consciousness to class political consciousness and the understanding of the need for and how to prepare for the Socialist Revolution. Those right centrist and reformists who adopt the workers' program to the end, their desire for and need to keep our wage below the level that the workers' future work from preparing the class for revolution.
The current campaign and contract at the Bay Area has the [United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America](#) (UBA) fighting for the same working class minimum wage instead of demanding that labor take

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The U.S. instantly recognized as legitimate this cabal of putschists who gave key ministry portfolios to fascist parties, namely "Svoboda," the former Social Nationalist Party and the Right Sector Party. Should the banker/parliamentarists fail to consolidate power throughout the country and fail to maintain the territorial integrity (or ONLY shed Crimea, which thereafter would be a cause, like the Kashmir,) the fascist parties, none of which ever got more than 10% of the vote (news to sectarians!), will have the guns and the bodies to seize power outright. Does this prospect disturb Obama or the other bourgeois leaders? It does not, or not enough to mention. Because this is one part debt collection and the question of confidence in which bourgeois group the West trusts most to tighten the austerity screws on the Ukrainian masses, so as to collect their usury. And then there is the agribusiness part, where high tech, machine-intensive farming can be introduced by U.S. and other imperialist agri-monopolies. And then there is the part the sectarians make into everything, the geopolitical game versus Russia, which then gets to be "anti-imperialist" in their schema.

There certainly is a dangerous INTERIMPERIALIST collision taking place in the Ukraine, and the international and local working class will be lucky if they are not made to die in numbers in the temporary resolution of the problem. Ukraine is a main trading partner for Russia, whereas Russian trade with the U.S. (in 2012, the latest complete figures) only came to 4%. And the loss of this market will also mean the loss of a buffer state between Russia and its historical antagonists in the West. Add to this the complication this throws into pipeline politics and you can see that the stakes for Russia are very high. The attitude of the new Ukrainian bourgeois regime and the backing "to the hilt" of Kerry and Obama all confirmed Putin in his belief of Russia's need to increase its commitment to the SCO, the counter alliance to the NATO bloc. The U.S. tried the ploy of attempting to use the Chinese diplomatic history of standing for territorial integrity against Russia, but this went nowhere.

The Washington-inspired rightist regime that issued from the putsch will not have a different policy on debt payment than Yanukhovich. This is WHY this regime rests upon the power of the fascist gangs! The privations that drove the masses into the Kiev streets within a month of Yanukhovich implementing the I.M.F.'s austerity plans will be redoubled now, and it is only the fascists for whom this will not be important,

souped up as they are on race hatred. Those among the masses who support this regime as a return to the Constitution of "The Orange Revolution" or a seismic shift of state away from corruption will find out how wrong they can be. Those who believe this regime will deliver the standard of living of the western European masses mistake these sons of yesterday's C.I.A./Gehlen Organization saboteurs for the spin masters of Radio Free Europe.

The [SWP's The Militant](#) tells us the fascist component in the Maidan was inconsequential, while the mirror opposite is reported by the [ISO's Socialist Worker](#) "*The vast majority of the protesters were motivated by a genuine desire for democracy. Through boldness in street fighting and the physical suppression of any left or labor intervention in the protest movement, the far right made it impossible for a "left" sector to emerge.*"

Basically, this confirms other reports that leftists foolish enough to seek a united front with the fascists got a lesson in the character of fascism. Playing down the obvious role of the fascists and their links to the West, The Militant calls for "Russian Troops out of the Ukraine and to Defend the sovereignty of the Ukraine," but they say nothing about the provocateur U.S./EU imperialism. The Militant explains that the greater capitalist, the Russian power, is oppressing the weaker capitalist power. Careful not to ascribe the definition of imperialist to Russia, the Barnsites do not see this as an inter-imperialist conflict. They see no need to demand their own bourgeoisie stop its aggression against the Ukraine. Refusal to understand the transformation of Russia into imperialist guides the Militant to ignore the responsibility to turn the inter-imperialist war into a war against your own bourgeoisie in the U.S.A. On the other side the Workers Vanguard and their ilk make a popular front with Russian imperialism. Socialist Fight tells us, that to defeat fascism a deal with the devil is permissible. Nostalgia prevents these sects from seeing clearly. None of them offer the working class a way out of the crisis.

Revolutionary Marxists must take a dual-defeatist position denouncing the rapine imperialist appetites of our own capitalist class first and foremost, that of its EU acolyte imperialisms and that of the Russia/China imperialist bloc, whose whole post-1991 Ukrainian policy has been to make of the Ukraine a colonial outcropping.

Revolutionary Marxism calls for the immediate organization of the working class FOR ITSELF, completely independent of all bourgeois political parties, organizations and interests. This requires self-defense workers militia organizations, both to smash the fascists and as the embryonic power of a workers' state. Simultaneous with organization of these armed units must be the proliferation of workers' councils and all their supporting and reporting subordinate committees in the workplaces and communities. In their present circumstances, Ukrainian workers and their Russian counterparts need to prevent the war that will be the ultimate outcome of the more frequent and serious collisions of the two imperialist alliances. These are the enemies of all workers everywhere. There is no spot on earth where they can be made to refrain from increasing our exploitation when they employ us; no place where they will not export their unemployment if they can find cheaper labor elsewhere. This means "nationalism" is useless, where in the distant past it served to defend you. You need only look at the example of the Balkan wars of the 1990's, where imperialist powers redrew the maps but the local masses did the dying! To reject such an outcome you need to adopt a thoroughgoing revolutionary Marxist program and link your fate to that of all workers everywhere. Let's live! Let's live to make the next industrial/technological revolution the world needs to save the planet and provide for the well-being and fulfillment of us all!

Workers of the Ukraine and Crimea form up multi-ethnic workers militia to smash the fascist thugs of Svoboda and the Right Sector parties, arrest and try the western paid snipers, overturn the putschist regime in Kiev and to organize mutiny among imperialist Russian troops!

Workers need to build and defend democratic workers councils! Drive out all imperialist forces and proxies through workers revolution!

No faith or support for imperialist Russia! No faith in Putin! Only permanent revolution can defeat imperialist subjugation of the Ukraine! Build a revolutionary workers party! For a workers and peasant government! For a Socialist United States of Europe!

03/16/2014

also declared illegal by the capitalist state, at least 411 striking workers were imprisoned.

KORAIL also stated it will maintain all the disciplinary measures against the striking workers, as well as criminal charges.³ On top of this, KORAIL is now demanding that the KRWU pay for the costs of employing scabs during the strike (!!!) and the union faces a \$14.5 million lawsuit on top of the \$4.6 million 2009 lawsuit still going through the courts.⁴

The ROK government anti-union policy is an international scandal. This policy can only survive because it pleases the USA's capitalist class. South Korea is a Potsdam conference invention that depends for its existence on U.S. military force. We demand the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Korea and for the closure and dismantling of bases and installations. Realism dictates that only action by the Korean workers supported by the international working class can make the U.S. forces leave, as Korea would be the front line state in the U.S. Pacific Pivot preparations for capitalist restoration in the North and operations against China in WWII. No U.S./SEATO navel base in Je-Ju!

Korean workers North and South need to defeat every privatization drive as well as the Stalinist Kim regime's stratagems for restoring capitalism along the lines of the Chinese model. In the one scenario North Korea becomes part of an existing American semi-colony in South Korea, while in the other it becomes a semi-colony of Chinese imperialism. The road to victory for a united Korean people would overthrow the parasitic Stalinist Bureaucracy in the North and unite all Korean workers against the U.S. and competing imperialisms and their pet capitalist class in the South.

The class enemy, being a small group, more easily arrives at agreement but we're happy to say they are having their difficulties. January was the month Obama had hoped to fast track the Trans-Pacific Partnership Act (TPPA) for the benefit of corporatist capitalism everywhere. But this deal is nowhere near done with member states balking at its provisions, so that Obama is nowhere near a position to reach for his rubber stamp. We should caution that congress seems poised to give Obama Fast

Track power. This is a threat aimed at the Korean working class, a special gift to the privatizer predator corporations in imperialist countries who look at the Korean labor force with vampire appetites. With the TPPA imperialist firms can incorporate as Korean



enterprises and then sue any government in the member states, federal, state or local in private TPPA courts for passing laws that protect the environment, consumers, or workers from their pursuit of private profit.

The U.S. imperialist master of the ROK regime has been ready and willing to smash the South Korean workers' movement and any strike at all times since General Hodges arrived in September 1945. The U.S. army suppressed the indigenous South Korean regime, installed the puppet Syngman Rhee, suppressed the anti-Rhee uprising of 1946 and then launched a campaign of provocations leading to the war of July, 1950. To remove this "temporary" occupation army from South Korea we need stateside industrial solidarity actions and strikes against the



U.S. military by its civilian employees. We call upon U.S. troops in Korea to build a "Let's Go Home" movement and we call for all occupation troops out of South Korea.

For a socialist revolution that derives its power from the rank and file and places the levers of power in the hands of the rank and file, a Bolshevik Leninist Party of the type described in Trotsky's 1938 Transitional Program is required. For truly effective solidarity to be organized a new international of such revolutionary workers parties is also required. This is now a requirement for species survival as well. Truly and as never before to the same degree, human kind faces the choice, socialism or barbarism.

VEOLIA (see [Class War V.1#6](#)) wants BART and KORAIL too, so class conscious workers demand:

- **SOLIDARITY WITH THE KOREAN RAIL WORKERS!**
- **The ROK must drop all prosecutions and abolish all fines levied upon Korean Rail Workers for fighting against the privatization of the rail system!**
- **Reinstate all strikers fired by KORAIL without discipline or prejudice and make restitutions to them for any fines including those levied after previous strikes!**
- **Free all Korean class struggle and political prisoners.**
- **No naval base at Je-Ju and no TPPA, twin harbingers of World War III!**
- **For labor solidarity actions in defense of Korean political prisoners, class struggle fighters, rail workers and their unions!**
- **U.S. transport workers: hot-cargo goods from South Korea until all charges are dropped and all Korean workers are released! Organize rank and file union committees to build solidarity actions!**
- **For multi-national strikes against Veolia and all multinational privatizers!**
- **NO STRIKE IS ILLEGAL-DEFY AND DEFEAT LAWS AGAINST TRANSPORTATION AND PUBLIC SECTOR STRIKES, IN KOREA AND NYC TODAY AND IN CALIFORNIA AND BEYOND TOMORROW!**

but a labor leadership bent on finding common ground with the VW bosses and taking them at their word in the “neutrality agreement.” At the September, 2013 AFL-CIO convention the union tops said they were setting out to recoup what they had lost, but you can’t prove that by the Tennessee campaign. What the workers were offered was more of the same old “team concept,” industry partner, dissolving the absolutely opposed interests of capital and labor.

VW cleverly said they would be fine with the union if the workers vote for it because they knew the kind of campaign the UAW was waging was going to fail. And UAW agreed not to visit the workers in their homes to campaign for the yes vote, a crucial tactic as any union organizer knows. This campaign was completely unserious, a betrayal of the labor movement and reflects the mentality of people who have been parasitically living off of the membership for a long time.

An actual militant organizing drive at VW would have organized pickets to drive the fascists from the streets, and would link up in solidarity and mutual aid with the locked out Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers (BCTGM,) the Kellogg workers in Memphis, to build mass pickets to keep out the scabs. The multi-racial workforce at the Kellogg plant, which is 60% African American and 40% white, has been locked out for 4 months and not an ounce of fighting spirit or leadership has come from the AFL-CIO tops. Where are the caravans of pickets from AFL-CIO strongholds to turn this fight in the workers favor? Instead they rely on toothless “play nice boys” letters from their “friends of labor” in the Senate - all five of them! (See letter here <http://www.bctgm.org/PDFs/USSenate-to-Kelloggs.pdf>) How many millions in campaign contributions, the AFL-CIO PAC donations, did this failure cost? We played high-rollers in the elections and four months later the best you could get from your friends of labor in the Senate is five lousy signatures on a toothless “play nice boys” letter? Ask yourself, is this the kind of results we expect from a labor leadership?

The BCTGM union bureaucrats have a lot of experience with this type of employer tactic to force concessions, and yet they apparently have no leadership to provide. The Roquette lockout in Keokuk, Iowa in 2010-2011 ended in defeat for the workers, as did the Midwest American Crystal Sugar lockout of BCTGM workers and the Hostess bankruptcy. The



UAW organizers Walter Reuther & Richard Frankensteen beaten by Ford Company thugs while leafletting Ford plant in 1937

Kellogg workers are going to lose unless a different tack is taken.

Where such class conflicts have been won, the response to a lockout or plant closing has been to seize the plant or business through a sit-down strike, driving out the scabs and bosses and mobilizing the entire labor movement in solidarity to ring the plant with mass pickets that no scab crosses. This is how to defend the struggle and spread it across the entire industry. Solidarity strikes and hot-cargoing should be the instinctive reflex of the entire labor movement. In response to the Crystal Sugar lockout, Trumka and the AFL-CIO tops finally took time off from the 2012 election and campaigning for the Democrats--almost a year into the lockout--to “organize” an impotent and worthless consumer boycott campaign. Rather than working class struggle, the methods that built the unions in the first place, the union tops substitute Democratic politicians and corporate public relations campaigns, if they even bother to do anything at all.

Faced with devastated industry at General Motors, Ford and Chrysler in the North, the UAW has repeatedly said it’s going to redouble its organizing efforts at non-unionized, foreign-based plants...through this labor-management cooperation crap.

“UAW President Bob King has said he’s seeking deals with foreign automakers to allow workers to vote on union representation in an atmosphere free from the pressurized tactics that labor and management often use to make their case.”

VW revealed the utter bankruptcy of this strategy.

So long as this is the quality of the labor leadership the future for the American and the world working class looks grim indeed. The UAW has previously unsuccessfully tried to organize the Nissan plant in Smyrna, Tennessee, as well as other plants in the South. Here’s what the Nissan plant looks like in Tennessee. You have a two gate factory with contract workers in place of members and a two-tier wage system:

“Young doesn’t actually work for Nissan -- he works for Yates Services, an in-house contractor that’s hired thousands of people over the past few years to ramp up production as people started buying vehicles again. It’s a big difference.

Yates is like a company within a company, with separate bulletin boards and rules and procedures. The bona fide Nissan employees are easily recognizable through their logoed shirts, which Yates workers don’t receive. And the disparity isn’t just symbolic. Yates pays between \$10 and \$18 an hour, which is about half what Nissan employees make. Plus, the gap in benefits is wide. Back at home, Young pulls out a crumpled sheet of paper from the company that lays out the differences and pokes at the two columns with his finger.”

And Nissan hires temp workers for years, with false promises of permanent hire:

“We were promised to be hired on,” she says. Yet she and her fellow workers have remained temps for years. “Lots of temp workers have lost hope.”

Where is there union leadership capable of unionizing these workers and assuring that all work done at the site provides union wages, protections, and benefits? The UAW leaders have accepted two-tier concessions with the Big Three. What confidence does any worker have that they will fight in their interests? They obviously have no strategy for preserving even union jobs! The Democratic Party union leadership needs to be swept aside by a new generation of union militants committed to the political independence of labor who can lead these struggles to victory. Instead of funneling tens of millions to Democrats, a mass organizing drive needs to be funded to organize the South. And any real organizing drive would link up to the oppressed Black, Brown and immigrant communities and fight for jobs for all at a living wage (i.e., the prevailing union rate and benefits.) For a 30 hour workweek at 40 hours pay to spread the work around!

In the face of threatened plant closures, the working class needs to seize not just the one plant, but the entire industry and nationalize it under workers control with no compensation to the major stockholders. In addition to capitalist exploitation (i.e., the extraction of surplus value,) the working class subsidizes these industries through taxes at a time when the social wage is being cut by both the Democrat and Republican parties. You don’t

think so? Take a look at this:

“A 2013 report from the policy center *Good Jobs First*, commissioned by the *United Auto Workers (UAW)*, which is seeking to unionize Nissan’s Canton, MS, and Smyrna, TN, plants, calculated that Mississippi handed Nissan nearly \$1.3 billion in state and local subsidies to build the Canton plant in 2001. That includes a controversial type of subsidy in which Nissan gets a rebate on part of the taxes the state withholds from workers’ paychecks — in effect, as *Good Jobs First* puts it, this means workers are “paying taxes to the boss.” According to the report, this portion of the package alone — a 25-year, \$160 million deal — was the largest such subsidy ever awarded, anywhere. The report calculates that taxpayers are paying more than \$10,000 per job per year at the Canton plant that in many cases start at \$12 an hour.”

The “tax the rich” campaign that the fake-left and the liberals put forward will not improve the conditions of the working class or the oppressed. That will only mean more tax money for the coffers of the politicians’ pet projects such as their local defense industries, and military contracts for supplies for wars abroad, and environmental destruction at home in forms such as the Keystone XL Pipeline and the Vogtle nuclear plant. The working class needs to organize its own fighting workers/labor party to fight for a workers government and restructure social production on the basis of rational need. For a socialist America!

Defend fired Moroccan UMT Union leaders!

The CWG calls for the international working class and labor movement to take up the cause of five Moroccan trade unionists of the Union Marocaine du Travail (UMT) who were fired for organizing.

“On February 13, 2014, the Total Call call centre in Casablanca, owned by the French telecom group Iliad, dismissed five leaders of the Union Marocaine du Travail (UMT) just one day after they officially registered a local union in the company in accordance with Moroccan law. Among those dismissed were Mostafa Berrchid, El Mehdi Nasseur, and Kamal Souker. The union is demanding their immediate reinstatement.”

For the immediate reinstatement with back pay and benefits for the Iliad UMT trade unionists!

http://www.labourstartcampaigns.net/show_campaign.cgi?c=2217

International Labor Defense

An Injury to One is an Injury to All!
For International Working Class Defense of All Class War Prisoners and Victims of Capitalist State Repression!

The CWG stands for the non-sectarian working class defense of class war prisoners and all the oppressed based upon the old Wobbly principle that “An Injury to One is an Injury to All!” We place no faith in the capitalist courts, government agencies or labor boards to achieve justice. We call for the united International Working Class in alliance with the oppressed to come to the defense of all victims of capitalist state repression with class struggle methods. This means not only union resolutions but mass labor mobilizations and political strikes.

38 Years of Prison Hell: Free Leonard Peltier!



Marchers carry a large painting of native political prisoner Leonard Peltier during a “National Day of Mourning,” Thursday, November 22, 2001, in Plymouth, Massachusetts. (AP Photo/Steven Senne)

Indigenous People activist and American Indian Movement (AIM) member Leonard Peltier remains behind bars nearly four decades after being framed for the deaths of two F.B.I. agents at the Pine Ridge reservation in 1975. Nearly 70 now, he has suffered a stroke and his health is deteriorating. Suffering from a debilitating jaw condition for several years, and despite surgery in prison that only made it worse, he was repeatedly and vindictively denied an offer by a Mayo Clinic physician to operate free of charge. It was only after the United Nations stepped in and criticized the U.S. government for inhumane treatment that the surgery was allowed. Peltier and his supporters have to wonder if he too must be given compassionate release, like leftist attorney Lynne Stewart who suffers from terminal cancer and served four plus years in prison, and who was denied compassionate release until December, 2013. It is not enough for this racist system of capitalist injustice to incarcerate fighters for the oppressed, but they deny them basic human needs such as decent medical care. Peltier has endured beatings in prison and the hellhole of solitary confinement for petty infractions.

The US government has always gone after workers and leftists, from the Haymarket

martyrs of the 19th Century to the Palmer Raids of 1919 to the Smith Act prosecutions of Teamsters and Trotskyists in 1940. It is a myth that American “democracy” has recently lost its way, as many liberal political activists mewl today. It has always been the “democracy” of the capitalists enforced by the police, the military, prisons and bloody repressions. Along with the murderous U.S. government COINTELPRO campaign against the Black Panthers, AIM, and Leonard Peltier were targeted by the F.B.I. in the wake of the social and political unrest of the Civil Rights and Vietnam War era, as the ruling class cracked down.

Peltier is innocent! CWG calls on the international working class to fight for the immediate release of Leonard Peltier and to escalate the struggle to free him. It is long past time that this heroic fighter for indigenous rights was freed. The multi-racial American working class has a special duty in this struggle for the rights of Native Peoples as the history of the brutal, racist American state is one of broken treaties, stolen land and the genocide of millions of Native Peoples. Today, the Pine Ridge Reservation has 80% unemployment; 61% live below the poverty line. In the western hemisphere, only in Haiti is the life expectancy lower than on the reservations, and infant mortality is five times higher than the U.S. national average. As the international, multi-racial, multi-ethnic working class fights for its survival today, we have many historical crimes committed by the U.S. ruling class to try to make right through the justice of the workers and the oppressed.

http://www.leonardpeltier.info/letter_from_leonard_peltier

Marissa Alexander: Now Facing 60-Years for Defending Herself



movement must unconditionally defend the democratic rights of women including equal pay and self defense. Women's liberation is integral to the socialist revolution!

**Free Marissa Alexander!
Drop all charges!**

Uphold the right of armed self-defense for women against domestic and sexual violence! Uphold the right of the oppressed to self-defense against the racist state!

<http://www.freemariissanow.org/>

<http://www.freemariissanow.org/about-marissa-alexander.html>

http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx_factor/2014/03/04/marissa_alexander_now_faces_up_to_60_years_in_prison_for_her_alleged_warning.html

Marissa Alexander, a domestic violence survivor, had been sentenced in Florida to **serve** three concurrent twenty year sentences for firing a warning shot into the air while defending herself from her estranged abusive husband. No one was injured. The jury convicted her after only 12 minutes of deliberation, despite the fact that she had no previous criminal record and her husband, Rico Gray, admitted he threatened her life. This conviction was thrown out due to improper instructions to the jury. Now the racist state of Florida seeks to make the sentences run consecutively i.e., sixty years.

"Rico Gray, has been arrested for domestic violence twice and previously landed Ms. Alexander in the hospital after beating her. Gray admitted in a sworn statement that he was the aggressor, threatened her life and was so enraged that he did not know what he would do. Gray also described his beatings of other women with whom he was involved." – [Free Marissa Now!](#)

Unlike racist vigilante George Zimmerman, Marissa Alexander had every legitimate reasons to "stand her ground". Self-defense is a human right. Zimmerman, who targeted Black people and went out of his way to do so, went scot free, but in racist America, a Black woman has her life ruined for defending herself from serious injury or possible death. The capitalist state is imposing its own brand of vigilante injustice on Alexander. It is time to remember that the drunken 'dead-eye' Dick Cheney shot his friend in the face and his only penalty was to become the butt of late night TV satire.

Women face terrible oppression in America, from domestic and sexual violence, to attacks on abortion rights and clinics, to discrimination in hiring and wages. A fighting workers

Obama Deporter-in-Chief Closes In On New Record

In the second-half of March, as we write, the Obama regime is closing in on the all-time record for deportations of immigrants and is set to exceed the two million mark by the time you read this. This massive deportation of immigrant workers is a give away to privatized prisons. In holding pens, awaiting deportation, foreign nationals are made to work for pennies an hour under the authority of latter-day slave-master Obama.

"The expanding pool of federal inmates has meant steady business for the two largest U.S. private prison corporations, particularly as populations in state prison systems have begun to decline. Last year, Corrections Corporation of America derived 30 percent of its revenue from federal contracts with the U.S. Marshals Service and the Bureau of Prisons, a total of \$546 million, according to company financial statements. The GEO Group received more than 25 percent of its revenue from those two agencies last year, a total of \$384 million." - Huffington Post, 08/23/2013

Big capital can't make an honest buck anymore because of the Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall so they look to privatize public resources and Obama is willing to swell the federal prisons to afford these capitalists a place to earn at the expense of workers not needed by productive firms!

In Washington state, detained immigrant workers have now gone on a hunger strike over this exploitation and sub-standard living conditions. We say:

Free them all! Stop the slavery in the detention centers! For full, immediate citizenship rights for all immigrants! Smash Obama's deportation campaign and the privatized concentration camps where undocumented workers are enslaved for private profit. NOT ONE MORE DEPORTATION!

See also <http://www.labornotes.org/2014/03/making-noise-solidarity-immigrant-hunger-strikers>

Free Anti-Nuclear Activists Gregory Boertje-Obed, Sister Megan Rice, and Michael Walli!

On February 16th, a Federal Judge in Knoxville, Tennessee sentenced three [Transform Now Plowshares](#) anti-nuclear activists to prison terms for their actions at the Y 12 National Security Complex in Oak Ridge, Tennessee opposing the U.S. imperialist war machine. Outrageously, 84-year old Sister Megan Rice, a Catholic nun, was sentenced to 35 months in prison and three years probation. Two army veterans, 58-year-old Greg Boertje-Obed and 64-year old Michael Walli were sentenced to five year prison sentences. They were protesting plans to build a Uranium processing facility to produce nuclear weapon materials.

The U.S. war machine is already armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons as inter-imperialist tensions are increasing. While the U.S. has a weakened economic base, it has the ability to back up its imperialist drives with a massive modern military and enough nuclear weaponry to destroy humanity many times over. It is the U.S. government that are the criminals, being the only nation ever to use nuclear weapons in wartime, twice and against civilians.

The main enemy truly is at home for the American working class! Workers should organize and demand the immediate release and pardon for these three anti-war activists.

<http://www.counterpunch.org/2014/02/21/pardon-anti-nuclear-activists-gregory-boertje-obed-sister-megan-rice-and-michael-walli/>

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, and later along with its deformed offspring in Eastern 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 North Korea survives as a degenerate workers state. We unconditionally defend the DPRK against the capitalist restoration plans of the contending imperialist blocs, and fight for political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy as part of a world socialist revolution.

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, a struggle led by a revolutionary Marxist party, produces a revolutionary class-consciousness.

We fight for a Revolutionary Party

The bourgeoisie 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 method on the revolutionary tradition of Bolshevism and Trotskyism. Such a party, armed with a transitional program, 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.

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, and the revolutionary Fourth International up to its collapse into centrism, with the closing of the International Center. 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:

Where overthrowing capitalism is all in a days work !!!

Communist Workers Group – USA (CWG-US):

Email: cwgclasswar@gmail.com

Website: <http://cwgusa.wordpress.com/>

Class War (Paper of the CWG-US)

Liaison Committee of Communists

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Revolutionary Workers Group of Zimbabwe (RWG-ZIM)

Email: rwgzimbabwe@gmail.com

Website: www.rwgzimbabwe.wordpress.com

Revolutionary Worker (Paper of RWG-Zimbabwe)

Communist Workers Group-New Zealand/Aotearoa (CWG-NZ)

Email: cwg006@yahoo.com

Websites: <http://redrave.blogspot.com>

<http://livingmarxism.wordpress.com>

Class Struggle (Paper of the CWG-NZ)



Labor Donated