

# CLASS WAR

## Internationalist News and Analysis

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### **Ukraine: Defeat the neo-fascist attack of the Kiev Regime on the anti-Kiev resistance!**

The Liaison Committee of Communists stands alongside Borotba and its call for an International Day of [Solidarity](#) against Fascism on 8 May (elsewhere on May 9<sup>th</sup>).

At the same time we have no confidence in Borotba's program for self-defence against neo-fascism as independent of extreme pro-Russian forces. Proletarian anti-fascists must march and fight separately from petty bourgeois and bourgeois nationalists even while striking at neo-fascist forces.

We oppose those on the left who see Russia as a degenerated workers state, a capitalist semi-colony, or a 'lesser evil' great power to the U.S. and EU, and therefore as a progressive force against Western imperialism and fascism. We have pointed out before that Russia is imperialist and is therefore driven in crisis to resort to fascism to smash the Russian working class.

We also oppose self-proclaimed Trotskyists who say that because there are neo-fascist elements on both sides in Ukraine we should support neither side in the war that is breaking out. Instead therefore projecting a picture of an idealised proletariat that does not exist in the real world, rather than the actual proletariat being subjected to bloody terror and one capable of choosing sides. Because the two sides are not equal! It is clear that the ultra-right U.S./EU stooge bourgeoisie is in control in Kiev, and that the Maidan workers make no effort to stop its neo-fascist attacks on Eastern workers, while in the East the anti-regime workers are for unity with all Ukraine workers against the illegitimate Kiev regime and are not subordinated to the Russian xenophobes!

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### **Brazil! Stop the World Cup! Break the Popular Front!**

*This is the workers big fight against the capitalist crisis in Brazil!*



*Down with the popular front of the PSTU etc. with the PT and the bourgeoisie!*

*Build Working class councils and militias to defend the class from the state forces!*

*For the General Strike to unite the proletariat and to fight for a Workers and Peasants Government!*

*Since the opening of the new world crisis in 2007 Brazil experienced a big hit to its economic growth shared by all the other BRICS except China and Russia which are rising imperialist powers and making the other BRICS semi-colonies. Facing the crisis the workers began to fight against paying for the crisis with loss of their wages and mass sackings. All workers began to see the need for unity, but how would that happen? Fearing that workers would unite from below, the reformist and centrist left parties and left bureaucrats in the unions met the new militancy and the demand for unity with a strategy of containment, the "tactical unity of action" which means unity with the ruling bureaucracy. But they did not expect that a mass movement would rise up against the World Cup, at the very heart of the plan of the*

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### **A Workers Fight for a Living Wage? vs. a \$15/hr Poverty Sub-Living Wage!**

*Class War Supplement distributed at Labor Notes Conference 2014*

**Kshama Sawant's Socialist Alternative (SocAlt)** has joined the International Socialist Organization (ISO), Solidarity and other similar groupings in attempting to abolish the historic program of socialism in the workers movement. In its place they seek to position a program of "sewer socialism" adapted from the fake left wing of the Democratic Party with liberal borrowings from "New Labour"(UK). Standing in stark contrast is the historic program of revolutionary workers as found in the 1912 Socialist Party USA campaign that its candidates, led by [Eugene V. Debs](#), took their stand on in organizing and electoral campaigns

where the class battles were joined across the USA. Particularly relevant in the present moment is the fight for Jobs For All at living wages. Here is the historic workers program left to us by the revolutionary socialists of a hundred years ago. Eugene V. Debs ran on this platform to eliminate poverty, unemployment and sub-living wages:

*"Unemployment:*

*The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a **work day of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages.** The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class." - From the program of the [Socialist Party USA 1912.](#)*

*How workers are trapped in a fight for a sub-living wage!*

\$15 is the populist demagoguery of the fake left of the Democratic Party and the labor-fakers of the union bureaucracy, who actually

Cont. pg. 18

## Table of Contents

<i>Ukraine: Defeat the neo-fascist attack of the Kiev Regime</i>	pg. 1, 12, 21
<i>Brazil! Stop the World Cup! Break the Popular Front!</i>	pg. 1, 6-8
<i>Labor Notes 2014: A Workers Fight for a Living Wage?</i>	pg. 1, 18-19
<i>Editorials</i>	pg. 2-3, 17
<i>NUMSA Breaks with the ANC</i>	pg. 4-6
<i>MAY DAY Statement: Socialism or Death!</i>	pg. 9
<i>How the Right Wing BJP Could Secure Victory?</i>	pg. 10-12
<i>IUOE Local 39</i>	pg. 12
<i>Mike Parker &amp; the Richmond Progressive Alliance</i>	pg. 13-16
<i>SEIU 1000 Leadership Critiqued</i>	pg. 16
<i>Abolish Wage Slavery!</i>	pg. 20
<i>International Labor Defense</i>	pg. 21-23
<i>What we stand for</i>	pg. 24

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

### The Ukrainian Nightmare, One of Many

Internationally and nationally a fake left smoothes the way for apologists for and supporters of various capitalist parties. They get to palm this miserable, defeatist politics off as "realism" because it maintains a reformist unity with pro-imperialist labor bureaucracies, with the political expressions of the aristocratic layers of the labor movement. This "realism" corresponds to "reality television" reality or high school popularity politics but also contains within it a grimmer reality, that "People's Front" governments are transparently not "progressive" and are multi-class projects preparing for military dictatorships or fascism, the two options the bourgeoisie chooses between in this epoch whenever they decide democracy is too expensive.

So, for instance, we see the Cliffites, the international tendency for whom the Socialist Workers Party of the U.K. is the theoretical and tactical mother ship and guide, supporting the fascist-dominated Ukrainian regime in Kiev BECAUSE it combines liberal approval of the (SWINDELED!) outcome of the Maidan protests with formal adherence to bourgeois-democratic paliamentarism. They support this regime even while it attacks the proletarian east of the Ukraine, where a majority understand what the U.S.-sponsored Kiev putschist regime really is and want no part of it.

The fake left of the "3rd camp" variety repeat the propaganda of the U.S.-led imperialist bloc that those who reject the fascist-dominated "democratic" western Ukraine regime are all agents or dupes of Putin, of Russian imperialism.

No surprise, then, when we see the Cliffite Popovitch on YouTube defending his employment by the Kiev regime's education ministry, declaring he is carrying out reforms demanded by the "Program of the Maidan,"

itself a reformist class-collaboration scheme and in no wise a warning of the then looming danger of a fascist takeover, which for the 3rd camp still scarcely exists, especially after the "free" election of Poroshenko. The Cliffites are not alone

in this deception of the world's worker masses. For the "League for a Revolutionary Party," Russian imperialism, a real thing that we nowhere deny, is also the overarching danger.

None of this takes into account the real, operating historical materialism. A broke Ukraine wants to stiff Russia for their bill for natural gas. In return for U.S.-led bloc support, Poroshenko has already delivered his presidential signature on the economic compact, the main subject in dispute for the last year. Russia wants their gas bill paid and wants this much more than any territory populated by a pesky, leftist working class who speak Russian and have declared "Peoples' Republics(!)" Much better from Putin's view to have a deal with his western Europe proper gas customers, even if for reasons of domestic politics he has to look like he supports the Russian-speaking anti-fascists. He also wants to disabuse the western European elites of the U.S. scheme of bringing Ukraine into NATO, and has to saber rattle again now, with Poroshenko's signature on the compact.

Of course Putin is selling the Ukrainian masses "down the river," contrary to the fanciful daydreaming of the Spartacist and Marcyite tendencies. Such is the political power of the Kiev Hitler lovers that the western Ukrainian masses so far have no clue that these "nationalists" have sold them hock and hoof to the bankers of the IMF! Time still exists, before the planet becomes a poisoned cesspool, for the Ukrainian working class to find the revolutionary road, to find its authentic programmatic bridge to humanity's socialist future and to build the Ukrainian section of the world party of socialist revolution necessary to lead our Sisters and Brothers to accomplish their historic tasks.

### Indices of U.S. Imperialist Decline: Economy, Thailand, VA Scandal, Iraq

Our political opponents of a number of left stripes believe our U.S. ruling class is suffocating in record profits, much like Kautsky did and said a hundred years ago. Of course Kautsky was wrong too. The Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall was in full effect, turning inter-imperialist conflicts over division of the world's markets, labor and resources into an incident that became the August, 1914 shooting war, a World War. In our last issue we noted that profits for the U.S. ruling class were down, and now [Michael Roberts](#) shows us how far down. He said recently that it was too early to tell whether this will be true for the 2nd quarter of 2014 as well, but that if they were down again it would signal a reduction in investment in the 3rd quarter and a new economic slump 2 quarters later, i.e., next year. We are watching this. We've been saying the government's unemployment figures are lies and Roberts shows that their claim to have made up all the jobs lost in the 2008 crash hides the growth of the productive forces by over 7 million persons! That is a large number of people to flimflam, many for the first time. Meanwhile the IMF has revised its forecast for 2014 U.S. economic growth downward to "unfavorable." So why do the reformists persist in this "record profits" fairy tale? One reason is it provides the rationale for saying American bosses can afford to raise the "minimum wage" to \$15, which certainly is true regardless. What this campaign does, however, is bury the historical workers' program for union prevailing rate jobs for all and the demands around which the fight has been organized to win these wages (*see Labor Notes 2014 article on page 1*). Of course fighting for a "minimum wage" is a political surrender to the Democratic Party of the enemy social class by various "leaderships" who are themselves politically and often also socially alien class forces. This is an expression of Popular Frontism deluding the masses as the interimperialist war danger grows by the week.

Another aspect of the fake left's belief in Capital having reaped "record profits" is their recycling of the Obama supporters' claims that we are experiencing a recovery, for which they credit his administration. This view takes the press handout output of the Democratic party leaders as the real record of government activity. So, for instance we hear how the Dodd-Frank battery of regulations are supposed to prevent another systemic meltdown of capitalism requiring trillions in bailouts and how the Obama administration stands for the enforcement of Dodd-Frank. This is an illusion created exactly to deceive the masses. There is scant enforcement, with little budgeted for inspectors. So little that New York Attorney General Schneiderman

has characterized present day Wall Street as pervaded by a culture of illegality.

Recently Wikileaks revealed the heretofore secret provisions of the [Trade in Services Agreement](#) (TISA,) another trade treaty Obama wants “Fast Track” powers to negotiate and ratify without congressional review. That means bypass the bought legislators in favor of their paymasters, the Chambers of Commerce, who wrote the treaty. What the TISA proposes is an agreement among 50 countries to roll back the legal regulations on the investment and banking sectors to a “stand still” on the laws on the books in 1994, and the prohibition of any new regulations! This means legalizing once more all the financial mechanisms that ran the world economy up on the rocks in 2008 in the pursuit of the fictitious profits of speculation and the fish-in-a-barrel and astronomical payoffs to hedge fund counterparties, the “carry trade” game and new scams as well. Obama worked on Wall Street before he went to law school.

So such dubious recovery as we are experiencing, such as the aggregate replacement of the job losses of the 2008 collapse, is the shallowest and slowest of the recoveries from capitalist crises since records were kept, yet these malefactors will have no problem subjecting us to a new crisis, each of them saying ‘who cares?, I’ll get mine!’

Even in the unlikely event that Capital does not spring their next downspin on workers in this particular way, we are already reading the signs coming out of China that our living standard is about to take another beating. Cheap imports on which we’ve come to depend to stretch our shrinking real pay are going to cost more. There is gloating among thickheaded capitalist TV economists about how the Chinese economy won’t even have an 8% growth in 2014, as if some basic failure peculiar to China is involved. And of course China is NOT insulated from the crisis of the world capitalist order. But their leaders are determined to prioritize investment in industrializing the interior of the country and producing for, and stimulating, the domestic market for consumer goods. More of these will be sold in China once production ramps up, with less coming to the U.S. For one reason because China is buying less U.S. debt, and for another, because Chinese workers, unlike their U.S. Sisters and Brothers, have been fighting for better wages and conditions and winning. Yes, there are also counter-tendencies in play, such as Chinese bosses chasing cheap labor and moving to Thailand or even the Marianas, so as to continue to sell cheap in the U.S. market. But this is not the main trend.

Unlike the lately-defunct [HWRS](#), we do not believe the U.S. working class has suffered a

“historic defeat.” If that is not to be our fate, though, we will have to fight back like we never have done before, apart from some exemplary class battles in the 1930’s.

### The May coup in Thailand

In our upcoming issue of [Class Warrior, #6](#), we will explore the recent coup in Thailand, the 19th in the last century. Readers will get to see not only the dry facts but also the great strategic gulf growing between ourselves and the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) and explore the methodological differences which we trace all the way back to their 1991 prehistory in “Workers Power,” when they adapted to liberal opinion and backed the Boris Yeltsin counter-coup instead of taking a Marxist stand upon the strictest organizational expression of working class political independence.

Over and over we have seen them fall for the idea that there is something called “democracy” in the abstract, without a content imparted to it by the class using it for their own purposes. Our polemic with them shows how this outfit and its predecessor have thereby repeatedly found the wrong side of the class line and stood there, while their replies to us have a lot of fun calling us names (playing rough doesn’t bother us) and making a lot out of a typographical error. We welcome our readers to try to spot it! But we’ll be even happier if readers come to understand that in the present epoch, as in all times past, Popular Fronts are our class enemies’ preparatory regimes for military dictatorships or fascism.

A second major article featured in [Class Warrior, #6](#) will examine the histories and bizarre theories of each of the main “Third Camp” political currents. This will be a real tour-de-force with all the absurdities of historical denial and self-delusion on display!

### The Veterans Administration scandals

Members of Obama’s own party made General Shinseki walk the plank and unceremoniously, too, without the usual presidential ‘sorry to see you go,’ handshake and plaque. It had been revealed that forty veterans died this year waiting for treatment appointments at the V.A. hospital in Phoenix, Arizona. Once a Veterans Affairs Committee conducted hearings the public discovered that not only were wait times for appointments, even a veteran’s first interview visit, a systemic crisis around the country and at hundreds of clinics, but that the Committee had received 18 (eighteen!) detailed reports of this problem stretching back TEN YEARS! The focus had to be shifted off ‘who knew?’ and onto ‘whom to blame?’ Of course we have no sympathy for Generals and we remember him from the U.S. interventions in

the Yugoslav civil war. For members of the CWG, if the focus is not on the veteran, our co-worker and union sister or brother everywhere we work, we know whom to blame. It is the privatizers in the halls of congress representing the twin parties of war, racism and strikebreaking.

The privatizers, like their corporatist ideologue paymasters, want every experience of service by public agencies, and by extension by public workers, to be exasperating. To make this real and not just spin, they sabotage public agencies by chopping their budgets. This is what they are doing to the Social Security System operating budgets, with the result that as many as 1000 offices may be closed in the near future. This is the logic of their attacks on the Post Office, whose overhead they artificially raised with a staggering funding requirement for the pension funds of future retirees, while at the same time privatizing Post Office work, giving the tasks to the non-union, poverty wage employees of Staples. Most of these privatizers were big champions of their interpretations of what the “founding fathers” meant when they wrote the U.S. Constitution. The Constitution framers wrote that the government would run the post office. In any event, if it was a fighting workers’ labor party writing any constitution, enlisted ranks veterans, like all other workers and the active service members in uniform, would be the government. Veterans would run veteran affairs, select and employ and review the staffs, the medical research establishments, review the treatment feedback and supervise the protocols, so as to present the workers government with realistic budget proposals entirely directed by the total Veteran patients’ treatment needs.

Labor Notes, the self-styled “Troublemakers’ Union” and pet project of some of the founders of the “Solidarity” current, think the answer is simple and call for a [bigger VA budget](#). This might even have been a real possibility before the congress got the neo-liberal austerity religion.

It might have been possible to get a serious and frankly expensive American medicine type overhaul of the VA in the years when the antiwar movement and the civil rights movement had the government taking cover under spending programs and reforms. Now, apart from observing election form and avoiding insulting whole voter blocs, the congress is contemptuous of the working class and strives at all times to please campaign donors. The campaign donors manage who goes in and out of government revolving doors. In, from slash and burn corporations who profit at the government trough when public workers are laid off and their work outsourced; out, from the government’s employ with the operational plans and the personnel charts.

## South Africa: NUMSA breaks with ANC



*Striking miners sing during a strike at the AngloGold Ashanti mine in Carletonville, northwest of Johannesburg October 19, 2012.*

Finally almost two years after the massacre at Marikana, a major union is [breaking politically](#)<sup>1</sup> from the Tripartite Alliance of the ANC, SACP and COSATU that has ruled over imperialism's super-exploitation of South Africa since 1994. The National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA) will not campaign for the ANC in the next elections and has called for an independent union-based socialist party. It seeks to force the leadership of COSATU to call a special conference to pass a resolution that all the COSATU unions break politically from the ANC. But NUMSA has not rejected the reformist "Freedom Charter" –the ANC charter that called for a peaceful, parliamentary transformation to socialism. Nor do the other political breakaways from the ANC, the Committee for a Workers International (CWI)-led Workers and Socialist Party (WASP) and the Malema-led Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) reject the Freedom Charter. It is necessary for revolutionary communists to fight for independence of the unions from the ANC and for the formation of a new mass revolutionary party that breaks the 'necklace' of national capitalism and fights for international socialism.

### Global Crisis and South Africa

Since 2007 the consequences of the global crisis of falling profit rates have been exacted upon the semi-colonies by both the U.S.A.-

led and China-led imperialist blocs. In this way imperialism tries to cut the prices of raw materials and labor power so that global profits can be restored. In [South Africa](#)<sup>2</sup> the ANC acts as the junior partner of the Multi-National Corporations (MNCs), imposing deep cuts on workers' living standards to *restore* both the imperialists' and the ANC's share of rising super-profits. The strategic relationship between the [ANC and China](#)<sup>3</sup> does not allow South Africa to escape the fate of imperialist super-exploitation. South Africa may be a [BRIC](#)<sup>4</sup> but it is definitely becoming a semi-colony of China. Traditional British and U.S. MNCs are now joined by Chinese MNCs in intensifying labor (speed-up) and forcing down wages relative to inflation. This has been felt in every sector of production from the mines to agriculture.

The response of the MNCs, and their junior partner the ANC, has been met with growing resistance in mass demonstrations and strikes. The ANC has declared itself national strike breaker by using the police and union thugs to shoot down miners and other workers in an attempt to intimidate the militant leadership. This has been met with angry resistance such as at Marikana, where miners staged a wildcat strike against the corrupt NUM bureaucracy that acts as the paid agents of the mine owners. When two miners were shot by NUM officials, the wildcat spread. Attempts

by NUM national leaders to quell the uprising failed and led to the planned police [massacre at Marikana](#).<sup>5</sup> As a result most of the platinum miners have left the NUM and joined AMCU, a breakaway union. More strikes have followed, leading up to the current platinum workers' [strike for R12,500/month](#). It is clear that the legitimacy of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is now [being questioned](#)<sup>7</sup> by a widening layer of militant workers. Such was the lead-up to the [NUMSA vote](#)<sup>8</sup> to break with the ANC. Out of the capitalist crisis comes the opportunity for revolution.

### Militancy is not enough

Working class militancy as a response to the demand for more super-profits does not automatically throw up revolutions. Militancy results from rising exploitation and austerity, but the causes of these attacks on workers are not immediately obvious. Capitalism exists as an exploitative social relation where Capital exploits Labor in the process of production. However, this appears as an exchange relation where exploitation is based on labor being paid below its value. This appearance presents the solution as labor organizing and fighting for reforms to equalize exchange or 'fair shares' between Capital and Labor. This leads to 'economism,' where the labor movement fights for wage increases rather than for the end of the 'wage system,' i.e., fights for reformism.

Since economism blames the bosses for using their power to raise profits at the expense of wages, the bosses' policy of attacking labor to raise profits is seen as the enemy, rather than the capitalist system itself. This anti-worker program may be labeled 'neo-liberalism', corruption, austerity etc., but for reformists it can be reversed by workers parties winning elections with a program for parliamentary "socialism." This is a utopian pipe dream; no socialism was ever won this way! Thus economism gives rise to opportunism as the bureaucratic leadership of the unions and left political parties attempt to negotiate 'fair shares'. Despite the militancy of workers, economism prevents them from organizing independently of the labor bureaucracy, from building their own political organs and forging their own path to the socialist revolution. This is a formula for squandering the militancy and great effort of the rank and file, while the class enemy prepares reactionary offensives against us. Don't fool yourself, Allende repeated will always be defeated!

## The Freedom Charter

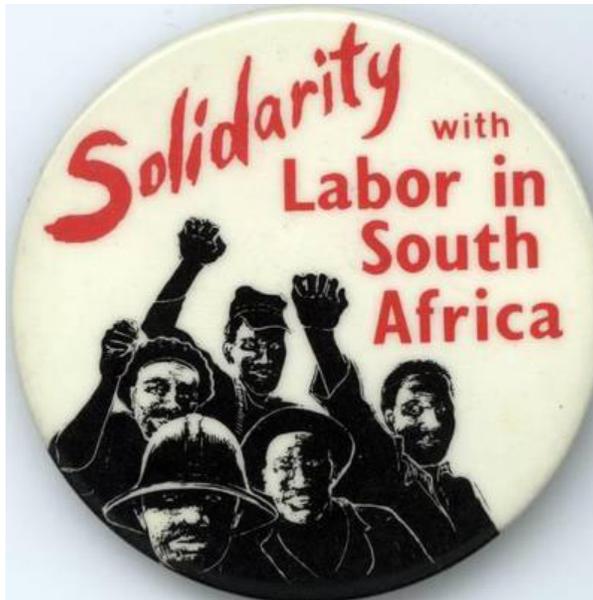
The ANC Freedom Charter was a reformist program adopted by the ANC in 1955 influenced by the South African Communist Party (SACP), a Stalinist party, which put forward the two stage theory of a [national democratic revolution](#)<sup>9</sup> preparatory to the socialist revolution. It was held that once the black majority came to power it would nationalize the means of production to develop the economy and create the basis for a second, socialist, stage. However, since 1994 reality has shown that the ANC in an alliance with the SACP and COSATU has failed to implement the Freedom Charter. Land and industry largely remains in the hands of national and multinational capital, and that far from creating the subjective conditions for socialism, the living standards of the masses have deteriorated.

Those who criticized the ANC did so in terms of its corrupt politics, adopting ‘neo-liberalism’, and the enriching of a new black bourgeoisie at the expense of the masses. The critics’ alternative was and is still today to be for a new mass party to replace the ANC and implement the Freedom Charter as originally planned. For example, the Committee for a Workers International (CWI) opposition, the Marxist Workers Tendency (MWT) was kicked out of the ANC but continued to behave like an internal opposition. Today its successor, the [Workers and Socialist Party](#)<sup>10</sup> (WASP), calls for a new socialist mass party that can be elected to power to legislate for ‘socialism’ by nationalizing the land, industry and banks without smashing the state! Similarly, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) of the former ANC Youth leader Julius Malema, expelled in 2013 for criticizing the current leadership, calls for [nationalization](#)<sup>11</sup> of the mines and industry but only a 60% state share, leaving 40% owned by the capitalists. Neither of these political currents will advocate a complete break with capitalist ownership of the means of production. Neither will organize the seizure of the big capitalists’ assets nor build the necessary workers armed detachments for that task and to eliminate the bourgeois state. To that extent neither the WASP nor the EFF break from the democratic national program of the Freedom Charter.

## May 7th Elections

What should revolutionary communists do in the upcoming elections? While the WASP [Manifesto](#)<sup>12</sup> is left reformist, despite

its Trotskyist phrases about nationalization under workers control, it wants to pose as a left pole of attraction for militant workers who are breaking from the ANC. But there are extraordinary faults in the WASP manifesto calling into question whether it is an alternative to the ANC at all. In a South Africa which has witnessed the Marikana massacre the WASP tells the working class that the police are workers and not their executioners in the employ of the bosses. Likewise they put at the head of their ticket (see <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-11-30-00-ex-numsa-boss-in-arms-bribe-claim>) a capitalist wheeler dealer accused of accepting a R30 million bribe for his influence in the selection of a new fighter fleet for the South African air force. This certainly does not signal to the workers that this party seeks to put capitalism out of business.



If the WASP is serious about winning working class support and building a bloc of the working class left, it must shed its wheeler dealer standard bearer, and correct its poisonous appraisal of the social role of the police, and it must explain who will pay for the proposed nationalizations, the workers or the capitalists? Shouldn't workers be asking how valid is redirecting the mass struggles into parliamentary polling in the present circumstance? And their trade union support is as yet insignificant. Neither the NUMSA or the AMCU which have broken with the ANC are calling for a vote for the WASP.

Nevertheless, if workers find no alternative other than to vote for the WASP, then the Leninist tactic is for revolutionaries to give critical support to them like the rope supports the hanged man. We raise our own program

and give no political support to the WASP left reformist program. But if militant workers have illusions in the WASP program as a socialist alternative to the ANC we offer to accompany them through the experience of voting WASP on May 7th, at the same time warning them that no socialist revolution can be won through parliamentary reforms. However, socialists never give critical support to bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties. Democratic Alliance (DA), Congress of the People (COPE) and Agang are petty-bourgeois parties who are overt champions of imperialism and to the right of the ANC.

## Permanent Revolution

When Trotsky called for a [Black Republic](#)<sup>13</sup> in South Africa in the 1930s he did not envisage this as a national democratic stage to prepare for a future socialist stage. Once the black majority was in power it would face a hostile intervention from British imperialism which would necessarily force it to follow the course of the 1917 revolution in Russia—to the seizure of power by the working class, and to defend itself in a revolutionary war against imperialist attacks. That is, the ‘permanent revolution’. The Leninist-Trotskyist position on the right of nations to self-determination was not a matter for isolated nations. The imperialist epoch was one in which oppressor nations oppressed the colonies directly and the semi-colonies via the national bourgeoisies. The struggle for national independence would require a struggle to defeat **both** the national bourgeoisie and its imperialist masters. Trotsky was assassinated by a Stalinist agent in 1940 and didn't live to see the period of decolonization that followed WW2 and how it vindicated the Leninist-Trotskyist theory and practice of Permanent Revolution.

By contrast the Stalinist conception of ‘socialism in one country’ was translated into national roads to socialism where the national bourgeoisie would take power to prepare the conditions for socialism. This was an opportunist adaptation of the Stalinists to the ‘democratic bourgeoisie’ as allies of the Soviet Union—opportunism at the expense of the world revolution. The new bourgeoisies would prevent the workers from rising up and be rewarded as the junior partners of imperialism. In every case such political ‘independence’ was a sham that ensured continued economic slavery. So in South Africa the SACP dutifully wrote the Freedom Charter as the Stalinist road to socialism.

The ANC in power since 1994 has proved beyond question the validity of the Leninist-Trotskyist conception of national liberation via permanent revolution. In the colonies and semi-colonies where the national liberation movement went on to overthrow the national bourgeoisie and defeat imperialism this proved that it was possible to win a partial national liberation and independence from imperialism. But these were not 'pure' workers revolutions. These were petty bourgeois revolutions that expropriated the bourgeoisie and resulted in transitional deformed workers states such as China, Vietnam and Cuba, ruled by bureaucratic elites, living off the backs of the workers and peasants. Such transitional states would either be overthrown by workers political revolutions and become healthy workers states, or they would revert to become restored capitalist states. Political revolutions could only arise out of an international working class movement led by an international party and program committed to permanent revolution. What does all this mean for South Africa today?

### Revolutionary leadership

We can see that when NUMSA breaks with the ANC, the national bourgeois lackey of imperialism, but does not take the road of permanent revolution, it cannot succeed in creating the conditions for socialism. That is why revolutionaries in South Africa must be clear about their program. When NUMSA breaks from the ANC and SACP, and [fights for COSATU](#)<sup>14</sup> to break also, to form a new mass political party, it must be supported, but very critically by raising the transitional program for permanent revolution.

When NUMSA argues for [implementing the Freedom](#)<sup>15</sup> Charter we must say: *The reformist politics of the Freedom Charter for completing the nationalization of the South African and imperialist corporations is nothing more than the SACP Stalinism of the ANC, now dressed up as the 'win-win' partnership with China<sup>16</sup> on the road to 'market socialism'. The road to China, Vietnam or Cuba, of merely nationalizing capitalist property and calling it 'socialist', leads inevitably to a new capitalist tyranny over the workers.*

Moreover when the road advocated by the EFF, the WASP and other left currents, to form a mass party with a program for South Africa to join the Bolivarian bloc of nations with China against U.S. and EU imperialism, we must say: *China is not the model for South African socialism. It is a restored capitalist*

*state that has become a new imperialist power that super-exploits workers and peasants in all of Africa and the world. Its rivalry with the U.S. threatens to engulf us in a new world war.*

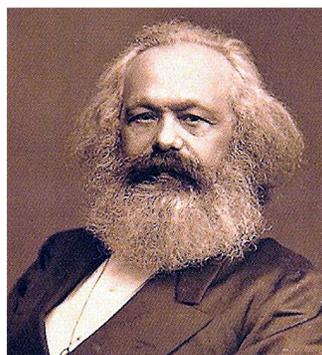
When the left reformists call for a national socialist program for South Africa, revolutionaries must point out that South Africa is not a single country but a vital part of all Southern Africa and the whole of Africa. The working class and landless peasants know no borders. They form a surplus army of migrant workers super-exploited and super-oppressed who move across and between continents.

We must therefore call for the unions to recruit all workers, employed, unemployed, or whatever language, ethnicity and gender and build a mass party based on the workers councils and militias to unite all working people to overthrow the South African state and defeat its imperialist backers in their attempts to destroy the Southern African revolution.

A revolutionary communist action program:

- **Workers to take control of their unions as fighting democratic unions!**
- **Build a mass workers party based on the reclaimed unions!**
- **Form local workplace and community councils and self defense militias!**
- **Mobilize for a general strike to bring down the government and replace it with a Workers and Peasants Government! This government will then impose a plan to create a socialist economy based on the expropriation of all capitalist property, national and MNC, the mines, the banks, the farms, etc., under workers democratic control.**

*Liaison Committee of Communists,  
Article Revised 04/28/2014*



*imperialists and Workers' Party (PT) popular front regime to make the Brazilian workers and peasants pay for the global capitalist crisis!*

### The bureaucrats try to trap workers into the popular front "Tactical unity of action"

The PSOL (Party of Socialism and Liberation) has long demonstrated their capitulation to the popular front government with their unity with the ruling bureaucracy in the unions and bourgeois parties in the elections. The PSTU (United Socialist Workers Party) unity with the ruling bureaucracy began 6 years ago in the teachers union of Rio Grande do Sul, through the "Tactical Unity of Action" strategy of containment. It was implemented in several union elections across the country. The experiences of this tactic are showing that it serves to strengthen the bureaucracy and promotes the PSTU version of the popular front government.

The PSTU went further with the "Tactical unity of action" with the ruling bureaucracy and extended this tactic for a national front in the unions, the "space of unity of action" ("espaço de unidade de ação"). This national popular front was formed 2 years ago and has won support in several workshops and meetings, including that which raised the demand against the cup "In the Cup, we will be fighting" ("Na copa, vai te Luta"). The leadership of PSTU argued that this tactic was important to unite the left. Despite the name, this is not unity for a specific action, but rather an organized popular front where the groups shared a common program of reforms tying workers to the CUT and PT.

The Marxist 'left' in Brazil, as everywhere, remains very fragmented, but they see no problem in uniting behind the flags of

CUT (Federation of Workers Unions). For example, in education, while the government applied its privatisation plan, the PNE (The National Education Plan), teachers were striking in almost every state of the country and taking the fight nationwide was a need perceived by all. But the bureaucracy failed to call for unification of the strikes. The CUT ended up calling a strike for the PNE, so the workers were trapped again in the “tactical unity of action” sponsored by the left of the popular front.



As the class struggle intensified over this period, the more did the treacherous left bureaucracy try to trap it in the popular front behind the CUT and the PT. This tactic begun by the PSTU in the union movement, eventually led to an electoral front with the ruling party in the city of Belem, the Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB) in the elections in 2012. Now the MES-PSOL (Movimento esquerda socialista) has joined the left union federation CSP CONLUTAS to promote the “space for unity of action.”

### **The World Cup: a plan by imperialism and the national bourgeoisie to make the workers pay for the crisis**

The world cup brought the class struggle to a head. The Cup has deepened the class contradictions in Brazil as the bosses use the Cup to violently resolve the crisis by pouring investments into here-today-gone-tomorrow infrastructure jobs for some while smashing down working class resistance to attacks on their neighborhoods, their basic rights and their lives.

No organization could bring itself to fight for the slogan of the masses as the main slogan of the movement in action. The UIT-(PSOL/CST) (Unidade Internacional de los Trabajadores) supports a general strike to stop the cup, “Nao vai ter copa” (We will not have the Cup), but from inside the “space for unity of action” where it is on the extreme left of the popular front. Most of the left bureaucracy raised the slogan “In the cup, we will be fighting” against the masses demand “We will not have the cup”.

This proves that the masses are far ahead of the left bureaucrats who now struggle to contain the uprising. It affirms that fighting “in the cup” means aimless activity that

leaves workers with no concrete tasks. It means defeat for workers when the World Cup expresses all that is rotten and destructive about capitalism in crisis. But the fight to stop the cup is already happening and the whole class is demonstrating its support for this demand. Our task is to raise this slogan and to make it politically profound.

### **Fighting the World Cup is part of the global workers uprising against paying for the bosses’ crisis**

Joining in the world uprisings in the new period of crisis, the mass movement appeared against the World Cup in Brazil last



June. Before it, there were some signs of the transitional situation: teacher, construction workers strikes all over the country, port, oil workers’ strike, homeless struggle, the Rio de Janeiro firefighters’ uprising, etc. In early 2013, the youth movement against rising fares for public transportation grew into the “Copa das confederacoes” (FIFA confederations cup) which saw a big surge of street demonstrations. The social media was the key to building the demonstrations. The uprising was a surprise to everybody, and nobody was prepared for it. The slogan “Nao

vai ter copa” came spontaneously from the mass movement. **No organization gave the slogan to the movement.**

After the national demonstration on June 20th came a call for a General strike on July 1<sup>st</sup>. The union bureaucracy quickly united to say that this general strike was called by the “right” and “fascists” and only they could call a general strike. The central unions, CSP Conlutas (controlled by the PSTU) and Intersindical (controlled by PSOL) “united in action” with CUT (controlled by the government/PT), and other unions linked to the employers and the bourgeois (FS, UGT, Nova central, etc), boycotted the general strike, calling for a “National day of struggle” on July 11<sup>th</sup>. The general strike on July 1<sup>st</sup> didn’t happen. But on the 11<sup>th</sup>, the masses left the bureaucracy alone to stage its fake manifestations and made a general strike. Rio Grande do Sul was completely stopped. Many cities in the country stopped. After the June uprising the movement just grew. Homeless, youth, poor people from “favelas”, proletariat, teachers, and bus drivers began strikes. The strikes of Rio de Janeiro teachers and street-sweepers, and Porto Alegre bus drivers *proved to Brazilian workers that the main gains have been won against the policies of the union bureaucracy.*

### **In the month before the World Cup we are experiencing a wave of strikes and the “Nao vai ter copa” movement is growing**

For the popular movement, which is taking the lead in most protests, the slogan “there will be no cup” reflects the needs of the people who are losing their homes and being suppressed because of the Cup. For the labor movement there is rising indignation and anger as the R\$billions spent on

the World Cup go into the pockets of the rich while toilers conditions of life and work only worsen. The growing mass movement will not be limited to the Cup but will also create a lot of popular protest in the upcoming elections. For example, an organization that emerged in the Rio demonstrations last June (2013), raised the slogan, “there will be no cup or election!”

The left bureaucracy is forced to join the “there will be no Cup” movement, proposing instead of the masses agitation, slogans that have no tasks for the class and divert the fight

away from the Cup. "Cup for who?", "if we have no rights there will be no Cup", "in the world cup we will fight", etc. Such is the pressure from below that the left bureaucracy, in its "space for united action," will be forced to call a general strike, but they have already shown that they will try to contain it.



The bureaucracy is already preparing to do so. The CSP Conlutas (PSTU) in "space for unity in action" with the "left" of the CUT (CUT Pode Mais) has had a national meeting to discuss the world cup. As we have said, they oppose the masses' slogan "nao vai ter copa" and call for "Na copa, vai ter luta" (In the world cup, will be fight) to fight against the "injustices" of the World Cup. They want a clean Cup without attacks on workers and with no corruption! They argue that the masses slogan is too crude. But the slogan came from the masses' movement and expresses clearly their needs. No organization or program could raise this slogan because it knows it cannot control such a movement inside the popular front. Now it wants to weaken and contain it in a struggle to legislate for reform of the 'injustices' in the next elections!

**Prepare for a General Strike!**

We must raise the masses' slogan and politicize it. The general strike is the way to unite the workers with the popular movement and the youth. It should be linked to repudiating the national debt and the debt for the Cup. It should be united with the strikes in industry, auto, education, construction, etc. A general strike against the Cup can be the means to unite all the isolated struggles. The general strike is the way to unite the working class on the road to socialist revolution. It makes possible raising transitional demands which will allow workers to unite and organize to expropriate, i.e., *take back* capitalist property, expropriated from generations of exploited workers and peasants.

Within the currents strikes, the general strike is already being debated. The IWU-FI (UIT Unid ad internacional de los trabajadores) is the first organization that has called for a general strike. Even the organizations linked with the government have been obligated to adhere to the "nao vai ter copa" movement, like the MST, despite the government having created the "Vai ter copa" movement! Only

sectarian organizations like PCO (Partido da Causa Oparária) have not adhered to the "nao vai ter copa" movement. Unfortunately, those who call for the current strikes to be united and fight for a general strike do not base this unity on stopping the Cup "nao vai ter copa" but on the reformists' slogan "in the cup, we will fight," so they continue to operate in the left bureaucratic "space for unity of action" and do not break from the popular front.

This is why isolating the strikes from the movement to stop the Cup serves only the unity of the popular front! For example, the campaign of the CCR (Revolutionary Communist Current) in the teachers union in Sao Paulo calls for all the teachers to unite for a general strike, but ignores the fight against the cup that can extend this unity to the whole working class and make a general strike possible. Already the ranks of all those who are on strike, and there are many, shout "we will not have the cup" and threaten the government. Similarly, the FLTI (International Leninist-Trotskyist Fraction), calling for unity of all struggles, focuses on the auto industry, and ignores the mass movement against the Cup as the key to uniting the whole working class behind a general strike.

The movement against the Cup is what unites workers to the popular movement and the youth, against the highest expression of the alliance of the popular front government with big business and imperialism – that is the World Cup! The purpose of the "bureaucratic left" is to divert the masses into aimless "fights" that go nowhere except into the upcoming elections, where they will install their popular front in the unions as a popular front with the government and PT. Revolutionaries have a duty to expose the left wings of the popular front and replace their treacherous leaders with a Party and Program capable of leading the way to socialist revolution!

**Stop the World Cup!**

**Break from the Popular Front!**

**Repudiate the national debt!  
Repudiate the Cup Debt!**

**For a living wage, free education,  
health, housing and social  
security!**

**Down with the popular front of  
the PSTU with the CUT and PT  
government!**

**Unite all the workers and  
peasants in struggle in a national  
conference to prepare for a general strike!**

**Build working class councils and self-  
defence militias!**

**For a mass Revolutionary Party and  
Revolutionary Program!**

**For a New World Party of Socialist  
Revolution!**

**Expropriate all imperialist and national  
capitalist property!**

**Institute workers control of the means  
of production. For a national plan of  
production for need not profit!**

**For a Workers' and Peasants' Government  
and a Socialist United States of the  
Americas!**

**Class Warrior**

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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 2013 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 provisionally answered by the Transitional Program. In this report we illustrate our differences with oppositional political tendencies in the practice of the Transport Workers Solidarity Committee (TWSOC). Much could have been learned, let's see who refuses to learn and why.

The workers' program cannot be reduced to slogans or bullet points. Yet when we raise it as an action program it is readily denied by all remnants of centrists and reformists as a "harder" list. The workers' program cannot be reduced to one point unless that point is the Socialist Revolution, which while correct as explaining what is objectively called for, does not take workers from their current, halfhearted consciousness to class political consciousness and the understanding of the need for and how to prepare for the Socialist Revolution. Those right centrists and reformists who adapt the workers program to the ruling class' desire for and need to keep wages below the livable take the workers further away from preparing the class for revolution.

The BART campaign and contract in the Bay Area has called for [a 15% raise](#) and [a 10% raise](#) for the auto workers, class minimum wage instead of demanding that labor take

the fight for Jobs for All and a livable wage, a prevailing wage that takes them to a demand which raises the question of the sharing of work and shortening of hours with no reduction of pay and the sliding scale of wages and prices. We are told by union centrists and their reformist allies that even doubling the minimum wage would be a great step forward for the workers and thus we should build the bulk of our program to be unopposed by calling for labor to campaign for a new higher minimum wage. Yet they continue to peg that wage below the prevailing rate and thus below the living wage. To win the prevailing rate will take a mass struggle that unites the class, develops democratic workers organizations, develops the workers program and breaks from the Democrats. This is more than the right centrists and reformists have demands for. So they must labor where it is (in the hands of the Democrats) and spend on the minimum wage demand (other by calling for \$15 or \$20 and a minimum \$5 increase for all with pension and medical) just so they can appear more radical than the reformists who call for \$16.00 minimum, and the likes of Professor and former Labor Secretary Robert Reich, who is for a \$15.00 minimum, and thus put pressure on the unions and Democrats to do what they are in the process of doing already, raising the minimum wage to \$10 by 2015 in California.

This fake attempt to mobilize the low wage workers for a sub-living wage has been used by the labor aristocracy to mobilize support for and pressure the Democrats. We can have one raised OGA "minimum" here who admits that \$10 an hour is the living wage for the Bay Area but looks for a way to saddle the labor movement with a sub-living wage demand as the means to unite with the unemployed. These

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# May 1<sup>ST</sup>: International Workers' Day Socialism or Death!

For workers to survive, capitalism must die! Capitalism as a social system is breaking down. It has long passed its use-by date. Capitalism is well into its terminal crisis. Every month and year brings with it more death and destruction.

The two imperialist blocs led by the US and China are engaged in a life and death struggle for survival. They now pit workers against one another from [Bosnia to Venezuela](#) and threaten a new world war. The threat of such a war is most evident in the build up of US military encirclement of [China in the Pacific](#). Never before has the alternative "Socialism or Death" carried the same urgency.

Capitalism was a huge advance over the previous societies because it allowed humanity to create sufficient wealth from nature to [establish the conditions](#) for a socialist society to emerge. For the first time in history humanity could look forward to living in a state of plenty, abundance and freedom, rather than a state of scarcity, poverty and misery.

Capitalism could do this because the profit motive drove individual capitalists to compete to revolutionise industry. To do this they had to increase the rate of exploitation of wage labor which increased the productivity of labor to undreamed of heights.

But the inevitable consequence of this was that massive wealth was accumulated in the pockets of the capitalist class, while the producing class, the great mass of society, became relatively impoverished. All those who say that this obscene disparity of income can be corrected by means of reforms [sow illusions](#) in a peaceful outcome of capitalism's decline and fall.

In reality capitalists are incapable of backing off the drive for profits which brings with it the destruction of those same forces of production that create the basis for socialism. Fracking and deep-sea drilling for oil and gas is proof of this. Not only must capitalism destroy itself it will [destroy humanity and nature](#) in its blind struggle to survive.

For humanity to prevent this destruction it must destroy capitalism first. The working class, the great majority of humanity, must overthrow capitalism to allow a new socialist society to emerge capable of stopping the earth's climate catastrophe and the [extinction](#) of the human, and most other, species. We can see that this realization is what underlies the many manifestations of worker and peasant uprisings and revolutions taking place around the world. While the capitalist system tries to make workers and peasants pay for its crisis by destroying jobs, living standards and the

lives of workers, workers are rising up in resistance.

Everywhere we look we can see workers rising up. The global crisis means that the imperialist powers can no longer rely on the bosses' 'democracy' to impose austerity in every country. This has produced uprisings against dictatorships such as the Arab revolutions that were sparked by the suicide of Mahomed Bouazizi in Tunisia in December 2010, including the [Syrian revolution](#) that broke out in March 2011, against the regime of Bashar al Assad.

In other places workers have gone on strike against the austerity attacks of bosses such as the miners of [Marikana](#), South Africa, in August 2012, who were then shot down in cold blood by the ANC regime; the Greek popular resistance to extreme austerity that led to many general strikes; the youthful indignados of Spain and Italy who are still occupying squares; and the local wars such as in Syria and South Sudan that are driven by the rival imperialist blocs' grab for cheap resources and cheap labor.

In every case, workers resistance is met by capitalist force. Capitalism has no alternative but to physically destroy the class that can dig its grave, the proletariat. To make this destruction more efficient, capitalism uses the false leaders of the workers movements to divide and rule the proletariat along national, race, ethnic and religious lines.

This typically means capitalist regimes use the labor bureaucracy that controls the unions on behalf of the ruling class to trap workers in popular fronts with one or another imperialist power like the US [Democratic Party](#), and popular front parties such as ZANU-PF allied to China in [Zimbabwe](#) and the Bolivarian PSUV allied to China in [Venezuela](#).

These reactionary fronts and divisions destroy the class independence, unity and organization of the proletariat, so that workers begin to fight one another instead of the class enemy. We can see such divisions exploding in Thailand, the [Ukraine](#) as well as [Egypt](#), Sudan and Syria.

To prevent these destructive divisions, the proletariat needs a revolutionary socialist party and program to unite and guide workers internationally to a victorious socialist revolution. The current leadership of workers movements internationally are incapable of such a task as they share the ideology of the ruling classes to some degree. They promote national, race, ethnic and religious divisions in the name of the 'democracy' or the 'lesser evil' of one or another ruling class.

A revolutionary party and program is necessary to fight for the independence of the working class from all such ruling class influences. In every struggle across the world, the international unity of the proletariat is the immediate aim. Its organization into one world socialist movement led by a revolutionary party and program is the means, and the end is the socialist revolution and the building of a world socialist society.

This requires that all healthy revolutionary currents that are fighting towards this objective urgently join forces in such a party and program. For us this has to be a party and program based on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. For today the [Transitional Program](#) of the Fourth International founded in 1938 embodies the method and tasks of the revolutionary party we need.

Trotsky referred to Marxism as synonymous with dialectics, the method of analysing the dynamics of social change, and the method of applying this was a democratic centralist party. Not only is this the basis for true workers' democracy where collective decisions are arrived at after all positions have been debated, the centralising of the collective actions of the party is the only means of testing theory in practice and enabling the workers to come to power in the socialist revolution.

While the Transitional Program was never intended as a blueprint for all time its guiding transitional method is to combine the immediate demands for what workers need to survive and live, such as a living wage and basic democratic rights and freedoms, and while fighting the bosses' resistance to these demands, workers are led to escalate the fight to challenge the bosses' power by building their own organizations of armed workers' power ultimately capable of overthrowing the capitalist state and creating a workers state.

In this way the working class destroys capitalism, saving its advanced development of the forces of production as the basis for a new society where production is for need, and each and everyone is rewarded according to the formula: from each according to their ability, to each according to their need!

*Such is the future communist society envisaged by Karl Marx in which humanity and nature can live in harmony! "In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."*

–Karl Marx The Communist Manifesto

*The following article is reprinted from [Worker Socialist, the Central Organ of the Workers' Socialist Party \(WSP--India\)](#). CWG-USA has no current fraternal relations with the WSP, but we find this article very informative.*

## How the Right Wing BJP Could Secure Unprecedented Victory?

-Rajesh Tyagi/ 19.5.2014

Extreme right wing, hindu supremacist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), is voted to power, ousting the Congress-led UPA-II Government under Manmohan Singh, that ruled for a decade. While BJP alone secured 282 seats in run up to Lok Sabha, Congress got squeezed to 44 seats.

The spectacular victory of BJP, has come on the wave of widespread dissatisfaction and unrest against the misrule of Congress-led government, that was marred by massive corruption, soaring prices, raging inflation, and vast unemployment.

Congress, hitherto the chief party of Indian big business, was trapped between the pressing need to put in place the most rudimentary welfare schemes in rural employment and food guarantees, on the one hand, while on the other, the dictates of the capitalist market that demanded dismantling of all such schemes, wiping out all social spending. Result was a double discrediting of the Government. As meagre spending, clubbed with corruption and pilferages, failed to bring the promised results, masses of workers and toilers turned against the Congress regime. Alongside, the corporate [elite-ed.] gradually dissociated itself from Congress Government, leaning more and more on the right wing BJP, as in its estimation, the Congress regime failed to put the economic reforms in place, at desired pace. Large sections of big business, thus, mobilized their support behind the BJP.

Conscious of the explosive consequences of rule in the hands of fascists, the ruling big bourgeoisie, in its quest to arrest the fall of its economy that has set in after the 2010 currency crisis in India, is dragged behind the BJP. As the economy has since continued to shrink, dispelling the foreign investment, international credit rating agencies have recently issued ultimatum to the government, commanding it to 'do or die'.

The claims of corporate media, as to a 'tsunami' in favour of Modi, are however, a blatant lie, as despite an apparent parliamentary majority, BJP could get only a 31% share of popular vote, while its NDA allies added 7% more to it. This is the lowest share of vote

that any winning party has got to date. Equally false are the claims that vote in favour of BJP is the vote for agenda of "economic reforms". On the contrary, the vote is against all 'reforms' that had been pushed by the ousted Congress regime. BJP could capture even this much vote, only as it succeeded in masquerading as an opposition to the rule and policies of Congress, while hiding its real agenda of pushing through the 'economic reforms' at a far higher pace than ever.

Victory of BJP has come by 'default' against the anti-people policies, crushing failures and misrule of the Congress Government and the shameful complicity of the Stalinist left with it. Needless to say that Congress-led UPA governments have done their best to serve the interests of big business, including a massive drive for dismantling the public sector, withdrawing subsidies and ending price controls over most essential commodities like diesel. However, the constraints of bourgeois-democracy to dupe the masses through keeping in some semblance of a welfare state amidst rabid reforms, 'reforms with a human face' as they put it, has prevented the UPA from daring to take the harshest anti-people decisions.

In the estimation of Indian big business and foreign investors, only a right-wing authoritarian government under the BJP can accomplish the tasks that Congress could not perform. These include complete wiping out of social spending and taxing the working and toiling people even more, to shift the burden of all economic crisis upon their shoulders.

Ironically, the big-business succeeded in channelling the anger of the masses against its own regime and its own policies, to induce a push, towards the right, bringing the arch communal BJP to power.

BJP is the political front of the most rabid communal formation, Rashtriya Swayam-sevak Sangh (RSS), that is ferociously hostile to the working class and socialism, and is modelled on the patterns of Fascist black shirts under Mussolini in Italy. It holds its traditional social base among the most backward sections of petty traders and small businessmen and ropes in most conservative elements in bureaucracy, security agencies, the police and army, who are deeply inimical to the working class and poor. It is flanked by equally communal Shiv Sena and MNS in Maharashtra, Akalis in Punjab and ethnolinguistic AIADMK in Tamilnadu, and TDP and TRS in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana respectively.

The rise of the BJP to power is first and foremost the direct result of the shameful failure of the Stalinist left, which has failed the entire working class behind it. Fascists could have and really have rode to power, only on

the back of this failure of the working class, to put challenge to the misrule of the big bourgeoisie.

The left under Stalinists, instead of leading an opposition to the anti-people regime of the Congress-led UPA, remained adhered to it and kept the working class completely dormant, inert and sterile. For decades, stalinist parties continued to support and sustain the minority governments under Congress. Even when the most reactionary neo-liberal policies were being put in motion since 1991 by the Narsimha Rao government, trashing even residues of 'congress socialism'; public assets were being sold off to corporates at throw away prices. Stalinists stood support to this party of the big-bourgeoisie on false slogans of democracy and secularism.

The BJP led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) had come to power in 1998, due to the pro-investor thrust of Congress government since 1991, supported by Stalinists. But Stalinists drew no lessons and again supported the minority UPA-1 in 2004, assisting in resolving the political and constitutional crisis of the bourgeoisie. They continued the support till June 2008; they were kicked out of the alliance on the nuclear issue. Still refusing to draw any lessons, they continued to lend support to the government of UPA-II formed in the 2009 general elections, by holding back any opposition from the working class to the policies and actions of the bourgeois government. More recently, Stalinists had been sending feelers for an alliance with Samajwadi Party (SP) of Mulayam Singh, while SP has been associated with the communal riots in Mujaffarnagar, hand in glove with the BJP, to communally polarize the people in vote banks. It is worth mentioning that similarly, CPI (Maoist) was instrumental in bringing the right-wing Trinamool Congress (TMC) under Mamata Banerjee to power in the last assembly elections in West Bengal.

The state governments, that were led by Stalinists, in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, were platforms for implementation of the same neo-liberal and pro-investor policies that were implemented by other governments including the right-wing governments. The government under the Stalinist left-front in West Bengal was discredited for deploying the most rabid means through concerted police-goon violence against poor peasants in Singur and Nandigram regions, while forcibly seizing farm-lands for big capitalists like the Tatas. The Tatas were among the chief funders for the recent election campaign of BJP.

Workers and toilers have again and again voted for Stalinists in expectation that these bearers of the red flag would lead them in

opposition to capitalism, but Stalinists have betrayed them everytime by delivering them, bound hand and foot, to the leaders and parties of capitalists.

Out of a total of 67 years since the Indian bourgeoisie came to power in 1947, Congress had led the bourgeois governments at the centre for 54 years. In all these years, Stalinists had stood support to the regime, open or tacit and have assisted these governments to employ the most reactionary measures for looting and plundering of the working class and toilers.

This political strategy of Stalinists, is, in turn, guided by the false Menshevik policy of Stalin and Mao, who argued that in the democratic stage of revolution, the working class has to ally with the bourgeoisie. For Stalinists, it is the democratic revolution in India, going on for decades, that underscores the need of an alliance between parties of workers and capitalists. Due to their misunderstanding of revolution in general and the democratic revolution in particular, Stalinists keep adhering to the parties of bourgeoisie, one after the other, chiefly to the Congress, the central party of the big Indian bourgeoisie. Through this adherence, Stalinists keep the working class tied to the political regime of the bourgeoisie, and prevent it from taking an independent road, from rising in opposition to the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie under the guise of democracy.

In this, four major parties of Stalinists and Maoists- CPI, CPM, CPI ML Liberation and the CPI (Maoist) share essentially the same perception and program, despite superficial differences among themselves, which remain of no more than archival importance in the face of their rooting in the same politics of democracy extricated from socialist revolution, acceptance of alliances with bourgeois parties, and finally denial of proletarian dictatorship as the starting point for revolution.

As Stalinist-Maoist parties ally with the parties of the Indian bourgeoisie, the hopes of the workers, toilers and rural and urban poor get dampened and the ready vacuum is created instantly for manipulations by the ruling bourgeoisie to push the political swing more and more towards the right.

Despite a strong anti-incumbency wave in the offing against the Congress-led regime, the Stalinist left front, instead of leading the working class and toilers behind it against the misrule of Congress, continued to look out for alliances with regional bourgeois parties like AIADMK, TDP, SP, RJD, etc., into a third front, while these parties were engaged in bargaining between the chief bourgeois alliances of UPA and NDA.

Stalinists got a total 11 seats in Lok Sabha

in 2014, i.e. half of the seats they secured in 2009. In 2009, they could secure half of what they secured in 2004. In 2014, the largest party of Stalinists, CPIM, failed to secure its official recognition as a national party.

Despite all demagoguery in the name of the working class, Stalinists and Maoists, both have no faith in the strength and potential of the working class and their whole politics is centered around collaborations with sections of the bourgeoisie. Their fate is bound up with sections of bourgeoisie, its leaders and parties.

All other factors, like the colossal propaganda campaign funded by big capitalists, the role of corporate media, etc., are of secondary importance in bringing BJP to power. The primary factor is the role of Stalinists in failing the working class, that has created an instant space for the rise of fascists.

Without much effort, one would see that in the face of a fascist advance, not only the Stalinists, but other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois formations of liberals, reformists and ambedkarites, proved themselves of no real worth at all. Even put together, they could not have prevented the fascists from taking power. The truth, however, remains, that all these petty-bourgeois tendencies find themselves more in proximity and in agreement with fascists, than the revolutionary working class. They play a dubious role in dividing the working and toiling people on the lines of caste, community, nationality, language, regional and ethnic identities.

The fascists have risen to power, albeit by the misinterpretation of their real agenda by the masses, by fanning wild hopes of millions for better living conditions, employment, curbing of corruption and crime, expansion of economy, etc. However, in the settings of a full blown economic crisis under way on the national and international arena and the self-contradictory nature of their agenda that calls for far more social spending than ever before on the one hand, and the complete wiping out of the last remnants of the welfare state on the other, the farcical agenda and false promises will blow up very soon.

Despite its initial strivings to strike a balance between the two, the new government would soon find this balancing impossible, and would be forced to lean furiously against the aspirations of the masses. Within no time this government would expose itself as a battering ram in the hands of corporates, imposing their savage agenda of the most intense exploitation and violence against the people. The government, breaching all promises it had made to woo the voters, would fall back onto the old fundamentalist agenda of BJP- abolition of Article 370 of the Constitution that gives privileged status to Kashmir, the

construction of Ram Temple in Ayodhya, and above all ouster of Bangladeshi migrants. It is also bound to trigger some sort of conflict with neighbouring countries, as the BJP had been long-time critics of Congress governments for going soft on Pakistan and China.

The hindu communal and fascist colouration of the BJP government is bound to come in direct conflict, sooner rather than later, not only with religious minorities like muslims and Christians, but also with national, regional and ethnic minorities, apart from the working class and poor. This, in turn, would set off a whole series of social explosions, coupled with the widest-ever resistance to its policies on the economic and political front, bringing the mass of workers and toilers in direct conflict with the right wing government of the big-bourgeoisie, and may have devastating consequences for it.

However, on this radical turn in history, the working class, the only class capable of rescuing humanity from the clutches of capitalism decaying into fascism, remains on the fringes, fragmented and demoralized, due to decades of dominance of Stalinism over it. Bound up closely and subordinated to the sections of the bourgeoisie through its leaders and parties by the Stalinists, the working class has lost the last shreds of political class consciousness.

In order to push the political swing towards the left, i.e. towards a proletarian revolution, the working class has to strive, above all, for its class independence from all influences of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. However, the present opportunist leadership of the labour movement, the Stalinists and Maoists, would never permit this to happen. Therefore, purging of the old and emergence of the new leadership in the movement of the working class, armed with a program oriented towards the October revolution, is the foremost requisite for a proletarian revolution. Only such leadership, organized into a party, can lead the working class to triumph over capitalism.

-Rajesh Tyagi/ 19.5.2014

Reblogged from <http://workersocialist.blogspot.co.nz/2014/05/how-right-wing-bjp-could-secure.html>

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<http://workersocialist.blogspot.in/2009/05/india-general-elections-lead-to.html>

<http://workersocialist.blogspot.in/2012/04/20th-party-congress-of-stalinist-cpm.html>

## *IUOE Local 39 Says No!*

Governor Brown, with the help of the leadership of SEIU 1000 and other union leaderships, has held the line against the pay demands of the State workers. They have been demanding regular COLAS in the wake of three years of furloughs which left most California State workers with a wage package that reduced their purchasing power 25% or more behind their year 2000 salary. With their offer to “share the pain” during the recession and promise to the workers that they would ‘get theirs in the end,’ the various leaders have dutifully sold the rotten 4.5% over three years to their members. Of course the policing and prison guards were given a better deal as per usual. And today Local 39, Stationary engineers and the CA State Scientists of Bargaining Unit 10, represented by CAPS, as well as the State lawyers in CASE have not agreed to the ‘mold’ standard set by SEIU 1000. That rotten deal was all that Brown’s negotiators put on the table and they’re trying to pass that off as “good faith bargaining”.

The Stationary engineers are not having any of that! In a joint Tentative Agreement rejection and strike vote Local 39 has put the state on notice that they are moving toward impasse and possible strike action in July. Stationary engineers have shown that they are highly underpaid compared to their peers in private industry and those working for the counties and cities. Yet their rank and file are skeptical about the resolve of the leadership, which has taken unilateral action in the negotiations that undermines the power of the shop steward system.

Without approval of the membership, the leadership offered as a “fattened lamb” the rank and file steward system, offering to strike the stewards rights from the MOU, replacing the shop floor steward with the services of the shiny pants lawyers and business agents from the Union HQ! Yeah, they want to turn over day to day grievances to the guys you never see and who never see a lick of the work you do! This is how they offer up the power of the union, how they take back from the rank and file their first and often only line of defense against violations of the MOU, bullying, intimidation, harassment and disregard for work rules and seniority rights. These concessions were not even asked for by HR, rather they were offered up to sweeten the deal and then HR stonewalled with the 4.5% fake offer (fake, because with increases in medical and pension contributions not to mention inflation and the staggering effect of three years of furloughs, workers real pay is still behind the 2000 package).

To save face the leadership has to bristle at the collar and act like it is leading the fight,

so it has started a game of chicken with a countdown to strike. But looking at the state of the union and the levels of participation and organization, this leadership is preparing for defeat. To win, workers need a strike committee which strategizes state-wide and organizes action committees at every job site. Local 39 leadership has had close to three weeks since counting the strike vote but has not convened meetings for the members to organize local and state-wide strike committees. The leadership today floats rumors of limited strike action to picket only a couple of buildings but have given the membership no confidence or guidance on how to conduct themselves when they walk off around the state (if indeed they do.) Presumably workers will be guided to come to Sacramento but not to shut the facilities they work at. These engineers have the capacity to shut down every state building in the state, but the Local 39 leadership have no intention of preparing such an action and from what we can see have no plan to establish solid pickets that mean do not cross! Rather, their plan is to put up a show of irresoluteness of the membership and then cave. This can be turned around but only if the membership convenes state-wide strike committee meetings and resolves that picket lines mean “DO NOT CROSS.”

This would be a good first step, but to win Local 39 will need allies and despite the “in the pocket of the governor” leadership of CAPS, the State scientists of BU 10 are sufficiently angry to respond positively to overtures of the stationary engineers for joint job action that shuts down state buildings. To accomplish such united action the membership of CAPS (who are expected to vote NO on the TA and whose votes will be counted by June 30th) will have to push past the confines of their leadership and convene action committees and inter-union action committees across the state. They will also have to be resolute in exposing the lies of their leadership which currently hides from the members the step-wise path to impasse. Impasse negates the MOU and spoils the “evergreen” clause which keeps the NO STRIKE and NO LOCKOUT clauses of the expired MOU in effect until the declaration of “bad faith” bargaining following the rejection of the TA creates legal impasse. The leaders of CAPS have promised the governor the members won’t strike and have done everything they can to frighten the membership who stand by scratching their heads wondering why the Stationary Engineers can strike but they cannot.

To win, the rank and file must take control of the organizations which claim to represent them and turn them into fighting organizations in short order. But the leaderships are tied with a thousand and in some cases tens of thousands and even millions of dollars of

campaign contributions and personal back slapping power grubbing with the twin political parties (mostly the Democrats but sometimes the Republicans) that represent the 1%, the bosses the bankers and the big capitalist shareholders of the major corporations and finance houses. These ties, established ostensibly to garner influence over politicians, actually inhibit the power of labor by taking effective strike action off the table.

So can the last three hold out bargaining units in the state turn the tide? Can it be done? All we can say is if it is not done, you will be chewing the same hay that the governor fed SEIU 1000. The same hay the friends of Brown leaderships fed six other unions who are getting more “pain sharing in the end.”

*Cont. from pg. 1 Ukraine....*

While Russian imperialism has a clear interest in the outcome of this struggle in Ukraine, its main interest is to prevent a war on its border that would jeopardise its economic investments in Ukraine. Therefore it collaborates with the NATO powers to prevent a proletarian revolution breaking out on its border that would [spread quickly](#) into Russia. Its annexation of Crimea was an exception given its strategic position in Russia’s defence against the encroachments of NATO.

The key factor at the moment is that the Maidan forces are being led by the radical right/neo-fascists. The proletarian elements in the West are [supporting](#) this illegitimate regime as it attacks the anti-Maidan forces as ‘terrorists.’ They look for excuses to blame the anti-Maidan forces for the [killings in Odessa](#) and towns under occupation. But they cannot hide the fact of deliberately planned provocations and open killings of unarmed protesters initiated by neo-fascist thugs of the Right Sector.

In the East while the anti-regime leadership includes extreme pro-Russian elements, there is a [popular majority](#) to stay in Ukraine but against the Kiev regime. This is a clear proletarian class position that fights to defend a united Ukraine working class against a U.S./EU backed ultra-right regime with open fascists in top positions.

We support the demands for a referendum on self-determination taking the form of federalism aimed at protecting the national and cultural rights of those in the East from anti-Russian chauvinism and neo-fascist attacks. They take into account the rights of other minorities, and unlike the Crimea, do not force any minority into a secession or annexation by Russia.

*Cont. pg. 21*

# Sewer Socialism in Richmond, California:

## a Specimen of Popular Front Betrayal of the Working Class and the Oppressed!!

Richmond, California has become, like Seattle, a prime example of what happens when the fake Trotskyists create a popular front with the liberal left capitalist parties like the Greens and the milieu of disaffected Democrats seeking “change” within the confines of the capitalist system.

The Green Mayor, the referendum to tax Chevron, the sugar drink tax, the eminent domain housing foreclosure solution and minimum wage increase referendum all overshadow, in the pages of *The Nation* and *Labor Notes*, the expose of the dilapidated conditions in the public housing complexes, the campaign of bullying and abuse of power by City of Richmond managers, the underperforming schools in the West Contra Costa School district, the privatization by Veolia of the water and sewage systems, a minimum wage campaign which if successful will keep workers enslaved to sub-living wages for the foreseeable future, and a school-to-prison pipeline which the RPA/Green/”socialist” bloc have tolerated and presided over for the last eight years. We will look more closely at the “accomplishments” of the Richmond Progressive Alliance (RPA) and see how they measure up against their failures.

Today Mike Parker, who hails from *Labor Notes*, and the ostensibly socialist group *Solidarity*, associated with the magazine “Against the Current” (a fusion of ex-Socialist Workers Party adherents to *USec.* and “Third Camp” ex- International Socialist members,) stands at the head of the ticket running for Mayor as the heir apparent and candidate of the Richmond Progressive Alliance, a popular front formation which takes credit for the aforementioned progressive campaigns, regardless of how ineffective they were, and shirks all blame for the aforementioned blight, city government malfeasance and the pollution by Chevron and the chemical industry, which after eight years of “municipal green/socialism” daily pumps tons of toxins and particulates into the overwhelmingly working class, black and brown community.

The RPA has a method and it has nothing to do with guiding the working class in class struggles that wrest gains from the bosses

while using the accomplishments to prepare the workers and oppressed to fight for socialism; rather their method is to mobilize a middle class milieu around reformist policies which they campaign for primarily by electoral and legislative means. You won’t find the RPA organizing mass mobilizations, strikes, or occupation by the working class and oppressed community. Rather they depend up the likes of Bill McKibben and 350.org, to bring hundreds of here-today-gone-tomorrow environmentalists to protest at the gates of Chevron; they expressly reject the demands to expropriate the extraction industry but instead call upon the capitalist giants to be better corporate neighbors. The RPA for its part (even with a popular Green Mayor) is unable to mobilize more than a small handful of the 70,000 working class people in the city, which should have been an easy task considering 15,000 reported to hospital following the August, 2012 refinery fire.

While the demands of the [August 3, 2013 protest](#) were supportable, *they* imply a supra-class justice that can be enforced without calling into question which class shall own, run and control the extraction and energy industry.<sup>1</sup>

- “NO more toxic hazards.
- NO Keystone XL tar sands pipeline!
- NO refining tar sands or fracked crude!
- YES to a just transition from dirty fossil fuels to union jobs in clean energy!”

With the method and the spirit of [Trotsky’s Transitional Program](#)<sup>2</sup> we’ll support all demands that serve to raise the general level of militancy of the workers and the oppressed. However, we say there can be no energy justice while the anarchy of production dictated by the market forces prevails. The energy industry is too important, too dangerous and has done far too much damage to be allowed to continue to be controlled for private interests. While the public may look at the RPA history and notice its failure to mitigate or even confront the malfeasance rampant throughout city government and public housing, its failed implementation of Measure T, its spate of regressive tax plans, the said public would have to wonder how they ever trusted such a government bureaucracy. This “good hearted-well intentioned-progressive” bureaucracy has done nothing to win the confidence of the masses. Where is the reason to think they would run the expropriated extraction and energy industries with any greater regard for public interest, public health or ecology than

the ownership and management regime of the market driven CEO’s!? In fact, the RPA has never called for socializing the ownership of Chevron or for workers control either. They obviously have no qualms with the capitalists running these industries or the form of property relations themselves.

This is how the Green/Socialist Popular Front poisons the well. Their sewer socialism, their socialism through legislation and taxation of the rich, their social justice by fiat takes away from the workers the agency of their own self-organization. The RPA, not unlike liberal Democratic politicians like Wellstone, Kucinich, O’Dwyer, and Lindsay seek, via their own benevolence, to bestow upon the unorganized masses ‘the best that we can do, under the current conditions of the consciousness of the masses.’ Thus they give themselves the out for their failure to fight for the independent fighting party and program of the working class. They substitute the program of liberal capitalism for the workers program, which *Solidarity* and *Labor Notes* abandoned at the door to the Popular Front (if they ever had adhered to it at all!)

These fake socialists will never tell the workers the truth. They will never say that workers need to build the bridge to the socialist future beginning with self-organization of shop floor and factory committees. They will never say that there is a labor aristocracy and so don’t bother to tell workers that they must take over their own unions by organizing class struggle caucuses committed to class political independence and a class struggle strategy. Because they have found a Popular Front means to electoral victory, the fake Trotskyists forget all about the formation of the fighting workers/labor party which workers would found and build so as to put a government of the workers and oppressed into power. Such a government could only come about based upon the active mobilization of the workers in their committees and defense guards that immediately enforce its rule, by every means including the expropriation of big capital without compensation. Such a government would represent and have a program of workers control of industry and would be based on and under the control of workers representative organizations. The workers government would immediately implement the emergency plan of full employment with a 30 hours work week for 40 hours pay and would be driven by an environmental reclamation and remediation plan. This plan which can only be developed, approved and enforced by the power of democratic workers assemblies and workers

representative bodies, free from the influence of the capitalist anarchy of production for profit!

Instead our municipal Popular Frontists sponsor the pacifist caravan led by 350.Org which envisions a repetition of the divestment movement as a way of influencing Obama to do the right thing and stop the fossil fuel burn profit festival.

[Here](#)<sup>3</sup> Bill McKibben points to the success of the divestment movement in freeing South Africa from apartheid. No mention of the armed struggle, no mention of the hot cargoing of apartheid goods by the ILWU, no mention of the wave after wave of combative strikes, martyred leaders and heroic uprisings that forced the end of apartheid. Rather than guiding people toward revolution, McKibben's plan to save the environment focuses on the educational and moral impact of a symbolic divestment movement which hopes through moral persuasion to turn the heads of the ruling class in the hope that they will do the right thing after they to see that it is not in their long-term self-interest to destroy the environment.

This is a fantasy, not a strategy. Divestment is foremost symbolic because in the market one share sells only to be bought at market price, a zero sum game; even if some large investors like universities shed shares, others who covet dividends will buy them at temporarily discounted valuations. Long-term profits are ultimately made by sale of what is pumped out of the ground, refined and sold and the dividends that flow, rather than short-term stock price fluctuations, especially those based on moral hiccups penetrating the trading floor which rarely last for more than a session or two! The McKibben's 350.org-Green-SEIU popular front is based on the presumption that the capitalist class, despite its mutual interpenetration and inter-ownership and control of the energy and extraction industries, can be persuaded to forego quarterly profits and transition to solar, wind, geothermal etc., or can be convinced to wait for long-term profits that accrue from making the transitional investments and sustaining their shareholders on promises of long-term returns. It should be noted that apart from the professional climate change deniers, the rest of the leaders and spokespersons of the ruling class acknowledge the environmental crisis. They are as helpless before the environmental crisis as they are incapable of managing the general economic crisis of the capitalist system.

We say the Green/RPA/McKibben/Solidarity alliance is a specimen slide example of the Popular Front betrayal of the working class. A historical phenomenon Trotsky called the great question of our time. This Popular Front alliance colludes to hide from the people that workers ownership of the polluting industries is central to mitigating the crisis, and that the role of today's governmental institutions, including the Popular Front **is not to mitigate the crisis** but to assure big capital that the masses are under control until the wells run dry! By not explaining the need for expropriation and workers control, by not explaining the need for the workers political independence and the workers government to enforce the plan, the Popular Front is culpable for and ultimately does the job of the ruling class by hiding the truth from the masses in the name of progressive action!

Just ask them! We have! We asked them to join students, teachers, workers and the West County Toxics Coalition, United Public Workers for Action, Humanist Workers for Revolutionary Socialism, Peace and Freedom Party and others during the lead up to the March 4<sup>th</sup> Student strikes (Feb. 27, 2010), to march on and fight for the expropriation of Chevron. The RPA ran away from this like it was a claymore mine! ([see Expropriate Richmond Refinery Say Activists](#))<sup>4</sup>

Then again on Labor Day, 2012, following the explosion at Chevron, a similar united front coalition was built to demand expropriation and the running of the industry under workers' self-management, but the RPA, the Greens and fake socialist Mike Parker were hiding from this event as well. Vice Presidential Candidate for the Peace and Freedom Party, Cindy Sheehan expressed her Party's platform calling for [nationalization of Chevron under workers' control](#).<sup>5</sup> Why then was the RPA hiding, why do they hide today, why are they continuing to defend the ownership of the means of production by the capitalists? ([see CA State Industrial Hygienist Supports Nationalization Of Chevron In Richmond](#))<sup>6</sup>

Charles Smith, AFSCME Local Union 444 retired, wrote to The Nation in response to Steve Early's piece,

*"After the voters passed Measure T, a tax on Chevron, Chevron challenged it in court and in 2010 Parker and the RPA pushed through, without any public discussion, a settlement of this litigation which gave the City \$114 million from Chevron paid on a graduated schedule over fifteen years. In*

*exchange, Chevron demanded a fifteen-year moratorium on the City levying any new taxes on Chevron. The significance of the Measure T sellout cannot be measured in dollars and cents alone. The passage of Measure T was a grassroots effort against enormous moneyed opposition that resulted in the people standing up to Chevron for the first time in Richmond's history. Mike Parker and the RPA's so-called progressives squandered this major victory, setting back Richmond's nascent grassroots movement for years to come."*

## Housing

In 2013 the RPA and Parker put forth a proposal and fought for an untested scheme in partnership with Mortgage Resolution Partners (MRP), allegedly designed to help homeowners who were in danger of foreclosure. The idea was to use the City's power of eminent domain to seize and forcibly renegotiate underwater home loans. This "progressive" measure was not the brainchild of clever revolutionary socialists, but of [Professor Richard Hockett of Cornell](#), who proposed it as a win-win for the banks and the underwater mortgage holders in danger of foreclosure:<sup>7</sup>

*"Professor Richard Hockett of Cornell University, posed it not as radical but as a "market corrective." Hockett designed the plan as a win for creditors as well as homeowners, a method to bring the market back in a way that returns steady, predictable profits to investors and helps communities fund their operations by recuperating the local tax base."* ([see Strike Debt article](#))<sup>8</sup>

This plan placed the program in the hands of venture capitalists with career histories tied to the Federal Reserve, Berkshire Hathaway and various hedge funds over the years. The current CEO of MRP is [Steven Gluckstern](#), a wealthy private investor who has served as CEO for several companies, notably the giant insurance firm Zurich International.<sup>9</sup> So this is the social class that the RPA and Parker see as advancing the interests of the workers and oppressed. Like reformists everywhere, the RPA believes that somehow and in some way they have the answers to capitalism's ills... within the framework of capitalism; that they can make rational arguments to **persuade** the ruling class to change public policy to benefit the workers and oppressed. They imagine, against all the evidence of history that social gains can be won by argumentation and without the mass mobilizations of the exploited and oppressed!

### **The Popular Front embraces the Sheriff: Richmond's public housing disaster**

The Center for Investigative Reporting has found "Richmond's public housing agency has been racked by years of mismanagement, financial abuse and conflicts of interest." [KQED reported](#) in February that,

*"The Richmond Housing Authority is running a nearly \$7 million deficit and has to repay \$2.2 million for past contracting mistakes. The federal government is threatening to take control of the housing authority this year if key financial benchmarks are not met."*

*"As its finances spiraled out of control and residents' basic needs went ignored, the authority spent lavishly, records show. Its executive director, Tim Jones, charged hundreds of dollars on meals in New York and Washington, including a roughly \$400 meal at an upscale midtown Manhattan restaurant where a strip steak with truffle fries runs \$41. The meals cost as much as many public housing tenants pay each month in rent. Jones' pay also increased about 30 percent over three years as the authority ran up debt. CIR's findings of deplorable conditions for residents<sup>12</sup> living in Richmond's two largest housing complexes show that residents there are plagued with rodent and insect infestations, mold-ridden walls and slow attention to fix maintenance problems like plumbing leaks and broken heaters. There is little wonder why as the housing maintenance work force has been cut from 65 to 28 to prove to HUD how serious the Housing Authority management is about rationalizing its finances."*

*"By 2016, the housing authority plans to spend \$65 million in public and private financing to modernize four of its five housing projects and privatize them. (!) However, Richmond's worst housing project is the one complex that's not part of the rehab. Instead, housing authority officials have talked about eventually selling or demolishing the building, Hacienda, which has 150 units for mainly elderly and disabled residents, has been the biggest source of problems for the housing authority. Many residents live in squalor from pest infestations, mold and roof leaks."<sup>13</sup>*

Thus Mayor McLaughlin of the Green Party and with the support of the RPA will embrace the sheriff and throw the Hacienda residents

Former RPA member Smith explained to [Class War](#)<sup>10</sup> how this scheme was supposed to work. This mortgage scheme was not aimed at helping those most in need, despite the RPA's rhetoric. It was limited to helping homeowners who were not in default and was designed to create a profit. The loans being targeted were only those with a realistic potential to maintain profitability. This eminent domain scheme had significant negative impacts on the City's financial health, even though Parker and the RPA were not able to gain eminent domain powers through a "super-majority." The City had difficulty refinancing its bonds because the credit industry is wary of its (Richmond's) asserted power to seize loans in the public interest and because they anticipated years of litigation costs.

Thus we find...

*"Wells Fargo and Deutsche Bank filed a lawsuit demanding an injunction forbidding Richmond from continuing this process; analysts predicted that banks would never write a mortgage in Richmond again, and Wall Street managed to blackball the city to such an extent that no one was willing to buy a standard, vanilla municipal bond offering they floated in August, 2013. Ratings agencies also threatened to downgrade Richmond's A-credit rating." (see [Strike Debt article](#))<sup>11</sup>*

As a result the City in 2013 was only able to finance one bond issue by paying a premium interest rate. We would argue that this course was a plan to make Richmond a small scale Detroit because this was only one bond issue. City debt and lower bond ratings hurts the working class and the poor the most through public worker layoffs, cuts and increased rents, cost of public services and higher property taxes on their homes. So whereas Occupy foreclosure mobilizations around the country put families back in their foreclosed homes and forced renegotiations of the owners' mortgages, the RPA failed to save one home for one family. Some Solidarity!

Meanwhile, the Green Party city councilors imposed layoffs on city workers, i.e., laid off union workers in public housing. Capitalism cannot be "rationally" or cleverly managed and run by leftists, no matter how radical, to defend the working class. And Parker and the RPA are far from radical.

to the mercy of the elements and throw their little personal treasure to the curb. The residents of the other four complexes can look forward to the tender mercies of private slumlords.

The RPA under Parker's leadership, and with Richmond Mayor McLaughlin, has consistently acted in the interest of the gentrifying element in Richmond while alienating the working-class residents. This is betrayal by the Popular Front and shows in microcosm where Popular Front politics lead. Even without armies, Richmond illustrates the implementation of capitalist austerity by alien class forces upon the workers and oppressed. When push comes to shove, and often before, the Greens, "progressives" and the fake socialists *will* impose layoffs in order to balance the city budgets, privatize public services and wage attacks on workers and the poor in order to appease their middle class and ruling class allies. Given their method, divorced from the independent mobilization of the working class based on a revolutionary program, how could it be otherwise? Why even call oneself a socialist if your organization is fighting for a capitalist program?

### **From Ridiculous to Malicious**

In our first issue of [Class War, Vol 1. No.1](#)<sup>14</sup>, we exposed the NYC Mayor Michael Bloomberg's prohibition measure aimed at bodegas and delicatessens. Bloomberg banned cold cabinet sales of soda and sweetened beverages in larger than 20oz. bottles or cans in a supposed battle against obesity. We said at that time that NYC had built 150 municipal swimming pools during the similarly hot summer of 1936, a year when the ruling class feared the rise of the CIO and even more a repetition of the May-June general strike in France. We said there was no accounting for taste and thought it was silly and mean to try to dictate taste and that 150 municipal swimming pools was a better way to fight obesity. However, RPA's Dr. Jeff Ritterman along with Parker and the Popular Frontists sided with Bloomberg and floated a proposition pushing for a regressive tax on the same beverages and punishing the poor. Not a moment's thought was given to where popular tastes originate. What is consumed is what is produced! It is incumbent on Marxists to educate the worker masses that the high fructose corn syrup monopolies do not have the well-being of workers in mind.

Where did the RPA get the idea that a regressive pass-along tax would adequately

address or control the consumption of a known addictive toxin? Did Richmond residents in their thousands beat on the City Hall doors demanding this tax? We don't think so. We think Monsanto and Archer Daniels Midland need to be taxed prohibitively for having foisted poison on the public. These fines should be devoted 100% to obesity and diabetes education and treatment. Socialized medicine is required if we are to stop the pandemic cardiovascular ailments directly attributable to these sugar compounds and their analogs. In support of socialized medicine as well as a general improvement in the masses' health, we will fight for workers expropriation and control of these agricultural monopolies; planned workers production will be devoted to other healthier products and compounds.

So here is Richmond reaching in your kids' pocket for her/his last nickel and how they say they will make it up to you is by raising the poverty wage! The RPA plan to raise the "minimum wage" ignores the entire history of the minimum wage concept, i.e. what it really is, a class peace pact subjecting tens of millions of workers to a full time working life with no American Dream or other future. We have made this point elsewhere in detail and recommend you read (see page 1, column 3) The RPA Popular Front is doing nothing novel but is following Oakland and Berkeley, CA with proposals to raise the poverty wage to around \$12.35.

Solidarity poses as a pre-revolutionary-party formation; even so they propose to win this minimum wage increase in November at the ballot box. This places them to the right of even Sawant's Socialist Alternative (the U.S. [CWI](#) grouping)<sup>15</sup> who made some effort to generate mass public pressure on the Seattle streets to buttress their electoralist strategy. So the RPA Popular Front is positioning the idea of a raise for some of the most exploited workers as a social gain. But the Communist Workers Group says no genuine social gains will be made without mass mobilizations of the working class as a class-for-itself, without strikes, political and general strikes for full employment at prevailing rate union wages. We tell the working class to expect nothing good from the RPA, nothing but betrayal from the Popular Front and if workers understand this they will not be disappointed. They will organize their own forces and embark upon building their own movement and their own party and the bridge to the socialist future.



## SEIU 1000 Leadership: What have you done for the rank and file lately?

During the furloughs you told workers it was their duty to "Share the Pain" with the implied promise that we would get ours in the end!

But it turns out the leadership pushed and passed two rotten contracts which never got workers back what was given up while we were "Sharing the Pain".

While we were busy "Sharing the Pain" how did the billionaires make out? At the beginning of the crisis in 2009 there were only 84 billionaires in the state of California; now after we have "Shared the Pain" for 5 years there are 100 billionaires in California. So what is SEIU 1000 doing to make the billionaires "Share the Pain"?

In the last gubernatorial election SEIU 1000 told us to phone bank for the Democratic candidate but he continued the Republican attack on our living standards. He did not end the illegal furloughs and instead saddled us with increased pension and medical costs, imposed a two tier system in pensions that splits the veterans from the new hires (killing solidarity between young and old) and does nothing about the historic lack of Cost of Living Allowances, so that our pay check today is in real inflation indexed terms 25% behind what we made in the year 2000.

So the state pays sub-living wages (check your county costs of living here <http://livingwage.mit.edu/counties/06001>) and to enforce it they allow the management and supervisors to bully workers while the unions stand by and tell us to support the politicians in the upcoming elections.

What would a real fighting union do to win us a decent contract and to protect us from bullies? Organize action committees in every job site tied to steward committees which

meet regularly and take action to enforce the MOU against bully supervisors and management violations by keeping the members prepared for joint job actions at any time!

1) **Organize inter-union committees to take united action to win decent contracts together by demanding joint contract expiration dates and joint MOU signing dates.**

2) **Teach the membership and prepare the membership for the types of job actions that win, including those that formed the unions in the first place: Strikes, political and general strikes that unite all workers to win, up to and including job-site occupations.**

3) **Stand by the old labor slogans "No Contract No work" and "An injury to one is an injury to all!"**

4) **Break with the Wall Street corporations and bankers' political parties, the Democrats and Republicans, by quitting funding their campaigns and stopping phone banking for them. Instead we need organized labor to form a Workers Party that fights for a Workers Government that is responsive to the interests of the workers assembled, not to the bankers and the super-rich.**

5) **Only a workers government can guarantee a living wage for all, guaranteed pensions and guaranteed medical and protect and deliver quality education for our kids and jobs for all upon entry to the job market.**

6) **Assure all contracts have a Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) that adjusts regularly to keep pace with inflation.**

To win we must form class struggle caucuses in the union to oust the rotten leadership which ties our hands by the class-collaborationist association with the politicians and political parties of the 1%. Build a fighting workers/labor party and prepare united strike actions to win decent contracts.

CDPH Inter-Union Organizing Committee [cdphiuoc@gmail.com](mailto:cdphiuoc@gmail.com) meets every two weeks. Watch bulletin boards for meeting dates.

(Labor Donated)

What kind of a chance does the average EM veteran have to be anything but a statistic in their game?

We see good union militants and even some of the best among the veterans being taken in by the populist politics of the Veterans Party. This is a cross-class formation like others. The self-interests of the former Private Soldier, Airman or Seaman, Marine or Coast Guardsman, female or male, correspond exactly to their social class position, just as the Staff and Command ranks' interests correspond to those of their peers among the debenture coupon clippers and CEOs. They may tell you they can get you all the benefits the World War II generation enjoyed, but the tax structure is no longer in place to provide it, the monies would disappear into big capitalist grafters pockets if it was collected, and there exists no political will among the political class, including leading circles of the minor capitalist parties, to tax any rich people.

### Iraq Redux

In 2007 and in the election of 2008, it was Obama who was sold as the quasi-antiwar candidate. It was the Iraq war that he was opposed to, or so he told us, and as Iraq was the place filling the transport planes with most of the G.I. coffins, voters expressed a preference for half a peace as opposed to McCain's indifference to a 100 years war and other alarming attitudes.

Now suddenly there has developed what the capitalist media outlets portray as a sectarian civil war, something that was always possible from the first weeks of the U.S. invasion in 2003. For the capitalist media, and this includes the Russian and Iranian media (and we predict will soon include the Chinese media), this is an invasion of Iraq by the ISIS sect from across the border in Syria and an attack on the "elected" Iraqi government.

When Bush's war became Obama's war this cemented into place the political fortunes of the Al-Maliki Shiite group, and with Al-Maliki's election you saw the removal to Kuwait and nearby bases of U.S. COMBAT forces in 2011. However it was already clear that Al-Maliki was setting himself up as an ally of Iran and benefactor of Chinese oil businesses, and he had no special regard for the grievances of the Sunni or Kurdish populations, even issuing a warrant for the arrest of his own elected vice president who was a Kurd. Observers providing commentary for "France 24 TV," their English language broadcast, were warning as early as last summer that Sunni resentments against their oppression by the Baghdad Shiite power monopoly were going to explode at any time. What was not expected was the sudden apparent ascendancy of the ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and

Syria, sometimes styled ISIL, i.e., the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.) This is a group that got a nasty reputation as counter-revolutionaries working in parallel with or in place of Assad's forces in Syria; so much so, in fact that they were disowned by Al-Qaeda. Washington and the Tehran regime too all want to make this ISIS' rebellion. But ISIS is thought to number only 30,000 fighters in the two countries combined. Clearly, what they have done is to run to the head of the parade of the Sunni rebellion.

And this is not only a Sunni rebellion, but expresses a broad working class discontent, and is in many ways the culmination of local protests against the Baghdad policies and U.S. war crimes. These protests were spontaneous and well-coordinated stretching back many years even to the immediate post-Saddam Hussein days. The roots of this rebellion predated the rebellions of the Arab Spring dating at least from 2003 when the U.S.A. smashed the power of the Baathists and created a vacuum of power which they filled with a sectarian Shiite group on which they thought they could rely. This was a new role of the dice in their Sykes-Picot power game. This was bound to fail in the era of wars and revolutions; oppressed nationalities can keenly sense the decline of the imperial powers oppressing them and working class revolts against these oppressors is a normal and nowadays natural development. The theory of [Permanent Revolution](#), first popularized by Leon Trotsky, explains why liberals will never free the oppressed, neither the workers nor the farmers, and why they are incapable of doing so, and why this task necessarily falls to the proletarian revolution.

Obama has tried to pull a fast one, saying he is sending 300 specialists, and that these are not combat troops but advisors, and he has hinted broadly that Al-Maliki must go. Of course the specialists turn out to be Army Special Forces, and if those are not combat troops, who would be? Clearly Obama is stuck with the 'legitimacy' of the "elected" government even if he now wants to ditch Al-Maliki as badly as Bush wanted "regime change" at the U.N. in the fall of 2002. Obama doesn't care a rap about Sunnis and others who rebel so long as they don't control oil. He has to keep the Saudis aligned with the U.S.-led imperialist bloc even as he stunts to try to pry Iran away from the prospective good deals Iran can enjoy with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the China-Russia imperialist bloc.

We are sure Obama has no special talent for reversing the decline of U.S. imperialism and we object to making new heaps of bodies trying to prove otherwise. The Maps of the Middle East were drawn by imperialist conquerors and colonizers and were redrawn

at Versailles to make each country a political problem with inevitably weak rulers trying to adjust competing populations' expectations and please the colonial masters too, even before oil was discovered in the 1930s.

We support the uprising of Sunni and other workers! It is the oppressed rising against both imperialist blocs! Both would be glad to drown the Sunni workers in blood in Iraq as well as in Syria. We support the movement for an independent Kurdistan, and we are glad to see Kirkuk in Kurdish hands at last. Still we want to point out that the U.S. making a whipping boy of ISIS does not improve them politically one atom in our view. All "anti-imperialisms" are not the same, and these are not anti-imperialists at all (<http://alinkad.wordpress.com/2013/04/08/a-letter-from-the-syrian-left-coalition-to-the-leftists-in-the-arab-countries-and-around-the-world/>). We would seek their political defeat as an urgent matter subordinate only to advancing the program of the socialist revolution as the only way out for the oppressed.

We will seek a military and political defeat for our own capitalist class and its latest imperialist designs on Iraq. We call for the broadest unity of Iraqi toilers irrespective of their cultural identities. However, should the competing imperialist blocs succeed in fomenting inter-communal war, then the Socialist revolution can concretize the right of nations to self-determination exactly as the oppressed nations rally to the side of the revolution. Imperialist maps can become ink and paper museum exhibits, but this will require the crystallization of a Bolshevik-Leninist Party, the elaboration and popularization of its revolutionary program, and the triumph of a government of workers councils backed by the workers militias.

Such a workers government is the only way the unfinished goals of the historic democratic revolutions can be achieved in the era of imperialism, and such a government will find itself immediately in open conflict with all imperialist powers and designs. The workers government will have at first only the support of the vanguard of the world revolution but will increasingly receive the aid of the international working class in combat with their own capitalists and the two imperialist blocs. This will hold true for all the revolutions in the region and for revolutions inspired by them elsewhere. So against the imperialist Sykes-Picot of the past and the ISIL Caliphate of the future, we fight for uniting independent working class resistance in Iraq and Syria with the revived Arab revolution in MENA to fight for a federation of Arab socialist republics of Mesopotamia.

mean a \$10.10 minimum wage...in a few years. We witness campaigns in various municipalities across the county for other, higher, sub-living wages meant to head off a growing working class demand for decent, living wages. Instead of fighting for decent living wages we get the following "quality" leadership. As a union bureaucrat stated at a recent Iowa City rally: *"A frontline fast food worker in Iowa makes about \$8.62 an hour. That is barely a living wage for one person. It is about \$10 an hour less than somebody needs if they are supporting a child to live in Iowa...Iowa City. I mean that is sort of state-wide. So it's virtually impossible...so raising the minimum wage...\$15 would be great. We'll take \$10..."* - [Iowa City Press Citizen, 12/05/2013](#)

Note how quickly he retreated from the \$18.62 to Obama's \$10.10. These are the pheromones that the labor bureaucracy wafts over the fake socialists entrancing them into supporting the Democratic Party minimum wage program, which has always been a sub-living wage intended to trap millions in lifetimes of poverty, so as to maintain a downward pressure on all wages.

Even [CNN's business section](#), the bosses' press, as well as pundits of the capitalist ruling class, recognize that \$15 is not a living wage and that the minimum wage was never enacted to be one. Indeed the capitalist Green Party program calls for a [\\$16.00 minimum wage](#), a position quickly abandoned by their coalition partners the **Richmond Progressive Alliance (RPA)**, whose candidate for mayor, **Mike Parker**, stands before Labor Notes today crowing over raising [Richmond, California's minimum wage](#) to \$12.30 by 2017.

This plan is a bosses' timetable to further impoverish Richmond workers over time, pushing a living wage further away beyond 2017. By then inflation will have slashed those increases and the fight for the next step increase toward the living wage (in a few years) will leave the workers with today's depressed standard of living or worse.

This is clearly a scam; it is run by the Community Based Organizations (CBO's) --employed Democrats--riding the hobby horse that workers making the prevailing rate are not the real membership of the multi-racial ranks of organized labor, but are a caste of white men who are part of the 1%. This falsehood also works to prevent unity of the working class in the fight for decent, living wages for all, employed and unemployed. Indeed the building trades department of the AFL-CIO is in continuous battle in NY and Albany with layers of CBO politicians super-exploiting ghetto and barrio youth, trapping them in local preserves of sub-living wage employment projects, including "affordable" housing construction. Contrast this with the 1912 program for massive government works at union wages.

**• Considering that Sawant's political organization, Socialist Alternative (Soc Alt), recognizes that a \$15 minimum wage is insufficient, why would they advance a sub-living wage as a major demand in their platform, abandoning labor's historic demand of a living wage that is the union prevailing wage that has kept pace with inflation?**

This is how "sewer socialism" works to keep sub-living wage workers enslaved at the deep fryer, so the bourgeois coupon clippers can continue to super-exploit oppressed peoples, all the while pointing to those vicious class warriors who increased the workers share from sub-living to just a little higher sub-living wage. The stock market stays happy, because they get away without paying a living wage; the "sewer socialists" are happy because they are the heroes that (while not bringing home the bacon) brought home more table scraps!

**• Why can't these "revolutionary" socialists just be honest and tell the workers what a living wage really is instead of "leading" the working class from poverty conditions into yet more "not enough to live on, just too much to die on" poverty conditions?**

**• Isn't it true that fundamentally workers will win what they are able to win through working class struggle, through the mobilization of the masses, and not through playing in the political and legal sandbox of the ruling class?**

The labor movement was built and social gains won through militant organizing drives, mass picket lines that stopped scabs, sit-down strikes, hot-cargoing (refusing to handle struck goods), flying picket squads, solidarity and general strikes and defiance of the bosses courts, injunctions and laws.

**• Isn't what is required today a mass organizing drive, to organize the low-wage retail and fast food and other workers industry-wide, through class struggle methods?**

**• To fight for a real living wage and union protections and benefits? To fight for a union hiring hall?**

**• Why would a socialist be focused on organizing a committee within the Seattle City Council rather than convening mass assemblies of the Seattle area workers and oppressed to organize a fight for a living wage, for price controls and to organize the unorganized "wall to wall"? Where is Sawant's action plan to win union hiring halls and control over our working conditions?**

To win decent living union wages for all, no substitution is possible for the activity of the masses. Any and all attempts to substitute municipal or other parliamentary decisions results in suppression of the "class-for-itself" activity and demands of the working class; such substitution further validates the forms and the power of the rule by the enemy social class. We do not oppose reforms and

join every fight for even the most minimal gain, but at the top of our program stands the survival of the one productive class in society which faces destruction in the forms of impoverishment, unemployment, austerity, environmental degradation and inter-imperialist war.

Today's fake champions of labor, properly named "labor lieutenants of capital" in the old days, face every political question with a bourgeois method. Their method, pushing legislation and city council resolutions with all their miserable compromises, does nothing to mobilize the working class to use class struggle methods to win a living wage and other gains. Rather they rally limited forces of labor, generally bolstered by the left, the union staffers and the CBO's, on the streets, but not for real strike actions that shut industries and services down for more than the 1/2 hour rolling "strikes" at fast food joints. Their method fails to win wage concessions; their method is to build moral outrage of the consumer public, embarrassment of the profiteers and the securing of votes for ballot measures and city council legislation.

This is precisely the method applied when alien class forces control labor. This is the method of New Labour (UK) and Social Democrats generally. They do everything they can to prevent workers actions from developing into united and sustained (more than half hour) strike actions that can win. Thus the RPA, Solidarity, the ISO and the Sawant campaign, et.al., find a happy home together with the "progressive Democrats," with whom their only quibble is over how much further from a living wage to keep the sub-living wage workers.

It should come as no surprise to "Trouble-Makers" that Chicago Teachers Union V.P., ISO honcho and CORE (the reform caucus) organizer, Jesse Sharkey tells workers the Democrats are "...our strategic partners...." It is no wonder workers witnessed the ISO leader Todd Cherchin [petitioning for \\$12.25](#) an hour in Oakland, subordinating the workers program of Jobs for All to the sub-living wage program of the Democrats, as well as their electoralist, parliamentary road to socialism.

*A Workers Political Program of Struggle vs. Breeding Illusions in Electoral Reforms*

**• Considering that early American Socialist Party candidate Eugene V. Debs ran on a program "squarely and uncompromisingly for the abolition of industrial slavery; the one party pledged in every fiber of its being to the economic freedom of all the people...." are we to believe that Debs today would run on Sawant's program of a minimum wage, rent control and "tax the rich"? That Debs would think that candidate for Richmond, CA mayor Mike Parker's Bloomberesque regressive and paternalistic "[soda tax](#)" would advance the workers movement?**

• **Is sewer socialism what is objectively needed today or mass workers' struggle linked to a historic workers political program?**

The authentic historic workers political program as expressed over one hundred years ago retains all its validity today. To wit...

*“Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.”- (1912 SP USA program)*

You would never guess that this workers' revolution of the entire social order would be logically connected to the politics of the nickel-and-dime “socialism” of SocAlt, Solidarity, ISO, RPA, the Greens, or the Labor Notes leaders who try to keep the Troublemakers clueless as to the historic program and social mission of the working class.

### *Immigrant Rights*

How to win immigrant workers rights? Again we see the SocAlt replace the self-activity of the masses with dependence on the offices of the city council.

[Sawant's SocAlt platform](#) states: “The council should campaign for immediate, unconditional citizenship rights for all undocumented immigrants. Enact a moratorium on Seattle deportations.” We say this is another demonstration of a method which gives the working class power away and invests it in the capitalists and their institutions. Immigrant workers have already demonstrated that they understand this question better than Messrs. “socialists” and organized by the millions into an immigrant general strike on “[A Day Without an Immigrant](#)” action on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2006. Had this been a strike of a week or more (i.e., of unannounced duration), and been endorsed and built by the labor federations, “immigration reform” would not be a dead issue stalled in U.S. congressional committee. Rather, significant reforms would today be the law of the land. But to win such reforms an altogether different understanding of the programmatic norms and method is required. Carrying this message and convincing the worker vanguard and rank and file is the historical role of revolutionary socialists.

*We must ask Sawant and her new-found allies:*

• **How are you going to keep the feds from deporting the undocumented by establishing a “moratorium” if labor does not muster workers defense guards for the communities of the undocumented and oppressed?**

• **Is this moratorium for a limited time as the term implies?**

• **Are we led to believe that capitalist institutions such as the City Government, or the capitalist state, are going to defend the democratic rights of immigrant workers?**

• **Are we to relegate this task to the ruling class, a class that right now is waging all-out war against undocumented immigrants, through “deporter-in-chief” Obama's record breaking deportations?**

• **Or is it the task of the organized working class to mass mobilize to stop these deportations, to engage in solidarity strikes and to fight for full, immediate and unconditional citizenship rights for all immigrants through struggle?**

It is an axiom within the workers movement that major social gains were won through class and social struggle and not the ballot box. This has been acknowledged by leftists from Howard Zinn to revolutionary socialists.

• **So why are today's “socialists” creating illusions in electoral reforms rather than using the electoral campaign as an opportunity to raise working class consciousness, militancy, self-organized action, agitating for the workers political class struggles?**

• **We have seen on YouTube the highly-publicized [campaign speech](#) Sawant made to the 751 Lodge IAM members at Boeing, but where was she in the weeks leading up to the January 3<sup>rd</sup> vote, where the IAM international leadership rammed the concessionary contract extension down the members throats?**

*The answer is her campaign ended at the ballot box; the Boeing workers were on their own. She did nothing to mobilize the sit-down strike she hinted at in her famous speech and did nothing to get her 80 thousand supporters to help Occupy Boeing and bolster the machinists refusal of the enforcers' rotten second vote.*

### *Jobs for All vs. “Tax the Rich”*

We want to ask each of these prospective “friend of labor candidates” where is your program for full employment?

The NYC central labor council (CLC) slogan for May Day is Jobs for All! And they go on to say together we fight together we win fair contracts fair wages for all working people. Why don't ostensible socialists like yourselves advance even these imprecise demands?

**Where do you explain how to win these demands and make them real?**

We think that the Tax the Rich slogan, which the NYC CLC also embraces, is completely off target, so we have to ask **Brother Parker:**

• **If you were a supporter of the Black Panther Party and a member of Solidarity, why do you run for office on a reformist and an apolitical program?**

• **And specifically, why do you think tax-**

**ing the rich will make any fundamental change in the behavior of the capitalist state?**

• **We think California will just build more prisons to house and enslave the oppressed black and brown working age populations. Don't you? The social composition of your City will want to know your answer.**

• **Why do you think that additional tax funds made available to the bourgeois state will lead to such social gains as environmental remediation if you do not fight for the expropriation of the Chevron behemoth in your own back yard?**

• **Do you think that the Chevron Robber Barons can be made to run their facilities in an eco-friendly way by municipal regulatory reform and taxation?**

• **When did you drop the historic program of the working class for nationalization of the commanding heights of industry under workers control? With Debs, we call for nationalization of Chevron and all major corporations under workers control and without compensation to major capitalist shareholders.**

• **When Richmond workers look at the Richmond Progressive Alliance (RPA) record they have to ask when will you get rid of the Veolia privatizers who have degraded the municipal water system and fired the SEIU 1021 members and are still passing along increased costs to the city and the homeowners?**

• **Have these folks made their peace with those who tell us progress is made in nickels and dimes?**

So long as you do not answer these questions your campaign is an embarrassment to the working class.

### *Working Class Political Independence vs. Left Tails of the Democrats*

To win, workers need their own political party that fights for a workers government. The workers own government is required to secure the workers' objective needs, ranging from partial and immediate, to the entire socialist re-organization of society commencing the era of the ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and establishing egalitarian consumption. The workers party must be politically independent of capitalist ideology, projects and schemes. It must develop a system of demands corresponding to concerns of the workers present mass consciousness and leading uninterruptedly through experiences in the class struggles to embracing demands which guide the working class and the oppressed, organized for themselves, to win political power and build a state of our own.

**Should workers/labor run candidates who will administer the austerity for the capitalists or do we run candidates on the program of workers control of the economy enforced by a workers' government?**

## ABOLISH WAGE SLAVERY! FOR A GUARANTEED LIVING INCOME FOR ALL!

Today, here and across the country, minimum wage workers are taking a stand for their right to a living wage. We have no need to recite the facts as regards the real unemployment, the multimillions living at or below the poverty level, the failure of the economy to meet the needs of the people as regards education, medical care, housing, jobs, clean air, clean water, and safe abundant food. Minimum wage workers testify to their inability to make ends meet on these sub-living wages. So, while workers produce everything needed in society, enough so all can live well above a poverty level and millions more workers are standing by idle waiting for an opportunity to produce even more goods, the economy organized in this anarchistic-capitalist mode of production, is incapable of eliminating unemployment, poverty or of guaranteeing a living income for all! The slave-wage system is rotten and poverty is its proof!

The ongoing economic crisis forces the class of capitalists, who while some individuals may reap record profits, collectively they confront a long term crisis of profitability, which they logically respond to by hoarding capitals, casting about for profitable opportunities, all the while driving down the price of your labor power (the main variable in the formula of profitability.) This diminishes your ability to purchase, and in turn expands unemployment, pressuring each to work for a penny less. The minimum wage appears to prevent the bosses from paying that penny less, creating an inviolate floor that *appears* to prevent the race to the bottom. But capitalism is versatile so the race to the bottom violates the legal floor. Individual capitalists cheat workers out of wages, millions are mis-categorized as independent contractors, paid subminimum wages as domestics, farmworkers or waiters; years pass without Cost of Living Allowances, and corporations secure stock gains by outsourcing to lower wage countries or hire the undocumented in sub-minimum wage conditions, and steal Social Security and Medical taxes from these workers and the government, keeping these funds as extra profit! So we know the minimum is not the minimum and that the fight against a life of enslavement to the wage system cannot be overcome without a **GUARANTEED LIVING INCOME FOR ALL!** To achieve this we must win **JOBS FOR ALL! AT A LIVING WAGE DEFINED BY LABOR, WORKERS AND THE OPPRESSED! Workers must fight to win control over wages and prices!**

The minimum wage has for a lifetime been kept far below a living wage and today that distinction must be addressed by the labor movement, by all working people and the oppressed. This is a question of life and death for our class.

The over production of Capital turns into its opposite, the under production or lack of distribution of the essential goods and services needed by the masses. The ideology of the capitalists and their intention to control the Capital directs the capitalists' government that they are not obliged to put their vast hoards of capital to productive use to employ the masses, meet human needs and clean up the environment. Their ideology is driven by the market, which demands that their hoards of capital compete in the mega-speculation markets, where Capitals are concentrated, millionaires and billionaires are created and destroyed.

Despite the non-productive nature of the speculators' recovery, the media touts the economic turnaround, which we see has not hit main street, the industrial or manufacturing sectors. Millions remain out of work with no prospect of work. But there is work to be done and idle capital! This was the contradiction that occurred during the Great Depression as we were taught in 11<sup>th</sup> grade economics. Idle hands and empty factories! A formula that was only resolved by WWII, which destroyed billions in Capital internationally at the cost of nearly 60 million lives. Today we face the same contradiction and the struggle of low wage workers is right in the forefront.

But there are those in ranks of labor and among the so-called friends of labor who do not want you to fight for a living wage; they want to keep you enslaved to a new improved, higher, but still sub-living wage. Some, like Obama say \$10.10 by 2015. Others tell us to Fight for Fifteen; still others tell us Fifteen is not enough, that Sixteen is the magic number, or that Fifteen plus medical and pension is required. But when you look at the various calculators assembled by the various universities that study the conditions of labor, the actual living wage varies city by city and is closer to \$30 per hour than \$15. The fake friends of labor run from the call for a living wage for all to be defined by labor (union prevailing wage where it has kept pace with inflation) and thus bolster the capitalists' position by convincing workers they should not fight for a living wage but rather should accept the ever-so-reasonable sub-living wage instead, ***because it is doable today in the world of real politics.***

Their analysis of the cause of the crisis, based on a banking screwup by greedy financial houses and mortgage lenders, turns the structural crisis of capitalist decay into an episodic mistake by a bunch of bad players whose "bad decisions" can be rectified by proper Keynesian fixes instead of requiring revolutionary working class solutions.

If it were merely a question of "good" people in Washington, those "friends of labor" our unions told us to elect, wouldn't they have already imposed massive programs to put us all to work, lift us out of poverty, to replant

the forests, to put millions to work building clean energy projects, to put millions more to work cleaning up the environment, when they had the majority in both houses and the executive? But big capital cannot see profit in that kind of investment, and they, more than your unions ever did or could, own the politicians in congress, lock stock and barrel.

***To win a living wage labor needs its own independent politics, based on the mass mobilization of the workers in every job place to organize the unorganized,*** to revitalize the unions where they exist, build new unions and build solidarity among all workers to strengthen the entire class, as opposed to the current state of atomization of labor, of business and craft unionism, which today is in many places degenerating into corporate unionism and captive unionism.

To do this we need a workers party with a fighting program that unites all workers, from the best paid to the poorest. This can be accomplished when the organized sector takes up the demands **JOBS FOR ALL -SHARE THE WORK -THIRTY HOURS WORK FOR FORTY HOURS PAY! FREE QUALITY UNIVERSAL HEALTHCARE, EDUCATION AND PENSIONS ARE A RIGHT!**

These demands can be won by ***forming rank and file class struggle caucuses in our unions that bring back the class struggle methods that built the unions in the first place, like job site occupations, general strikes and political strikes.*** Thus our fight today is not to reform a decaying mode of production ready for the dung heap of history. Our fight must be for what we need to lift all of us out of poverty! ***Only a workers' government can guarantee a living income for all because only a workers' government will relieve the capitalists of the hoarded capital and put it to work. Only a workers government can or will tell big capital that if you cannot provide for all, we (the assembled working class) will nationalize the commanding heights of industry without compensation and run them under the workers own self-management and plan.***

But a workers' government will not come about without a struggle, a struggle in the unions, the factories and job sites ***led by a worker's party with a revolutionary program, which by its very nature must confront the multi-national corporations and thus be internationalist and build the fight for workers power in solidarity with a revolutionary workers international party!*** This is what it takes to end poverty in our time! ***Build mass workers assemblies! Form the workers party that fights for a workers' government and the historic program of the working class.***

**ABOLISH WAGE SLAVERY!**

**In this situation of a neo-fascist Kiev regime attacking a mainly proletarian South East as ‘terrorists’ we are for a workers united anti-fascist front with NO political support to any ultra nationalist petty bourgeois or bourgeois forces siding with either imperialist bloc.**

At this point it seems that the big majority in the East are still for autonomy, or federalism, and not secession. They are for the unity of the Ukraine workers against the Kiev regime. Only a small minority are for joining Russia. However it will be difficult to hold to this position when workers in the West allow the army to invade the East with fascist shock troops. This will drive the workers in the East into the arms of pro-Russian fascists!

We can stop the split in the Ukrainian working class and the division of Ukraine only by taking a strong international stand in support of defence of South and Eastern Ukraine occupations, and calling on West Ukraine workers and peasants to rally to remove the Kiev regime and its neo-fascist forces.

**We must call on the army conscripts attacking the East to turn their guns on the officers and neo-fascist militias!**

**NO political support to the white Russian or Slav xenophobes in the East attempting to incite secession to Russia!**

**For workers East and West to unite to build their councils and militias against the open fascists of the West and Russian xenophobes of the East!**

**For revolutionaries in the U.S., EU and Russian imperialist states fight the main enemy, the capitalist class at home!**

**For the ranks in the military to mutiny and turn their guns on the officers and the ruling class!**

**For a Workers and Peasants Government and a program of expropriation of capitalist property and a socialist plan!  
For workers self-management!**

**For a Socialist Republic of Ukraine!**

**For a Socialist Federation of Eurasia!**

**For a new World Party of Socialism!**

## ***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.

### **For International Labor Actions to Demand the Immediate Release of Brother Shahrokh Zamani!**



*On May Day prisoners in Karaj’s Rejai Shahr prison gathered to celebrate International Workers’ Day*

In an effort to improve its image in international public relations, the Ayatollah Khamenei regime of the Islamic State of Iran passed a law that ostensibly legalized the organization of trade unions. Brother Shahrokh Zamani took the regime at its word and joined the Committee to Pursue the Establishment of Workers Organizations and became a founding board member of the Syndicate of Painters of Tehran. In 2011, [Zamani was sentenced](#) to 11 years in prison by a court in Tabriz on charges of organizing opposition groups, actions against national security and anti-regime propaganda.

On March 8th, 2014, brother Zamani and his cellmates conducted a solidarity hunger strike for political prisoners at the Gohar Dasht prison. The authorities immediately transferred Sharokh to the Ghezel Hesar prison, Iran’s largest, where thirteen of the twenty thousand inmates are incarcerated for drug-related charges. This is a dangerous and unsafe prison for political prisoners and we fear for his safety. The latest report reaching us says that Zamani has lost over 35 pounds. We demand his immediate release and we call upon labor organizations everywhere, and particularly the building trades unions, to see that the injury to brother Zamani is an injury to us all and to stage labor actions demanding his immediate release. We demand that his criminal record be nullified and cleared. All champions of free speech should rally to brother Zamani’s defense.

## International Labor Defense

### Free Mahienour El-Masry and All Egyptian Leftists and Victims of Egyptian State Repression Now! Immediately Revoke All Death Sentences of the Muslim Brotherhood!

With the ouster of Morsi last July, the SCAF in Egypt has come to the forefront as the open power from behind the scenes. Under the dictates of the Western imperialists, particularly the United States, the Egyptian regime has increased state repression in the face of continuing resistance by the oppressed masses. The oppressed masses in MENA have waged spectacular struggles against imperialism and their own ruling classes since the Arab Spring and even before, with the heroic Palestinian struggle for example.

Arrested and charged in December 2013, Egyptian socialists [Mahienour El-Masry](#), Loai Mohamed Abdel-Rahman, Omar Abdel-Aziz Hussein, Islam Mohamed Ahmed, Nasser Abul-Hamed Ibrahim, Hassan Mostafa, Moussa Hussein, and Hassan El-Siyad were convicted and [sentenced for two years](#) for [organizing an "unauthorized" protest](#) and other charges. The anti-protest laws passed in 2013 effectively ban demonstrations. The [sentencing](#) of Revolutionary Socialist supporter Mahienour El-Masry has provoked condemnation from leftist and socialist organizations, by the United Nations and the [European Union](#).

Longtime activists Mahienour and Hassan played leading roles in bringing to light the murder of Khaled Sa'id in 2010 and the role of the Egyptian security forces in the murder. It was the protests arising from this that played a major role in organizing opposition to Mubarak, leading to the 2011 uprising that ousted him from power. Mahienour and the other activists were arrested at a protest outside of the court where the two policemen accused of killing Sa'id were being tried.

This is not the only crackdown. Labor militants have also been targeted and in December, 2013, April 6 Youth Movement founders Ahmed Maher and Mohamed Adel were sentenced along with Ahmed Douma to three years in jail. **Recently, hundreds of [Muslim Brotherhood supporters have been sentenced to death](#)** as retaliation for the death of one policeman at a demonstration where the cause of death never was established.

It is crucial that the international workers movement take up the defense of Mahienour and all those who face repression at the hand of the Egyptian regime. What is called for are mass demonstrations in the imperialist centers and throughout MENA to demand that all charges be dropped and that all these political prisoners be released. Class struggle defense of all victims of capitalist state repression needs to be the order of the day. Mobilize solidarity labor strike actions and labor hot-cargoing boycotts to fight for their freedom.

Mahienour stated in a [letter from prison](#) that has been released to the social media as follows:

*"....all I can repeat is "down with this classist order." Most of the prisoners in the ward with me are in jail because of IOUs they could not pay back, whether it was a woman buying furniture for her daughter's marital home, a woman collecting funds for her husband's medical treatment, or a woman who borrowed 2,000 pounds only to discover that she owes three million.....*

*..... Ultimately, if we have to raise the slogan "freedom for X," then I say freedom for Sayyida, Hiba, and Fatma—three girls I met at the police station, accused of belonging to the Muslim Brotherhood, among other charges that can lead to death sentences. They were arrested randomly, and their detention has been renewed since January without them ever appearing in court.....*

*.... So down with this classist society. We will not be able to achieve that unless we never forget the truly oppressed."*

**For international class struggle defense of the Egyptian and MENA masses!**

**For labor actions, political strikes and labor boycotts to demand the immediate release of Mahienour and all victims of Egyptian State repression!**

**Egyptian workers! Smash the anti-protest laws through labor struggle!**



## Free the Syrian Douma 4!

In the dark of night on December 9, 2013, masked gunmen stormed the Violations Documentations Center in Douma and kidnapped four of its members, Razan Zeitouneh, Samira Khalil, Wael Hamadeh and Nazem Hamadi. The four kidnapped activists were prominent in the Syrian uprising from its early days and are internationally famous for documenting the regime's human rights violations. We don't know who kidnapped them. Douma is under rebel control. Rival militias with Islamist politics have engaged in kidnapping as an intimidation tactic against secular revolutionists. We join with the Free the Douma 4 campaign in demanding their immediate release and in their resolution that such kidnappings are a betrayal to the revolution and an insult to the Syrian people.

<http://www.syriauntold.com/en/story/2014/05/27/9592>

**Solidarity with the July 1st NUMSA Indefinite Strike! Victory to Our Working Class Sisters & Brothers in South Africa!**

As we go to press, the largest union in South Africa has stated that a [July 1st indefinite strike](#) is inevitable. The workers are demanding a 12% wage increase against a 6.6% inflation rate. NUMSA represents 340,000 metal trades and other skilled workers who recently broke politically from the ANC/SACP/COSATU popular front governmental alliance that imposes capitalist exploitation on the masses.

In 2012, it was the ANC police that [massacred 34 Lonmin striking mine-workers](#) at Marikana in cold blood. The heroic Lonmin miners joined a breakaway union, the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU,) splitting off from COSATU's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which had betrayed the workers. In January of 2014, the [AMCU struck Lonmin](#) again for five months, taking out 40 percent of global platinum production, bleeding the mining companies whose mismanagement caused a downgrading of South Africa's credit rating. The strike was settled on June 24th, with 20% wage gains and union recognition. The heroic Lonmin miners demonstrated that workers can win and what it takes to win. The multi-racial working class in the U.S. would do well to learn from the militancy and resolve of the South African workers!

It is crucial that the international working class engage in solidarity labor actions in defense of our class as one international whole. The South African miners' victory is a victory for workers everywhere and proof positive that victories can be won in defiance of COSATU, Stalinism and the two imperialist blocs.

## For the Immediate Release of Occupy Activist Cecily McMillan! Expunge the verdict! Revoke the probation! Free her now!

Even nearly three years after the Occupy Wall Street protests, the ruling class government sees fit to serve warning to anyone who would stand up against injustice. Occupy Activist Cecily McMillan was found guilty in a grossly unfair trial for supposedly assaulting a police officer during an Occupy demonstration in Zuccotti Park in March of 2012. She was [sentenced](#) to 90 days and five years probation. Five years that the government can hold over her head as political blackmail.

According to Cecily McMillan's account, backed up by evidence, she was leaving the [Occupy protest](#) when an unknown "...somebody grabbed her from behind and ran his hand roughly up and over her right breast, whereupon, in a reflexive action, she elbowed the unknown person who had grabbed her...." The person turned out to be a police officer, Brantley Bovell, who then proceeded to further assault her and place her under arrest. She suffered a seizure from this attack and had to be taken to the hospital. Photos taken at the hospital show Cecily McMillan with an ugly "hand-shaped bruise on her right breast."

This instinctive self-defense against sexual assault by Cecily McMillan, a Gandhian pacifist, is not a crime. Neither is exercising one's right to free speech and assembly, except in the eyes of an ever-increasingly Bonapartist capitalist state that seeks to quell every struggle of the workers and oppressed. If they can't contain struggle and divert it into safe channels through their political agents, the liberal hucksters, the reformist apologists and the Democratic Party union leaders, then they resort to outright state repression.

As the [Guardian reported](#), this is not the first controversy Bovell has been involved in:

*"The response filed by the NYPD to Stolar's motion did, however, confirm that Bovell had been subject to at least two inquiries by the force's internal affairs bureau. It said that he received a "command discipline" for failing to radio that he and his partner were pursuing a 17-year-old boy who was riding a dirt bike in the Bronx in March 2010.*

*The boy, Reginald Wakefield, later sued Bovell and several colleagues, claiming he was intentionally run down and sent flying head-first into a street lamp. He said he was*

*left with broken teeth and a wound requiring stitches in his head. The NYPD said Reginald "refused to stop and ended up hitting a parked department vehicle". The lawsuit was dismissed last year.*

*Stolar also alleged in his motion that Bovell had been filmed on video surveillance kicking a man on the floor while arresting him in a Bronx bodega in 2009. The NYPD said in its response that officers had struggled with a suspect who had a knife, and that an inquiry by internal affairs concluded that an allegation that Bovell injured him in custody was "unsubstantiated".*

*McMillan's attorney also said that he had seen documents showing Bovell was involved in the 2011 Bronx ticketing scandal, in which officers were charged with covering up hundreds of traffic offences as favours for relatives and friends.*

*The NYPD said in its response that "an allegation of ticket fixing is immaterial as to either Officer Bovell's alleged propensity to physically abuse or sexually assault a prisoner held in police department custody"."*

[Another Occupier](#) has filed a Federal lawsuit against Bovell for what happened to him at the same protest that Cecily was assaulted at: *"Austin Guest and Shawn Carrie were on a city bus commandeered by the police to take them to court on the night of St. Patrick's Day. Guest says that Bovell pushed him up the stairs into the bus, threw him "head first" inside, then dragged him down the aisle, handcuffed, while "intentionally banging his head on each seat." His friend, Carrie, said that he saw Guest being knocked around. Judge Zweibel refused to let Stolar ask Bovell about these alleged actions. (Guest is a complainant and Officer Bovell is one defendant in a federal civil-rights lawsuit, still in an early stage, about that incident...."*

The police forces are the core of the capitalist state whose primary function is not traffic control, but defending capitalist property relations. They are racist terrorists and strike-breakers. In their day to day activities in racist America, it is the Black, Brown and immigrant communities and the homeless who bear the brunt of their brutality. As Occupy youth found out during Occupy Wall Street, during times of social struggle they will quash social discontent aimed at the system through violence and arrests. Any serious labor battle is going to face the forces of the state.

[Cecily McMillan](#) maintained her innocence and commitment to non-violence at the trial: *"...The law of love holds that we, all of hu-*

*man society, live one common life, our existence beats with one common pulse - that as we listen to one another, learn from one another, love one another - we draw closer to one another and towards our collective happiness. Therefore - whether in resistance or in retribution, whether personal or political, violence is not permitted. This being the law that I live by, I can say with certainty that I am innocent of the crime I have been convicted of. And as I stand before you today, I cannot confess to a crime I did not commit; I cannot do away with my dignity in hopes that you will return me my freedom..."*

Cecily McMillan grew up poor as part of the 99%, is a supporter of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), has been a union organizer and was an activist in Wisconsin fighting to preserve collective bargaining during Walker's attacks on the unions and society. Other inmates at Rikers Island, where she is serving the rest of her sentence, call her "Activista".

What Occupy lacked was the mobilization of the organized labor movement. Students and middle-class anarchist youth, no matter how militant, lack the social power, organization and class consciousness to mount a challenge to the capitalist system. It is the organized working class that is the one revolutionary social class that can abolish exploitation. Unlike students, who are largely divorced from the means of production, the working class has the power to stop capitalist profits and shut down services in society, such as transit in the metro areas. They are driven to self-organization, class consciousness and struggle not through idealism, but through the material reality of the conflict between labor and capital.

The police can attack demonstrations of students and youth with few worries about serious repercussions. What was needed at Occupy was the mobilization of labor to defend these protests. Contingents of disciplined, multi-racial union marshals and self-defense guards should have been organized to defend Occupy, backed up with the promise that if the cops attacked the Occupy demonstrations or encampments, that the unions would shut down New York City and other major cities through strike actions. This would have made the state less likely to crack down on the protests. It is an organized workers movement today that has the power to find justice for Cecily and all victims of capitalist state repression.

## What we Fight For

### We fight to overthrow Capitalism

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

### We fight for Socialism

By the 20th century, capitalism had created the pre-conditions for socialism – a world-wide working class and modern industry capable of meeting all our basic needs. The potential to eliminate poverty, starvation, disease and war has long existed. The October Revolution proved this to be true, bringing peace, bread and land to millions. But it became the victim of the combined assault of imperialism and Stalinism. After 1924 the USSR, along with its deformed offspring in Europe, degenerated back towards capitalism. In the absence of a workers political revolution, capitalism was restored between 1990 and 1992. Vietnam and China then followed. In the 21st century only North Korea survives as a degenerated workers state. We unconditionally defend the DPRK against capitalism and fight for political revolution to overthrow the 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, 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 beliefs 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. Along the way, workers will learn that each new step is one of many in a long march to revolutionize every barrier put in the path to their victorious revolution.

### We fight for Communism

Communism stands for the creation of a classless, stateless society beyond socialism that is capable of meeting all human needs. Against the ruling class lies that capitalism can be made “fair” for all, that nature can be “conserved”, that socialism and communism are “dead”, we raise the red flag of communism to keep alive the revolutionary tradition of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, the Bolshevik-led October Revolution, the Third Communist International until 1924, 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 !!!**

### Sharokh Zamani’s [speech](#) on May 1st:

*“Workers, activists and labour organisations, we must learn the lessons of the history of our struggles and the struggles of the workers of the world. Together with the workers of the world let us turn this year’s May Day into the day of unity, struggle, empathy and camaraderie of all workers’ movements for organising resistance and struggle to destroy temporary contracts, blank-signed contracts and for establishing permanent jobs, imposing wages in line with inflation and decent living wages, imposing the right to strike, the right to form independent organisations and progressive labour legislation.”*

### Communist Workers Group – USA (CWG-US):

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

Class War (Paper of the CWG-US)

### Liaison Committee of Communists

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Class Struggle (Paper of the CWG-NZ)



*Labor Donated*