

# CLASS WAR

## Internationalist News and Analysis

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The following is reprinted from our comrades of the [Revolutionary Workers Group of Zimbabwe](#) (Section of the International Leninist Trotskyist Tendency-ILTT):

**ZIMBABWE:  
HANDS OFF NURSES!**

**SALUTE TO THE HEROIC  
AND PATHBREAKING  
HEALTH WORKERS!**

**FORWARD TO AN ALL  
OUT PUBLIC AND  
PRIVATE SECTOR  
GENERAL STRIKE!**

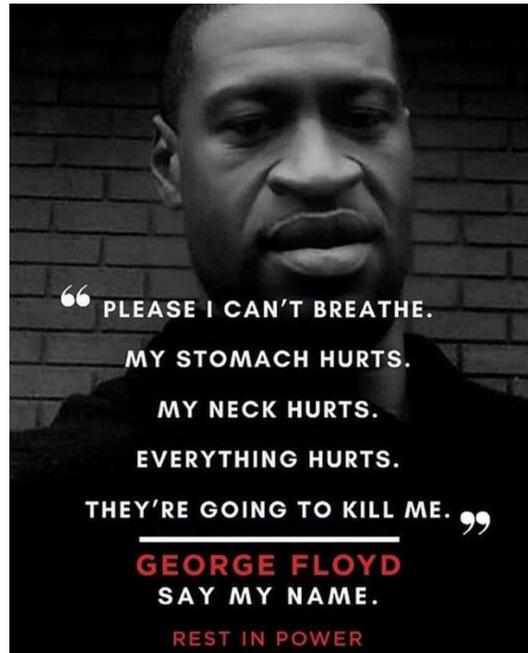
**VICTORY TO THE  
WORKING CLASS!**

As we speak nurses, doctors and other health workers in major hospitals have been on strike demanding a living wage and improved working conditions. The initial sparks started last month when nurses and doctors at the largest hospital in Zimbabwe, Parirenyatwa, staged a spontaneous demonstration against the unilateral cutting of their incomes and failure by the government to fulfil its promises. As a way of trying to hoodwink the workers the government announced a pre-emptive offer to civil servants and government pensioners. The government offered workers a 50% increase on their already paltry salaries and a flat across the board US\$75 and US\$30 Covid-19 allowance for government workers and pensioners respectively. The workers rightly rejected the offer describing as a mockery. Yesterday the state arrested thirteen nurses and workers' leaders at one major hospital for protesting against the slave wages and unsafe working conditions. We call for solidarity action to ensure the immediate and uncondi-

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**Justice for George Floyd!**

**Justice for all victims of  
racist police terror!**



(Image: liampayne/Instagram)

***U.S. Preparing A Military Crack Down  
On What's Left Of Democratic Rights***

***Workers and oppressed fightback must  
prepare and organize against the rise  
of fascism!***

The public lynching of George Floyd, coming when it did, functions as an inadvertent yet clear incitement by the MAGA crowd to exploit the resulting inter-racial "red/black" youth revolt. The ruling class, never missing an opportunity to spin the story from racist police murder to what it terms "illegitimate forms of protest", in turn uses this characterization to justify Trump's opportunistic imposition of emergency powers—sending in the National Guard. Trump personally wants these powers because he can't get elected without a crack down or lock up

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**COVID-19 Pandemic and  
Capitalist Economic Crisis As  
Young Workers Reject  
Racism: A Class Struggle  
Workers Action Program**

At present the world staggers and muddles on through a pandemic that charts its own course across the oceans and continents. Everyone is exposed and the gross inadequacy of capitalist medicine is as well.

The long-anticipated "second dip" of the 2008 great recession arrived in September, 2019, almost in secret so as to prevent a panic. At that time and since the very biggest banks in the U.S. would have failed "stress testing" and the Federal Reserve System began bailing them out with colossal loans at virtually no interest. These banks and their major shareholders do not much care to be told what to do and see themselves as the rulers of society. Their failure to reestablish the rate of profit to which they were accustomed has caused them to lose patience with bourgeois democracy. They look with envy at pliant Bonapartist regimes where business legality is determined by increasingly dictatorial executive power. They aim to get those profits out of the workers' hides; yes, even if it kills us. These biggest bourgeois see the youth's rejection of the racist history of their rule as an increasing danger to their class rule and are digging in behind support for the police. Expect escalating repression like in Hungary, Poland, Brazil and The Philippines.

The public health system, such as it was in the world's most for-profit medical system in the years before 2017, has been sacrificed. Trump seeks to recoup his support among the pro-Bonapartist capitalists with death in the workplace and death in the public schools, which

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## Editorial

### Workers Call this Pussyfooting: Socialist Resurgence and Left Voice tiptoe around movement self-defense.

#### Michael Forest Reinoehl Presente!

*“...The petty bourgeois democrats – including Social Democrats, Stalinists and Anarchists – yell louder about the struggle against fascism the more cravenly they capitulate to it in actuality. Only armed workers’ detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory – and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. Strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers’ groups for self-defense. It is necessary to write this slogan into*

*the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions. It is imperative wherever possible, beginning with the youth groups, to organize groups for self-defense, to drill and acquaint them with the use of arms.” – Leon Trotsky, “[Transitional Program – The Picket Line, Defense Guards/Workers’ Militia and The Arming of the Proletariat](#)”*

Barr and Trump ordered the execution of Michael Forest Reinoehl as a warning to any leftists who assert their 2nd amendment rights to self defense against the fascist thugs. There was no attempt to arrest him. It was an execution authorized from the top. Trump and Barr ordered the hit and Biden gave them permission with his Pittsburgh speech about rioting and looting. The state has openly come out in defense of white nationalism again: kid gloves for Dylann Roof and Kyle Rittenhouse, bullets for AntiFa defenders of Black Lives Matter protests.

Biden’s play to split the protest movement, trying to drive a wedge between the “legitimate protesters” and those who take advantage of the federally promoted chaos to expropriate the product of workers collective labor power back from the corporate retail outlets. The petty bourgeois left that has gone all-in for Biden need to contemplate

what he said. He is offering you the same future as Trump, albeit legalistically camouflaged. If you call yourselves Debsians, how do you swallow this!:

“I want to make it absolutely clear: Rioting is not protesting, looting is not protesting,” Biden says at the start of the 60-second ad, which will air on cable news networks nationally and in key swing states. “It’s lawlessness, plain and simple, and those who do it should be prosecuted.”...“He can’t stop the violence because for years, he’s fomented it,” Biden says in the ad. “His failure to call on his own supporters to stop acting as an armed militia in this country shows how weak he is.”

This is how Biden plays to the centrist Democrats, the DNC and Blue Dogs. [He lectures protesters on street tactics, telling us rioting is not protesting.](#) This coming from one who has never protested for justice and faced the wrath of the militarized police. He says nothing about the role of [provocateurs](#) initiating the breaking of windows (which he calls violence) and the subsequent street fighting. We have known since long before the [Kerner Commission Report](#) that riots are initiated by police violence. Biden like Trump is pointing at the protesters and yelling riot! Biden along with Obama militarized the police prior to and during the 2009 anti-austerity movement that developed into Occupy. Today Trump and Democratic mayors use the repressive state forces built up and enabled by Obama/Biden to turn protests against racist cop murders into police riots.

[Socialist Resurgence’s article](#) “Trump, Biden and Far Right Militias” mentions nothing about the necessity of building worker’s self defense guards, a basic tenet of Trotsky’s transitional program and the methods of revolutionary Marxism. The article makes it sound as if a few big mobilizations, like Boston following Charlottesville, will put this to all to rest. No doubt mass anti-fascist mobilizations will have an impact on the tactics needed for self defense (linked arms of 10,000 may replace the need for tactical equipment). Sorry, but all the miseducation about ‘peaceful-legal’ protest as a strategy you learned, in the

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then centrist YSA, has got to go. It was not Marxism the SWP was teaching, it was an opportunist adaptation to the Gandhian's of the civil rights movement.

That is why today the spin offs of the SWP are ill prepared to lead any workers in struggle. In the face of a counter-revolutionary insurgency, Trotskyists recall the methods of Farrell Dobbs and the fighting Teamsters who beat back the "Silver Shirts" the anti-labor fascist mobs akin to white citizens militias that terrorized the Black and Brown communities. Today these scum reemerge flying the Confederate Flag and Trump Banners in the guise of Proud Boys, Patriot Prayer, Boogaloo Bois, etc. Where Trosky said acquaint the fascists' heads with the pavement, the Barnes crowd famously defended free speech for fascists in Skokie, IL in 1976 and in 2013 in Kansas City as well.

To defeat the violent counter-revolutionaries in the streets we need Labor, Black and Brown self defense guards training in every union hall and assemblies of the specially oppressed to organize defense of strikers and anti-racist actions and anti-fascist mobilizations. But Dobbs did not just put out a call for such self defense; the Trotskyists had to struggle for the leadership of the Teamsters and defeat the class collaborators and pacifists in order to arm the workers both theoretically and tactically to win their strike. The labor leadership prevents this. Only a direct challenge for the leadership of the Trade Union movement and their class collaborationist political strategy, a challenge based on a transitional program, can alter the political landscape in favor of our class.

We are prepared to be smeared by these stealth pacifists. We recall the SWP's COINTELPRO lawsuit, where the Barnes' group's lawyers called the Internationalist Tendency (IT) members "terrorists," just as the "Friends of the FBI" did in the Congressional Record. We recall the lie that ITers were calling for arming the party. We recall the Barnesite denunciation of the Argentine and Bolivian workers' militias who fought fascist dictatorships, arms in



*Michael Forest Reinoehl*

hand. We recall how they refused to raise the demand "Solidarity With the Chilean Resistance." For cover, Socialist Resurgence (SR) gives backhanded praise to Black self-organized self-defense of the 1950s and '60s. But within the logic of the article, as well as the historical record, they are saying, "we approve", but from a safe distance—an idea you can't pin on them!

In 1974 the predecessor political tendencies of **Socialist Resurgence** and **Left Voice** found were in nominal unity in the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. At that time they were members of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction (LTF) which united the Jack Barnes wing of the SWP with the Nahuel Moreno wing of the Argentine PST against the International Majority Tendency (IMT) led by Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Pierre Frank. The crisis at the time was the looming counter-revolutionary coup in Argentina which would result in the murder and disappearance of thousands of worker militants and revolutionaries. The IMT was warning of the impending right wing movement onslaught which would result in continental warfare, while the LTF saw this as a petty bourgeois retreat from the working class. Or so they put it, not taking a side in a battle already in progress. While the LTF was correct about the need for an orientation to the working class, they were already poisoned by their opportunist orientation to Gandhianism and the trade union bureaucracy, so they were ill prepared

to counter the "guerrilla mania" of the IMT with the method of the Transitional Program for workers self defense militias, which defend the workers movement and become the armed basis for the workers government. The orientation to electoralism and legalism resulted in the slaughters, imprisonment and the break up of the trade union and socialist groups across Latin America for decades. They junked the Transitional Program.

**Left Voice**, in "Federal Police Gun Down Black Lives matter Activist in Washington" adds their own view of working class self-defense:

*"So in this moment of continued uprisings against racism and racist police violence, it is more important than ever that working people learn to watch out for and protect each other from right-wing attacks, whether it be vigilantes or uniformed police, and we unequivocally defend the rights of the working class and oppressed to defend themselves against these forces. However, while protest security groups like the one that Reinoehl was involved in are one way of doing this, they are insufficient. A few armed BLM protesters are no match for the weapons of the police and right-wing militias. Further, self defense is not only about armed militias, but crucially, depends upon the political and social support of the masses. The real power of the working class can only be realized in numbers, through mass self-organization in the workplaces and neighborhoods and through the use of working class methods of struggle such as general strikes. This is why the fight against police violence cannot be separated from the other struggles of working people during this crisis. Only by uniting the fight against police violence and racism with the struggles of the unemployed, immigrants, tenants, organized labor, and against all forms of economic and social exploitation can the working class truly find its power."* – ["Federal Police Gun Down Black Lives Matter Activist In Washington"](#)

To which we respond *"where is your criticism of the labor bureaucracy? This could have been written by SOLIDARITY, who deny the bureaucracy is parasitic and privileged"*

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Cont. from pg. 1 Zimbabwe....



tional release of the workers.

The militant teachers' union, ARTUZ, quickly condemned the offer by the government immediately calling for the reinstatement of the pre-October, 2018 income of \$520 which was in the stable US\$ and has since been demonstrating across the country. Today the real value of teachers' income is around US\$40 per month with pensions, medical and other subscriptions being eroded on a daily basis. Following on that, the biggest trade union federation, ZCTU, issued a statement calling on all workers and the general population to protest against the slave wages and repression. It also called for a United Front of all progressive forces to fight for a better life for all.

As the Revolutionary Workers Group of Zimbabwe we strongly support the strike by all health workers as well as the calls for action by the teachers union and the workers federation calling for a living wage and a better life for all. We also support the call for a United Front of all working peoples formations prepared to fight for the workers and poor masses. It is urgent and crucial, however, that all sectors of the health fraternity, the civil service and all workers come out in full force to conquer a living wage and a better life.

**For a living Wage! Workers fight for a living wage and better working conditions through mass action controlled by ordinary workers!**

**Stop all the arrests, persecution and repression of the poor masses and their leaders! Release all those imprisoned! -For survival, workers need to assert control of all PPE and use masks at work and in street actions, strikes and assemblies!**

**Against unemployment and destitution we demand a sliding scale of working hours to provide decent jobs for all through massive public works programs to provide housing, education and medical care for all!**

**Against the ever rising prices and inflation we demand a sliding scale of wages!**

**To defend the rights of our class we fight for democratic rights of the workers, the super-exploited and oppressed peoples in the workplace, streets and public domain!**

**For free, comprehensive and secular education for all!**

**For free quality healthcare for all!**

**Workers take back your unions!**

**Organise the unorganised! Form unions of the unemployed as fully affiliated unions!**

**The government and city municipalities must stop the attack on the vendors and informal traders!**

**Militant workers to form class struggle caucuses in the unions to fight for this program!**

**Workers to form strike committees to lead the resistance to the growing attacks on the wages and working conditions of the poor and the livelihood of the majority poor!**

**Workers to form workers defence guards for defence against state violence!**

**A national strike committee to organise and plan for a general strike!**

**Workers break with the MDC and ZANU PF and form a Workers Party! No to US and Chinese imperialism!**

**For a workers government on the basis of the armed people to implement decisions that benefit the workers and the poor!**

**Nationalization of all companies without indemnification to the big shareholders under workers control!**

**Land to be distributed to all poor peasants together with a state bank to provide inputs to all small farmers!**

**A workers state that defends workers, peasants and the poor masses against the local and foreign capitalists!**

**An African socialist revolution as part of the international revolution that alone can guarantee a better life for all!**

**A new WORLD PARTY of socialist revolution based on the TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM of 1938 to lead the revolution to end capitalism and open the road to socialism!**

*Revolutionary Workers Group of Zimbabwe (Section of the International Leninist Trotskyist Tendency-ILTT)*

07 July 2020

Harare, Zimbabwe

Cont. from pg. 1 George Floyd....

that keeps the masses from voting.

Chauvin, is a product of institutionalized racism; this known killer with MAGA and Klan connections, executed a public lynching provoking a nation-wide protest as if it were a plan from Trump's playbook. The local "red/black" police squads followed as per handbook, putting provocateurs like Pederson into action. He was caught on video smashing store windows as the protests began, dressed in black with his wife's respirator and an umbrella; protesters exposed him as he tried to retreat to his getaway vehicle. Pedersen and his cohorts' job was to incite full-on riots to justify Trump calling in the National Guard, throwing red meat to his racist Confederate flag waving base. Always ready to sow confusion with a mixed message, Trump laughably claimed MAGAs love Black people. Because Trump cannot risk a military war with China yet, he needs a domestic anti-Black, anti-immigrant class war to prepare the ground for possible suspension of the November elections. Why is this happening right now, and what must we do to fight it?

### Why is this happening right now?

**The suddenness and extremity of the current crisis compounding the pandemic, climate disruption and inevitable economic crash has created a situation where the ruling class is in a panic and without the normal solutions. The working class is divided, lacking leadership and facing mass unemployment (25%), while the 'middle class' of better paid workers and self employed are sliding rapidly into bankruptcy. Facing a crisis many times worse than the 1930s, global capitalism has reached its terminal crisis.**

**The contradiction between nature and capitalism is clear in the combination of the revolt of nature, signified by the zoonotic pandemic and meteorological cataclysms (fire, warming, mega monsoons, hurricanes, floods, tornadoes.) The spontaneous uprisings of workers and oppressed against the moves of the ruling class towards populist Bonapartism as the capitalist class prepares the ground for fascism. A**

**new generation of multi-racial working class fighters need organization and theoretical armament to resolve the contradiction, stepping off the reformist ineffectual treadmill of electoral duality and the protest-only culture of the petty bourgeoisie!**

How is this contradiction expressed in the U.S.A.? In the U.S., the contradiction is between the world hegemon and an economically advanced but politically backward working class benefitting from the imperialist extraction of super-profits from oil and other key resources and debt service. They have been shearing off the workers' living standards since the 1970s and now the Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall has caught up with the U.S. capitalists as a class. Seventy years into the post-WW2 era, U.S. economic decline leaves the ruling class with few options other than the fascist road. One of these options is outright Bonapartist dictatorship. Since Trump's election in 2016 he has sought to expand the presidential powers to become a Bonapartist ruler. The current compounded crisis leading up to the election pushes him faster in that direction, to take executive control of the other branches of government, asserting new powers and now attacking states' rights.

The Bonapartist mobilizes right wing populism against the more timid and liberal wings of the bourgeoisie that are not otherwise willing to go along with the requirements of the biggest capitalists for authoritarian control and militarized solutions. Bonapartism and fascism share characteristics but are not the same, the Bonapartist leader will point to himself as the only force capable of solving the crisis and who does not hesitate to put the military on the streets for his own gain.

The Bonapartist maintains a semblance of popular democracy, allowing the unions to exist and the voices of opposition to publish. The fascist follows when the Bonapartist cannot resolve the crisis in favor of capitalism, and when the workers movement challenges for power the fascists step in to crush the organizations of the workers and oppressed, crush civil liberties and round up, imprison or disappear opponents.

*"From fascism the bourgeoisie demands a thorough job; once it has resorted to methods of civil war, it insists on having peace for a period of years. And the fascist agency, by utilizing the petty bourgeoisie as a battering ram, by overwhelming all obstacles in its path, does a thorough job. After fascism is victorious, finance capital directly and immediately gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, all the organs and institutions of sovereignty, the executive administrative, and educational powers of the state: the entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the co-operatives. When a state turns fascist, it does not mean only that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance the patterns set by Mussolini — the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role — but it means first of all for the most part that the workers' organizations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein precisely is the gist of fascism...." — Leon Trotsky, "Fascism: What it is and How to Fight It"*

The COVID pandemic has compressed this contradiction explosively. The COVID threat to life forced a belated move to lockdowns, closing down the economy, creating millions of unemployed. The failure to control the virus has impacted the most exposed sections of society, impoverished workers, People of Color and immigrants. Trump, doing the bidding of the Chambers of Commerce, has constantly rejected workers' right to life by demanding a 're-opening of the economy' at the expense of their lives.

The result was predictable and workers have resisted with over 200 strikes since early March. The threat of a mass movement against him has caused Trump to lose ground with his base over COVID; even Twitter is challenging him with fact checks; and he is threatening governors and mayors who stand up to him. Etc., etc.

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Cont. from pg. 5 George Floyd....

Trump needs something to justify a state of emergency to force a re-opening of the economy and blame Blacks for resisting it. The imperialist playbook is to make other countries pay for your crisis, but in the end it's workers and oppressed everywhere that pay. And so far he hasn't broken the working masses. He knows that by targeting Black and migrant communities he divides the working class, gets the wavering elements of the ruling class fearful of mass anarchy behind him, and can use his power to impose martial rule and settle the question of who retains presidential power. At the same time he avoids the need for an external war with China which is a risk too far in the present global situation. The 'red' scare tactic is useful in winding up his white supremacist base as a fascist movement to attack the threat of workers revolution, but as yet there is no need to push this to the limit and risk a global war. With the executive power and support of Congress he has the room to retain power and prepare for the future fascist regime. The critical question is: can workers' and oppressed mobilise and organise against that power and resolve the class war by taking power with a Workers' Government and Workers' State?

### How to fight it!

Trapped between elections and protest the working class has no political self organization nor party that acts in its interests. Without an independent voice of the working class and oppressed the discussion dominated on the mainstream media ranges from Fox with its hypocritical stance of: "...yes you have something to be angry about but your going about it all wrong..." to the worthless Democrats looking for a way to channel all the righteous indignation off of the streets and into an "Anyone but Trump" Biden moment. The problem for the Democrats, and they know it, is that in many of the urban centers where daily police terror in the Black and Brown community is the norm, these cities are being gentrified by Democratic political machine politicians in league with billionaire developers. And the enforcement actions in response to this wave of protests triggered by the murder of George Floyd are also guided by Democratic administrations calling



### *Justice for Breonna Taylor!*

in the National Guard so they don't look weak in face of Trump's taunts and threat to send in the military police. Their big reason to show little opposition to Trump is their desperate need for budget bailout monies. They won't get these if he doesn't sign the bill granting them!

So the multi-racial working class and oppressed youth who filled the streets for the last weeks have no legitimate reason to support the Democrats other than the pragmatism that comes with fear, moral defeat and short sightedness. The fake socialists like Bernie Sanders and his followers in and around the fringes of the Democratic Party want your energy to put Biden in office because they do not believe the working class can take power into its own hands and are unwilling to chart a course to that end. **They fear the youth uprising they wish to manipulate for their "new normal!" !!**

**It is significant that these demonstrations are racially integrated. Historically in America, major working class and social gains have been won for all when white workers have united with Black people and taken up the fight for Black rights. And the ruling class knows this! This prompts the sector of capital represented by Trump and Barr to consider a rapid turn to fascism, hoping to have adequate 'Boogaloo' (civil war) support for a 'Fatto Compli.' They are capable of self-delusion about their chances too, par-**

**ticularly because Trump surrounds himself with yes men. So we need to advance the historic program and organizational forms of the working class to disabuse the far right of their chances of carrying the coup off! We need to make the AFL-CIO organize "Federal" Locals of the unemployed open to all the unemployed! This would at a stroke signify a great unifying of the class as a militant labor movement. Demand living wages for all, employed and unemployed!**

Revolutionary Marxism sees the youthful vigor expressed in the streets as incipient rebellion, as the voice of the voiceless manifests in desperate direct action. Desperate because all "legitimate" means of redress are like talking to the hand. All roads of reform are blocked by the economic desperation of a capitalist class facing its own demise due to the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. Their largesse, their noblesse oblige, allows only incremental changes made one day and taken back the next. Even the most peaceful leaders of the oppressed and workers are shot down and jailed while self serving opportunist leaders get way too chummy with the class enemy after convincing the masses they can 'work it' from the inside; only to turn on their base when the real master tells them to enforce austerity by force of arms. Reform and electoralism has failed to end exploitation of workers and the environment, has failed to end racism, bigotry, and misogyny and has resulted in one imperialist enforcer after another doing the capitalist class's bidding overseas.

During the Obama years we saw the escalation of police murder of Black and Brown lives in cities under Democratic Party control. For the fake left, the political initiative is always in the hands of liberalism. This means the social revolt of the moment is of little importance and the principle of class political independence is either inapplicable or just another concept to fob off or put into historical storage! The solution offered by the liberals and fakers like the DSA, the Progressive International, the Working Families Party, et. al. is to get out the vote for Democrats without even putting a warning label on that deadly option.

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*Cont. from pg. 6 George Floyd....*

A warning would be in order that it was Obama who shut down Occupy, uniting the FBI with local Democratic mayors and providing their police with military grade equipment and federal "intelligence" assistance to crush a movement which shut down the ports of Oakland, Portland and Longview, threatening the billionaires of Goldman Sachs where it hurts. It was Obama who assisted the coup leaders in Honduras to crush the mass movement, making it the murder capital of the world as union activists were hunted down in their homes and in the streets. It was Obama who funded the Zionist operation known as "Cast Lead" devastating Gaza. It was Obama who extended the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and kept Gitmo open. It requires a level of national chauvinism on the part of self-proclaimed revolutionaries (from Anarchist to pseudo-Marxist) to ignore the actual role of the Chief executive of U.S. imperialism and advocate election of his henchman Biden!

We also learned that spontaneous and sustained protests, even when they result in general strikes from below (as in Oakland when 40,000 shut down the port winning support from the most militant workers of the ILWU) are not enough to win. The Occupy was smashed by the Democrats who guided the masses back to the electoral arena. But even the reelection of Obama was not enough to keep the people off the streets. The racist institutionalized terror the capitalists need to keep Black, Brown and oppressed working class families down and powerless could not be dismantled by all the weary speechifying of Obama and the parading of AG Holder. And so Occupy was shut down but the movement morphed quickly, with the cell phone camera and social media exposing multiple racist cop and vigilante murders, into #BlackLivesMatter.

Ferguson erupted and national attention was transfixed on its racist legacy of slavery-the modern lynching by cops and neo-fascists. Youth, many of whom got their activist start in Occupy, enraged by the lack of progress, attacked symbols of the confederacy and the battles in the streets became national debates which exposed the rightists' love of the heroes

of the confederacy and the stars and bars as OVERT RACISM. When the fires of the Rodney King, Oscar Grant, Trayvon Martin, Tamir Rice, Eric Garner, Sandra Bland, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery and George Floyd protests fade and the lawsuits commence, the liberal politicians always come out with endless proposals for police reform and citizens review boards that have not and cannot reform institutions of racist terror which the capitalist class relies upon to keep poor folk down.

There is a rapid shift today in the U.S. as racism becomes morphed into a fascist movement in support of Bonapartism. But already the compounded crisis has sparked an uprising that changes the objective situation, so that Bonapartism of the centre cannot hold. Witness how fascists protesting the lockdown and toting automatic weapons caused the Michigan state government to suspend its sessions for a week. This interference with government then escalates to the Governor of Minnesota sabotaging public order by calling out the National Guard, deploying them against the workers' right to protest for the first time since Missouri deployed the Guard in Ferguson (2014). The fear of revolution expressed by Trump and the Democrats as "anarchy" could force Trump to move to fascism quickly, as his Bonapartism is a balancing act where neither class has the ascendancy. Bonapartism is a transitional form of class rule that cannot hold when the class war escalates, facing the compounded terminal crisis where we face the question of socialism or barbarism.

Trotsky saw fascism as on the agenda in the 1930's, and even wondered out loud whether the U.S. could continue to afford bourgeois democracy. The outbreak of WW2 war substituted for it by finally stimulating full employment. Since then unions have been further incorporated into the state machine, the working class has become even more amorphous without a mass workers party, let alone a mass revolutionary workers party. The new left has retreated to part of the way with their latest LBJ. So the uprising today is an expression of class spontaneity without any independent working class voice. What little benefit it has from social media can be closed down with the flick of a switch. Even so this resistance

makes the prospect of a Bonapartist class balance difficult, and demands a more reactionary solution. If we are right and Trump cannot risk a major war with China yet, how does he resolve the internal class war? Trump is capable of exploiting the crisis and making a turn to fascism if he is convinced this is the only or the preferred way to hold onto power. He has the backing of a sector of the ruling class to do so, and it is an open question how much of the military would support suspension of the Constitution, in whole or part.

Workers and oppressed need our own party with a program that answers today's immediate needs with answers which only working class power can implement. Such a workers party will organize the entire working class united with the oppressed. The party will build class-political consciousness for the overthrow of the exploiters and their state. The workers' own party will coordinate all the partial and democratic rights battles to achieve the goal of the conquest of political power by the workers and oppressed. We call this a transitional program. It is built in every struggle addressing each single need of the people with steps through self organization to the establishment of workers control of the means of production by democratic planning in the interest of all, not for profit.

**How do we get from here to there? We begin this way:**

**We fight for justice for ALL! Remember all victims of racist terror! George Floyd, Breonna Taylor and Ahmaud Arbery Presente!!**

**Mobilize the social power of the working class for political labor strikes demanding justice for George Floyd! Defund the cops! Not one penny for the forces of state repression!!**

**Cops are racist terrorists and strike-breakers! Kick the cops and prison guards out of our unions and labor federations!**

**Struggle against racism in our unions: build anti-racist class struggle caucuses that fight for political independence and a transitional program.**

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will also be shorn from us. Likewise, unlike in countries with much larger labor movements, the U.S. capitalists look to terrorize us with historic layoffs and mass homelessness. Such sops as Congress doles out pay few bills for the COVID infected and keep the labor leadership begging hat in hand while otherwise loyally confusing us with support for the police. The federal health authorities have devoted zero attention between zoonotic transfer and environmental collapse. Anti-Jennerism (anti-vaxxers) tell you conspiracy theories and obscurantism flourishes in conditions of the deeper crisis of proletarian leadership.

At least the dead and dying have likely realized this, and have despite the booster cheerleading of reformism and reaction alike. Centrism also accommodates the existing system, proffering ‘radical’ action programs that do not call for socialism but suck up to a trade union leadership increasingly integrated into the state. This is especially true of the “Fifth Internationalists” of the RCIT, the so-called Revolutionary Communist Internationalist Tendency, who label us “lock-down leftists,” call COVID 19 a hoax less dangerous than the flu and otherwise urge workers to go back to work!

The dialectic of pandemic development in conditions of the social anarchy of capitalist production is known to nature, and nature does not care whether the dialectic is acknowledged or popular; nature just adapts. In this case it makes a more virulent virus to defend itself from the mode of production. The virus’s particular zoonotic path, from animals to humans does not contradict this, much as conspiracy theorists wish you would believe otherwise. COVID will be just the first pandemic of this century.

After the virus naturally appeared the first response of the capitalist states was denial. First identified by Dr. Li Wenliang, he got unwanted police attention and was forcibly shut up for “rumor mongering.” He can’t defend himself against this charge now. His only proof in defense of his claim is his death from the virus he described. His experience of state indifference and denial was replicated elsewhere, notably and spectacularly in the



Photo: [infernieristicamente.it](http://infernieristicamente.it)

U.S.A. of the Trump clique. They had a six week warning from authoritative experts and the Chinese response experience. The Trump clique did nothing to prepare, having previously done worse than nothing, abolishing and defunding such preparedness structures and offices that existed, and telling the credulous rightist political base that the virus was a leftist hoax.

Now the first responders are being worked to death without Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) as Trump’s son-in-law manages the speculative market for these supplies. He tells us the national stockpile is not for supplying the states(!), while Trump swells up pronouncing himself a wartime president and in the same breath declares the federal government is only a “backup” for the states and is not a shipping clerk. We have been prepared by television personality government for a best case scenario of up to 240,000 victim fatalities; 224,000 by November 1. This sober news moment followed weeks of confusing daily briefings and Congressional wrangling over relief measures the Trumpsters insist upon calling a stimulus program. We see the Administration trying many strategems to control and denounce the media for its pandemic reporting.

Refrigerator truck trailers were lined up in counties across New York, and now again in Texas, with shelves being installed to serve as morgues for the cadavers of the deceased. They die in isolation from their families, who will have to claim them later and pay forty eight to seventy two thousand dollars, i.e., the bill for care received. This will impoverish many. Still others will be unable to pay. Bernie Sanders said no one should have to pay these bills and Trump facetiously told the press that no one will have to. When the families get these bills should they bring them to these jokers? We say burn those bills like the draft cards in the Viet Nam anti-war movement days!

Nursing homes have become targets of opportunity for COVID-19 infestation. The bourgeoisie has for decades winked at the inadequate medical staffing of these facilities while gouging the families of the aged who cannot provide adequate care in their homes. Let’s be clear these are not homes full of highly trained and highly paid nurses. No, these are work sites where low paid immigrant workers with little education and little pay work under the direction of at best a few medical professionals. It is no wonder these workers are falling or will fall

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victim to this pandemic. In this pandemic the nursing home patients fare little better than the incarcerated, but they are another golden goose for capital. The California Department of Public Health (CPDH) instructed nursing homes not to refer COVID cases to hospitals but to makeshift isolation wards that afford dubious protection against airborne virus propagation.

Many of the incarcerated are doomed now, as the infection rate is out of control. San Quentin is now notorious with more than 2,000 sickened by last week as a result of prisoner transfers from a hot spot. There were no infections before the transfers. Gov. Newsom has had to admit this was a mistake.

The pandemic is only getting started! Soon the lack of supplies and ventilation equipment will be overwhelming the 'hot spots' of July. Following the peak of infections in the largest metropolitan areas will come the plague-equivalence in the secondary population center cities, and this has already begun. Daily new infections record numbers is the new normal in the U.S.A., and the combined infection numbers of just 3 states, Florida, Texas and California account for over 30% of the world's new infections!

As we predicted, fatalities are soaring in the former confederacy and Florida. There obesity, hypertension and heart disease are commonplace pre-existing diseases under capitalism are currently being used to alibi COVID-19 as no worse than the flu! And to this will be added the unwillingness of the authorities to face the changed social situation until too late, which has also already happened. That Trump is politically earmarking scarce supplies for use by the relatively few hospitals serving the folks in these states is just more criminal negligence from the standpoint of the working class, whereas he says he bears no responsibility at all. And still the hospitals run short of these critical supplies and the necessary staffing as well.

Workers need to figure this existing situation out as a total systemic failure. Fifty million workers laid off since the last two weeks of March have this time to ponder

it and realize that much of the adequate first remedy is already formulated in the historic socialist program of the working class. Now this has been further sharpened for immediate use by the Internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency in its COVID 19 Action Program. We urge all workers to use their communication tech and media at their disposal to quickly discuss this program and resolve to act.

We are all threatened by the open longings of Attorney General Barr for the police state powers already imposed by the "illiberal democracy" regimes in Hungary, Poland, the Philippines, Russia and China. Reject chauvinism! Those who prefer a racist blame game to internationalist action are doomed. Even before world war two our Trotskyist forebears recognised that the survival of the productive class in society was posed, and they said so in "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International: the Transitional Program." Now is the recommended time to find this short work on the Marxist Internet Archive and read it. You will feel better about our class and species' chances when you do.

### **Understanding what you see– the preliminaries**

The post-WWII U.S. hegemony of the last 70 years, arising from the redivision of the capitalist world after the devastation of the second inter-imperialist world war and built off of the super-profit accumulation from the exploitation of the semi-colonies/colonies, is coming to an end. American capitalism was sustained by a capitalist ideology rooted in the middle class and infecting large swathes of the working class. In particular, it was the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy who directly benefited from the imperialist profit-grabbing and who in unions such as the UAW, engaged in anti-China chauvinism rather than the international class struggle needed as American plants were closed and jobs moved offshore by Wall Streeters chasing cheaper labor. **Down with anti-Chinese chauvinism and 'Buy American' protectionism!! Anti-Chinese chauvinism dovetails with Trump's anti-Muslim and anti-Latin American prejudice campaigns! These blame games are the harbingers**

### **of fascism, the latent political content of the Make America Great (White!) Again campaign.**

The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy presided over the decimation of the unions as they pushed the team management schemes that tied workers to management on the shop floor. This class collaboration was historically prepared in the political sphere binding the unions to the capitalist Democratic Party, robbing the working class of both its political independence and the ability to use class struggle methods to defend and advance the historic gains and interests of our class. **Down with labor/management peace schemes! For class struggle to defeat anti-labor laws such as Taft-Hartley! Defeat the Popular Front with the capitalist parties! We fight for the political independence of the working class.**

The U.S. is number one in the number of COVID-19 cases, due to the deliberate criminal neglect of the Trump administration and the Democratic and Republican Congress. And the death rate is rising again. It was the pandemic and the economic impact that tipped the world capitalist economy into turmoil, into a crisis that was already brewing as the capitalists have been unable to restore their rate of profit since the economic crisis of 2008, despite the working class being driven yet further into poverty. The dominance of U.S. imperialism on the world stage is faltering, as the U.S. is not able to turn on a dime as it did in WW II to fight the war on COVID-19. This is due to the deindustrialization under the 'logic of globalization' (imperialism). The interrupted supply chains trace back to areas in China that were closed by COVID-19. And China itself is a competing, rising imperialist power challenging U.S. hegemony. Only under rational, cooperative, centralized social economic planning on a world scale, a socialist world economy, can pandemics of this magnitude be effectively contained or the looming catastrophe of climate change be halted and reversed. And the working class is the only social class capable of democratically building and managing such an economy. The capitalist ruling classes and governments,

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the defenders of capitalism, have proven themselves utterly bankrupt as stewards and rulers of society.

### **Capitalist Healthcare, Medicare for All and Socialized Medicine**

The ruling class in the U.S. is staunchly opposed to social medicine. For-profit healthcare has been sustained for decades by the American Medical Association (AMA) and the fusion of academic/bourgeois economists, the medical profession and the mega-corporations and their profit-driven taxpayer subsidized R&D and production. The U.S. is the only economically advanced industrial country without universal healthcare. Millions are overlooked by the failed ACA, and millions who despite having formal insurance, avoid treatment because the co-pay's break their bank. Medicare for All (M4All) advocated by Sanders and the liberal 'New New Dealers' of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) on paper ensures universal coverage, creates a buyers edge for medical equipment and medicine, could put a cap on costs and address the administrative overlap of multiple insurance companies, reducing overhead.

But M4All cannot guarantee quality and emergency preparedness as long as the providers, the hospitals, clinics, pharmaceutical production corporations, R&D, the equipment production and supplemental insurance is market-driven. Guaranteeing your hospital bill is paid through M4All is small comfort if you end up dead due to deficient healthcare. Even if a Democratic and Republican Congress were pressured to pass an M4All bill, they would gut much of its progressive content and place the burden of supporting it on the working class. **Instead we call for free, quality healthcare for all through socialized medicine run under workers control!**

The training of the next generation of medical professionals needs to be addressed also. **The socialist solution is through free, quality education and job training.** This stands directly opposed to the education for profit system maintained under capitalism and promoted as a virtue by the alliance of the Gates

and the DeVos families' commitments to charter schools for the crushing of public education.

The Public Health Departments, academics, and public health professionals all knew this was coming and how vulnerable the medical system is, but their pleas were ignored by the neo-liberal agenda of the leadership of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Just as they are not addressing the growing social inequality and the accelerating slide into climate catastrophe.

The just in time supply line "emergency planning" has reduced public health to a quip from business school basic logic, determined to secure short-term, quarterly profits. The anarchy of capitalist production, the drive for profit and the competing capitalists have failed in providing the necessary PPE, medical equipment, testing and vaccine so desperately needed. The lessons of the "Spanish Flu", SARS, ZIKA and MERS guided Public Health professionals who have been shouting into the void that preparation was required. But there are none so deaf as those whose bottom line is affected by the information. The American mythological identity is tied up with another crumbling institution, the Boy Scouts, whose motto "Be Prepared" was a backbone of American pragmatism and an internalized justification for American exceptionalism. Yet when it was time to Be Prepared, America had no Eagle Scouts and the rest of the troop was being sent out to dig mass graves, not latrines for the big 2020 Jamboree.

### **Strategic reserves are not sufficient**

The CDC is telling people to make masks out of cotton shirts and rubber bands. Lawrence O'Donnell, the MSNBC Democrat talking head highlights mask sewing by a 4th grade girl! This is in what was the world's manufacturing powerhouse!

With millions sitting at home and factories sitting idle a socialist economy under democratic workers control would safely open the factories and produce the needed medical equipment, PPE and test kits and send teams of social service workers into every home to find and serve the sick and dying. **We call on the unions to seize**

**the shuttered economy, to open supply chains, to initiate safe work protocols and put an end to the lack of equipment needed to defeat this pandemic!**

The capitalist economy administered by Trump or Biden and Cuomo promise you more of the same: subordination of adequate preparation, production and delivery of medical equipment only up to the for-profit supply line dictates.

### **Racist American Capitalism**

The public health crisis in Michigan/Detroit is the tip of what is developing into a racist genocide-Trump's 'Final Solution'. Black workers were needed in the late 50's throughout the 60's and the early 70's to build up the Big Three Auto companies. When the downturn came in 1974 they began to be turned into a reserve army of labor with the highest intergenerational unemployment rates decimating the Black family and filling the prisons. The Rockefeller drug war against the Black community was followed by the Reagan-run, CIA Contra-brand crack-cocaine importation scourge, which was then topped off by the Clinton/Biden Omnibus Crime bill of 1994, filling the prisons to bursting point. The offshoring policy of abandoning the home of production of Automobiles and the UAW took place without any significant cleanup of the mess the Big Three left behind. This was the deliberate policy of the corporate bean counters and this mentality presaged the lead (Pb) in Flint's water supply. Black children were lead poisoned and brain damaged en masse in the Detroit suburb! Now Trump attacks the Governor of Michigan ("that woman") for stating what is, that the states are not prepared (the outcome of for profit health care and deindustrialization)!

While homelessness is an interracial class condition the state policy toward unhoused persons is institutional racism. The homeless encampments—populations in all major cities and suburban areas are without resources to keep clean, keep social distance, and receive or contract for medical assistance. **Fill the vacated properties! Hotels are empty! Fill them up and turn them into housing for all until adequate homes are provided.** Mass homelessness is predicted as

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the depression deepens.

While the political tops strut in photo ops with black pop culture luminaries and the Trump administration transparently involves them in his national chauvinism (America first) project, the U.S. police forces continue to gun down black youth in every state. Expect National Guard infantry deployments for "public order maintenance" to increase the racist state murder tally. These deployments are as predictable as the sunrise as the pandemic death toll mounts and food insecurity increases to a panic level. ***We call for Labor-Black-and-Brown Defense Guards organized in Union Halls and community centers of the oppressed neighborhoods to ensure equal distribution of resources, food, water, power and medical care to all in need. For Labor-Black-and-Brown Defense Guards to also defend against state repression, racist cops, fascists and to defend picket lines and protect strikers!***

**News and history combine to drive transitional demands! Retail distribution centers, sanitation and other workers taking strike action.**

Nurses and medical workers are overwhelmed, exposed and dying for lack of PPE and because the CDC or local government denies them testing. Instead of PPE, nurses are wearing Ball Park rain ponchos and plastic garbage bags. The nurses in NYC never won safe staffing levels in their last contract negotiations and alongside them the EMTs are working 12 hour shifts for peanut pays months after going without a contract! When we negotiate they say it is not essential to pay us; when the shit hits the fan they say we are essential and must put our lives on the line for their lack of preparation. The California nurses union, the California Nurses Association (CNA,) conducts informational protests over the lack of PPE, yet all the while members continue to work, reusing contaminated PPE. Labor action to save nurses' lives is not on the leadership's agenda. **Wildcat! Use Wildcat actions to defeat the union leadership and take control away from the Democratic Party hacks and put action under the control of the members committed to class struggle and a transitional program.**

**Successful transit workers' strike actions in Detroit won PPE! This is the way to go! Stand with the striking Pittsburgh sanitation workers fighting for PPE!**

OSHA is not enforcing Public Health orders; they are the Sheriff's jurisdiction. Police, sheriff and penal officers are a highly infected demographic, where not simply panicked into "blue flu" stay-outs. Employers are rushing to exploit the pandemic for private profits as PPE prices zoom in state-vs-state-vs FEMA bidding wars. Price gouging flourishes. Governor Murphy of New Jersey reported 14,000 complaints early on and there is clearly no fear of prosecutions by (AG) Barr, whose promise to do so is just his cover-of-the-moment for his campaign for suspension of civil liberties and habeas corpus. **These conditions warrant a general strike and a workers' contest for political power. For this contest we need class struggle unionism and a fighting workers' labor party!**

Hard hit are the Gig workers who are denied status as workers and do not receive guaranteed minimum wages, unemployment insurance and their employers do not contribute their share of income taxes or social security. **Make the Gig Apps pay their workers unemployment insurance and provide PPE for those who are still employed! For General wage increases with COLAS!**

The U.S. has a massive service sector economy, and this requires face to face and hand to hand contact, turning urban centers into petri dishes. Mass transit was unsanitary even before COVID! **Our program calls for JOBS FOR ALL! There is no excuse for transit systems to lack adequately protected cleaner crews! Hire cleaners immediately for 30-hour weeks at 40-hours pay!**

**A workers action program:**

**Stop racist vigilante terror attacks! Down with anti-immigrant, anti-Chinese racism! For organized labor self defense of oppressed communities.**

**Public utilities and communications are privatized under neoliberalism. Make power, water, and the internet a social right. Nationalize all utilities and run them under working class control! Turn on water and power to occupied residential housing regardless of ability to pay!**

**End housing insecurity! Protect the homeless and the vulnerable populations! House the unhoused! Seize vacant real estate to house the homeless! Abolish eviction law. Seize all real property from large landlords and multinational realty firms! For immediate rent forgiveness! For immediate rent/lease suspensions for small businesses! For mortgage abolition! Homes for all!**

**Feed the food insecure! Support small farmers to provide local produce at subsidized prices! For workers price committees to set prices! For workers committees and committees of bank employees to provide free credit from the financial institutions to re-open and aid small businesses! For workers control of transport, credit and mercantile operations!**

**The criminal justice system is designed to incarcerate a population that has been institutionally cut out of the economy by slavery, debt peonage, Jim Crow segregation, lynching, ineffective Affirmative Action Programs, and ongoing institutional racism! Close the petri dishes called prisons and detention centers! Protect the incarcerated population during the transition to liberation, homes and jobs!**

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**Close down the detention centers!  
Free all migrants! ICE out of the  
communities! ABOLISH ICE!**

**Down with all anti-abortion mea-  
sures during and after the pandem-  
ic! For free abortion on demand!  
Open clinics in every state and ev-  
ery county over 10,000 residents.  
For free 24 hour child care centers  
when work resumes.**

**Full wages and full benefits for all  
workers laid off or fired! Jobs for  
all by spreading around the avail-  
able work! For 30 hours workweek  
or less for 40 hours pay! Living  
wages, full employer-paid benefits,  
PPE and safe working conditions  
for all workers!**

**Provide proper amounts of PPE  
for all health care workers (as  
per OSHA)! Enforce Aerosolized  
Transmissible Disease, Zoonotic  
Disease, Respiratory Protection  
regulations and social distancing in  
all work environments! For worker  
actions to seize and retool factories  
for production of medical equip-  
ment and PPE! This is the latest  
21st century pandemic, not the last!  
Produce COVID tests and provide  
access for all without charge! For  
free vaccinations for all once tested  
and approved!**

**Build rank and file action commit-  
tees to support and build strikes of  
Amazon warehouse workers and  
Pittsburgh sanitation workers! Ex-  
pand action committees to factory  
and job site committees that build  
workers councils and worker self-  
defense guards!**

**We need a 1937 type sit-down strike  
wave today that seizes workplaces  
and enforces workers demands:  
that enforces safety conditions and  
PPE, determines what should be  
produced, where goods should be**

**distributed and which businesses  
are essential!**

**International workers' actions to  
win aid for the colonies and semi-  
colonies of needed funds, food, PPE,  
test kits, medical professionals and  
medical equipment! Survival of our  
class is an international existential  
question. Expropriate the private  
expropriators of the surplus value  
we produce and dedicate it to the  
survival of our social class world-  
wide! No worker is illegal or your  
enemy!**

**Down with repressive state and  
anti-worker national emergency  
measures! For democratic worker  
committees and labor-black-brown  
self-defense guards in the com-  
munities, not the cops or National  
Guard, to determine and enforce  
the isolation level required and to  
shut down non-essential businesses!**

**For protective healthcare measures  
for the military ranks! For enlisted  
personnel unions and elected offi-  
cers!**

**For fast-track training for 3rd  
year medical students (doctors and  
nurses)! For free quality education  
for all! Build hospital pandemic  
wings, not student indenture to  
banks! Forgive student loans!**

**Provide immediate free universal  
health care regardless of income  
and citizenship status! Provide  
PPE & training and create safe and  
healthy work conditions for all ca-  
pable of conducting essential work  
at prevailing wages! Build hospi-  
tals, clinics and organize delivery of  
food, medicine and other essential  
supplies!**

**Provide free home care for those  
quarantined! Increase staffing at  
medical facilities until 30 hour  
weeks at 40 hours pay become the  
new social norm! Union skilled pay  
to become the new norm, replacing  
60 hour death sentence weeks for  
substandard pay!**

**For free, quality healthcare for all  
through socialized medicine! Na-  
tionalize under workers control the  
hospitals, clinics and the insurance,  
pharmaceutical and medical sup-  
ply industries with zero compensa-  
tion to the major stakeholders!**

**No bailout for the big capitalists  
who used the 2009 bailouts to buy  
back shares and inflate the market,  
filling your retirement accounts  
with shares of fictitious value!  
Open the books to workers commit-  
tees so an accurate accounting can  
be made! Nationalize under demo-  
cratic workers control the com-  
manding heights of the economy  
with not one penny of compensa-  
tion to the major stakeholders! For  
a rational, collectivized, centrally-  
planned socialist economy based on  
social needs, not profit, managed  
under democratic workers control!**

**Build a fighting Workers/Labor  
Party to fight for workers rule! For  
a Workers Government based on  
democratic Workers Councils and  
a Workers Militia to carry out the  
socialist tasks!**

**For a Socialist America as part of  
a Socialist Federation of the Carib-  
bean and the Americas!**

**Build a new revolutionary Workers  
International, the World Party of  
Socialist Revolution!**

**For World Socialist Revolution!**

## **No War with Iran! Defeat the U.S. War Machine!**

**Victory to the Iraqi Revolution,  
Victory to Palestinian Revolution,  
Victory to the Syrian Revolution!**

**US out of Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan!  
Stop arming Saudi Arabia  
and Israel!**

**For International Labor Actions to  
Stop Trump Now!**

*(Article from January 2020)*

The assassination of Iranian Gen. Qassem Soleimani by Trump may stumble the U.S. into WWII and garner condemnation from the Democratic opposition and especially from some Democratic presidential candidates. But make no mistake, their objections are tactical and political, not strategic or irreparable. The Democrats are as committed to propping up the declining US imperialism as the Republicans. Their votes in both houses including those of [188 Democrats](#) granted Trump the unfathomable sum of \$738bn for war spending.

Trumpsters may play attorney and claim the assassination was nothing other presidents have not done, reaching all the way back to Yamamoto. The truths excluded from this reasoning are the experience of Trump lived by anyone who is not among his base, plus the who and the what he is. Trump has inflicted great misery on the victims of international reaction, principally abroad, but also upon the poor and working poor at home. He is credibly a rapist, demonstrably a racist enemy of Latin Americans and a Muslim-banning Islamophobe, as evidenced today by his target list of Iranian cultural sites. What he is is a Bonapartist with fascist ambitions and values. He hopes to inspire his followers to make him President-for-life and make his programmatic wishes operative. His followers seek to make the war danger his free pass from impeachment on “patriotic” emergency grounds. Others, like John Bolton and Benjamin Netanyahu, seek the total war itself, and have since the early ‘90s, at least. We have never seen the Democratic Party resist any war, so far as their majority vot-

ing record shows. Their first definition is as partners with the Republicans in maintenance of the superstructural parliamentary excrement atop the dictatorship of Capital. Their objection to killing Soleimani boils down to timing.

President Obama regularly worked from “[secret kill lists](#)” and conducted assassinations with no audible objection from any significant wing of the Democratic Party. Rather they heaped applause and adulation upon him for his ‘wise surgical methods’ of assassination despite the ‘occasional’ incidents of collateral damage where [civilians die by the thousands](#) as victims of the [Great Game](#), under the guise of counter-terrorism.

As comrades wrote in [Redrave](#) in July, 2018:

“There is a lot of confusion about Trump’s behavior in Helsinki. Is he crazy, a traitor, or dupe of Putin? Nah. It’s not that hard. It’s still about the [Great Game for Eurasia](#). Trump is picking a fight with China which is the main economic threat to US imperialism. China has said it will ignore the sanctions on Iran. Trump wants to test the loyalty of Putin to Xi in the hope of weakening the China/Russia bloc. He wants a new deal.”

Today these Democratic wanna-be campaigners trip all over each other mustering their moral and legal indignation when Trump applies the very same methods Obama honed and which they just weeks ago funded. And like Clinton before him, Trump attempts to get impeachment off the public’s mind with a missile strike. A leading Republican Senator says China is a far greater threat to the U.S. than Iran, and Democrat criticism can’t be heard over the crickets. Perspective is important here; the policy of proxy war with Iran, now on-again, now off-again, was not supposed to lead to inter-imperialist war with the China/Russia bloc, with Iran’s allies. Trump has sought to break Russia from its bloc with China (and not incidentally, personally profit from the deal.)

We say you will not smash Trumpism with Democrats! We are told to judge a person not by their words but by their actions and this applies equally to political parties. The anti-war rhetoric from the Democrats today is totally disingenuous;

their hypocrisy is exposed from every angle. They are impeaching Trump because he threatened to abandon the western imperialist bloc’s strategic project, the post-Maidan Ukraine regime.

Trump, just weeks ago, was impeached by the House for [abuse of power](#) and obstruction of congress. He was not impeached for his many crimes against the workers, the poor, and the oppressed at home and abroad. He wasn’t impeached for gutting of the EPA, OSHA, and social programs such as food stamps, nor for bullying and incitements to violence, nor for his embrace of rabid racists, nationalists and fascists at home and authoritarian thugs abroad. No, the Democratic Party could only find unity around impeachment when their leading candidate and [imperialist planner](#) Joe Biden (author of the Biden Plan to redraw the map of the Middle East) became a target of Trump’s mafia-style arm twisting of the Ukrainian President, who the bipartisan congress had allocated funding for the purchase of U.S. military hardware. Hardware to be used against the Donbass insurgency that has been ongoing since 2014, following the rightward trajectory of the Ukrainian Maidan.

The [Independent](#) recognises, five years on, that although the Maidan’s initiators were Europhiles seeking entrance to the EU as liberal democrats, the far right gained leadership on the streets and...

“...In the months that followed, as a shell-shocked nation came to terms with its revolution, these nationalist groups claimed a chunk of the political vacuum. To this day, they continue to occupy key positions in and around government, and without clear popular legitimacy. The interior ministry’s [links with the far right](#) continue to be one of Maidan’s most troubling legacies.”

The liberal humanitarians who form a large piece of the base of the Democrats are well known supporters of international human rights and provide shade and cover for imperialism trying to smooth its ‘excesses’ but not challenge its power. As regards Ukraine their hypocrisy is again brought into focus by far right attacks on Romany people as reported by [Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty](#).

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“...That these far-right extremist groups have been awarded grants from the Ukrainian government is likely to be of great concern to Kyiv’s Western backers and leading international human rights organizations, four of which published an open letter to authorities on June 14 (2018) decrying what they called a sharp spike in political violence from these groups, who they say pose a great danger to Ukrainian democracy.”

From 2014, while the bi-partisan courtship of the ultra-right Ukraine regime was being led by the late war hawk, war criminal and imperialist darling Senator John McCain, Trump was just launching his presidential campaign and sorting out (or not) his business prospects and ongoing relations with Russian oligarchs, Russian mafiosi and Putin. Can we smell conflict of interests? Consider a [March Washington Post](#) article:

“...for more than three decades, at least 13 people with known or alleged links to the Russian Mafia held the deeds to, lived in or ran criminal operations out of Trump Tower in New York or other Trump properties. ... the [Bayrock Group](#), a real estate development company that was based in Trump Tower and had ties to the Kremlin, came up with a new business model to franchise Trump condos after he lost billions of dollars in his Atlantic City casino developments, and helped make him rich again.”

The [Financial Times](#), loyal as it is to its own ruling class, is not shy about applying journalistic scrutiny to the Russian money sustaining the Trump empire.

“The Financial Times has been investigating the money behind Trump Toronto for 10 months. Legal documents, signed statements and two dozen interviews with people with knowledge of the project and the money that flowed through it reveal that the venture connects the US president with a shadowy post-Soviet world where politics and personal enrichment merge.”

Clearly there is a split in the ruling class here, and the Supreme Court is obscuring it, burying the Deutsche Bank loans/money laundering case until spring, i.e., after the impeachment embarrassment. Republicans, in the main believe their party can repair the split in the future



## *U.S. Imperialists Out of MENA!*

and are content to hold onto power now. But U.S. allies can see this rift and that Trump would risk wrecking NATO if it benefits himself and his Moscow bankers, VEB and VTB, i.e., Putin.

### **Does the tail wag the Dog ?**

Russia has made noise declaring the illegality and immorality of the Soleimani offing. And the number of psychiatrists who say Trump is unhinged is mushrooming. But we see things differently, and so will you when you pull up to the gas pump.

Why Trump appears to be so irrational is his amateurish attempts to hide the decline of U.S. imperialism relative to its emerging rivals. This decline forces Trump to engage in risky military adventures and destruction of the ecosphere that will ultimately blowback at home not only for the ruling class but for his populist base when U.S. troops get killed in such adventures. So his need for such adventures shows his Bonapartism is well on the road to fascism.

Trump has been in regular communication with Foreign Minister Lavrov and with Putin. There is little likelihood that the Soleimani killing surprised them. **Trump needs to change his image at home**, and hopes you won’t notice that he drove the anti-government protesters from Iranian streets, proving his claim that **he does not seek Iranian regime change**. Killing Soleimani has mobilized the pro-government “patriots” to rally around commemorations of their martyr. Trump hopes you won’t be too sore about the gas price he just drove up and you will rally round the flag as Iran threatens re-

taliation, which can be immediate, long delayed or any time!. As he sends another brigade to Iraq, his message to you is, he is bringing U.S.

troops home! He is wagging the dog to preserve the Khamenei theocracy against the revolutionary uprising of the Persian masses. Khamenei has had to kill over 1500 and jail tens of thousands recently, but Trump solved his problem and Capital’s with one missile. Solved, that is, for the moment.

Ruling class thinking about whether this move was sage or “unhinged” is mixed, however. They cannot be too happy when one result is a vote of the Iraqi Parliament demanding the expulsion of U.S. troops. And while Pompeo declares that Iraq is a safer place without Soleimani, NATO allies have suspended their military training missions and are withdrawing them now.

No foreign leaders are sleeping through and not seeing what this means: The U.S. rulers have NOT solved the world crisis of capitalism signalled by the crash of 2008, and the demand for U.S. expulsion from Iraq is just the latest index of how far the powers of U.S. imperialism have diminished. The big boss appetites for increasing their world market shares are thus whetted in every imperialist country. And meanwhile U.S. capitalism has to worry how unpopular a new Middle Eastern war could be and become! Allies, already wary of Trump’s attitude towards alliances, NATO in particular, are not rushing to support such a war. Watching and worrying also are the sections of the U.S.A. where the military is the biggest employer. These are also the most usually jingoistic, and are also the bulk of Trump’s base, something the latest polls

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of the troops show they are not a part of now, if they ever were. Our ruling class and all their class internationally know that Trump's base of support can turn against him should too many neighbors die for his glory.

In a NY Times Jan. 4th opinion piece, [Jon Stevenson](#), senior fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies explains how the Soleimani killing is a strategic blunder that shows how the U.S. foreign policy is broken, and that broken is the process of oversight and review provided by informed strategic planners. Serious foresight, he argues, would have considered the possibility that this would trigger a new round of terrorism and the potential for Hezbollah, "the A Team to Al Qaeda's B Team" to venture out of the Middle East. The ruling class is concerned because, "...Mr. Trump's move looks like either an impetuous act of self-indulgence or, somewhat more probable, a calculated attempt to bury his domestic political troubles."

[Newsweek](#) speaks for most liberal quarters expressing the fears of the mental health community,

"...Following the [attack that killed Soleimani](#) in Baghdad, professor of psychiatry at the Yale University School of Medicine, [Bandy X. Lee](#), told [Salon](#): "This is exactly the kind of dangerous event we foresaw as Donald Trump's response to the impeachment proceedings, just as his pulling troops from northern Syria was a direct response to the announcement of an impeachment inquiry."

### **Spotlight Center Stage, Inter-imperialist Conflict**

The U.S. ruling class, since the middle of the Obama presidency, has been turning the focus of the military ship of state away from counter-terrorism and toward the emerging imperialisms of Russia and China. The Pacific pivot and support of Ukraine's absorption into the EU was their strategic orientation. Crushing the Syrian Revolution and the spread of the Arab national revolution could be left to the Russians assisting Assad and the Iranians whose forces did the yeoman's piece in crushing ISIS. The U.S. ruling class now needs to re-exert U.S. imperi-

alist hegemony in the Middle East. It is a necessity given the strategic importance of the region, the Arab Spring uprisings, the Palestinian and Syrian revolutions and the growing strength and dominance of Russian/Chinese imperialism. But there is a "rational" imperialist policy and then there is the loose cannon that runs counter to strategic U.S. interests.

The Democrats feigned outrage over the killing of Soleimani (losing no sleep over Obama's drone strikes) and really were upset that Trump kept them out of the loop and did not seek Congressional approval for assassinations. They have a "better" means of killing and maiming abroad. They see him losing a trade war with China and taking Russia's side against Ukraine and attempting to get reluctant allies to take more defense spending out of the wages of their workers. To make a flip side of his coverup "hoax" song, his obstruction of Congress, the Democrats now spin Trump in power should be made to appear as the masses' major problem, and that before his "incompetent" (says Biden) amateur act they had a deal with Iran.

Senator Bernie Sanders, the darling of Jacobin and the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), did not oppose imperialist war on principle in his statement against the Iran war funding, but instead stood for war as a "last recourse." Protecting his dovish credentials he safely voted against the massive \$738 billion military budget, complained about lack of Congressional authorization and that a war could cost "countless lives and trillions more dollars". Of course Sanders means American lives, not the lives of the working people of the Middle East. He also has few qualms about the projected \$1.5 trillion F-35, so much of which is built in Vermont. He also has supported military actions and funded the military in the past, including Clinton's bombing of Kosovo. Bernie has sheepdogged many youth into the Democratic Party in 2016 and continues to do so today and he took the [Democratic National Committee](#) leadership's loyalty pledge. He is no socialist at all, only proposing to bandage capitalism's bruises and is supporting imperialism wherever it is challenged.

He is the right's last barricade against workers' class-political independence.

We call for a fighting workers' labor party, based in the unions and the champion of all the oppressed! Bernie will fight our party to his last gasp, and should there come to be a class-independent party of the workers and the oppressed, he will try to lead those who want a reformist and pro-imperialist program and policy. In practical terms this means today, while he camouflages his real support for Middle East wars, we support the AFL-CIO's campaign for a Protect the Right to Organize law (PRO ACT), but take the further logical step to call for Enlisted Service Members Unions and a "Let's Go Home" movement among our sisters and brothers, the workers in uniform overseas.

On principle, the CWG says ***Not one man or woman, not one penny for the imperialist U.S. military! No War with Iran! Down with the sanctions against Iran! No sanctions against Iraq!***

### **For Permanent Revolution**

***The working class has the power to stop the imperialist wars.*** In an exemplary action we should repeat, on May 1, 2008, 10,000 members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), one of the strongest and most militant unions in the United States, walked off the docks at all 29 West Coast ports, completely shutting down the U.S. Pacific trading network. When the ILWU conducted this laudatory action it showed how the working class can directly challenge the military might of imperialism. To make such actions indefinite, instead of one day and exemplary, and to spread such actions to every sector of the economy is the way the working class at home can stop the wars and unite in solidarity with the workers of the world.

We don't expect the class enemy to take such strikes in stride, like a cost of doing business. With U.S. imperialism in decline there is nothing so precious to them as their profits! Bush showed this when he sought to victimize the ILWU, but much more general strikes will be much harder to repress, perhaps impossible without fascistic measures rejected by all except the rightmost and Ku Kluxers. Sympathy strikes and sit down strikes are called for, exactly the strikes called political and banned by the Taft-Hartley

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“slave labor law.” The PRO Act would re-legalize the “secondary boycott,” i.e. the sympathy strike. However we see the Trumka leadership going about this cynically and otherwise all wrong, expecting Democrats in Congress to push the measure into law. This was how we DID NOT WIN the Employee Free Choice Act!

It was Leon Trotsky who developed the theory of Permanent Revolution, that in the colonial/semi-colonial countries and those with combined and uneven development, the tasks of the bourgeois revolutions such as land reform, securing democratic rights and national independence could not be carried through by the native capitalist ruling class that was tightly tied to and dependant upon world imperialism. Those tasks fall to the working class, which after achieving power, would not relinquish power but carry forward the socialist revolution.

It is the task of the Middle Eastern working class and peasantry to overthrow the reactionary bourgeois regimes of the region. This liberation is not the job of the imperialist U.S.A., who did the most to create the satrap regimes, and we see imperialist interventions pretending to liberate the oppressed as crimes against humanity. The fates of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) have returned as “the Great Game” because of the terminal crisis of capitalism that drives all the imperialist powers to try to solve their crisis at the expense of their rivals and the working people of the world!

**Defeat for the U.S. military, driving them from the Middle East, would provide a strong impetus to all the struggles of the masses against their own ruling classes, who are tied to world imperialism and exploit and oppress their own people. In every conflict between semi-colonies and imperialism, internationalist workers oppose the imperialists with the fight for permanent revolution in the semi-colonies and class war against the workers’ own ruling classes in the imperialist states.**

The International Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (ILTT), of which the CWG-USA is part, fights for revolutionary

Leninist-Trotskyist working class parties, as part of a new revolutionary workers International, to provide leadership in the fight for socialist revolution and a Socialist Federation of the Middle East. The only way to break Iran, Iraq, Syria and all the semi-colonies from world imperialist exploitation is through workers revolution that establishes workers states and spreads the revolution internationally to the imperialist centers. Workers in the imperialist countries must overthrow their “own” warmongering ruling classes. Workers in uniform in the U.S. and troops of other imperialist countries must unite with their class sisters and brothers across the trenches, organize military strikes and mutinies and appeal to workers at home to wage political general strikes against war. Troops should be organized to come home and arm and especially train workers’ armed pickets, Labor Black and Brown Defense Guards and Workers’ Militias to replace all the armed bodies of the capitalist class dictatorships.

We are not Anarchists. The champions of the working class, and in the first place our International Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency proclaim and promise that any body of armed men and women must be strictly overseen and accountable to the political organs of the masses. This means the factory and shop committees, the neighborhood committees, the wages and price committees, and the city and regional workers councils, the soviets that gather the representatives of all these direct democracy organs. These councils will take all political power away from the capitalist ruling class operatives and create a workers government that will end imperialist wars and begin building a just and humane socialist world.

We will save the planet, save as many species as remain, feed the hungry better than the “virtuous” and “charitable” ever did in the age of the military beasts, and we will expand civilization to liberate all of today’s oppressed peoples, first by spreading the available work and in time eliminating most of human want, so that work’s enduring social incentive can become the engine of healthy personality development in a democratically planned world economy devoted to human needs.

## *International Leninist Trotskyist Tendency (ILTT)*

### **LCC forms International Leninist Trotskyist Tendency**

Delegates of the Liaison Committee of Communists met recently and resolved to move towards a democratic centralist tendency in the fight to rebuild a new world party of socialism based on the founding documents of the 4th International in 1938.

We have reached a level of agreement on program and perspectives to declare ourselves a tendency in the militant tradition of Leninism and Trotskyism. We resolve to defend this flag against all those who have betrayed the world revolution, and join with revolutionaries everywhere to build the new revolutionary international we need to end capitalism and build international socialism.

**Forward to the Socialist  
Revolution and a  
Communist future!**

## To survive capitalism's death agony:

### Build a Fighting Workers/Labor Party Now!

**For working class political independence and class struggle!**

**Electoral politics cannot solve the multi headed crisis of capitalist rule!**

The working class and the oppressed, facing economic crisis, COVID, racist cop terror, unemployment and evictions cannot wait for yet another election that will solve nothing in our favor no matter who wins. It is long past time to form our own fighting Workers/Labor Party. A National Convention is needed of the trade unions, the many thousand organizations of the oppressed and the various Marxist organizations to form a united front to build such a party and to fight within the unions, and to fight within the protest movements and the broader wage labor society for this party. It is already time to see that the DSA is standing deadwood, its basis for an organizational existence destroyed by the Democrat Convention, replaced by the popular front of Sanders, Biden, Trumpka and Meg Whitman.

We need to do this NOW, as the capitalist duopoly partnership is NOT DEALING WITH the multi crises: disease/pandemic, starvation/survival, eviction/homelessness, war danger, the lost rate of profit as megabanks stagger and the Democrats have nothing but the election to offer.

The election was all they ever really wanted: the proof is their failure to mobilize the working class to remove Trump, substituting their cynical "impeachment" that was designed to fail. If they are elected we'll get austerity in the neck and continuing attacks on Social Security. We DON'T WANT the reformist labor party foreseen as inevitable by Shachtman, and we don't want the Green Party for whom social revolution is excluded, and we don't want the micro program of pragmatism, which we will ceaselessly critique as a plan for inadequacy.

We would take part in any true mass labor party regardless, but only fight for

our program and only take responsibility for it. In all cases we insist on a program that can remove the dictatorship of the capitalist class and replace it with the dictatorship of mass organs of the workers and the oppressed. We see parliamentarism as the soapbox where we argue for socialism as the only survival road to a planet with a future. All the bourgeoisie has to offer is death and division, whether by sectoral/intersectional means with oblivious lack of concern for the masses as a whole, or the secret legal and judicial agenda of the Koch fossil fuel empire; the secret lifetime Trump Bonapartist Presidency plan, where a Trump dynasty was even floated, as testified to by the no-platform RNC focus on the family... Trump family that is.

The Labor Party we want fights vote suppression and wants the working class to vote on every important question at work, in schools and the community, making every day election day, with far less "representative" substitution and an end to ruling capitalist class secret back room government, as we will go on to expose that racket at every turn.

### The Republican "Convention"

The Republican Convention was held during the backdrop of the Jacob Blake post-shooting demonstrations and was used to expand Trump's call to the armed right wing to come out and form up the white citizens councils of old. They came out in Kenosha, armed and ready to kill and they did, egged on by the local racist police and sheriff and in large part by the McCloskey's 'special moment' of hero worship for pointing guns at #BLM protesters walking by their house. This was seen widely as an invitation to come armed into the streets to confront the protesters whom Pence and Trump consistently call rioters and looters; egged on by the Fox network as the Hannitys and Ingrahams compete for Trump's attention with the Sputniks at One America News.

The prognosis on the elections is changing back in favor of Trump as we write. He is driving towards Bonapartism as he whips his fascistic base into a frenzy. Trump is closing the gap in the swing states and that may crush the Biden majority vote just like Clinton's in 2016....

In any event, the Democrats are not able to defeat Trumpism and its causes which are about to graduate from their first season of the Reality TV 'Apprentice' to the first season of multi-generational TV drama 'Dynasty', with Donald playing Juan Peron and Ivanka playing Evita. Capitalist crises can only be solved through socialist revolution.

Picking up where Kyle Rittenhouse left off, 600 MAGA maggots drove into downtown Portland August 29th in a caravan against the BLM protesters. This implicitly threatens to weaponize their vehicles as has been done numerous times coast to coast, mimicking the Charlottesville murder of Heather Hyer. Some of the MAGAs were openly carrying firearms as well. So this is not just a paintball duel, but a foreshadow of gun battles should Trump lose; in fact, we can foresee, and have heard of plans by Trumpsters to suppress the anti-Trump vote on Nov. 3rd with arms. This was how the Jim Crow vote suppression was carried out before 1965.

We note the emergence of groups like the NFAC (Not F-ing Around Coalition.) And the shooting of the Patriot Prayer thug on August 28th is an indication that the Gandhians are losing the battle for the hearts and minds of the protesters. This development is only positive IF individualism also loses and disciplined, trained Labor-Black-Brown Community Defense Guards are formed. More and more the left is learning that passive acceptance of the violence of the right and the police only leads to deaths on our side. We need to make the jump from disorganized individual self armament to organized self defense guards that are built in every union hall and in community centers and churches, mosques and synagogues of the oppressed.

Revolutionary workers need to exploit the contradictions of the nationalists, the theocrats and the identity politicians of all stripes to show that only working class unity can defeat the forces of repression and reaction and the causes of the crisis of capitalism. We need our own party to accomplish these tasks.

## France: How to defeat the ruling class!



*Firefighters battle the CRS  
exposing class divide*

*International Leninist Trotskyist  
Tendency (02/09/2020)*

The latest wave of strikes in France that has been building for at least [two months](#) threatens the Macron regime. Macron is facing a worsening economic crisis as France [falls behind](#) its main economic rivals, Germany, Russia and the US. It is in danger of further decline as an imperialist power if it does not extract more productivity or surplus-value from its workers. But each attack to increase the exploitation of the workers - against the 35-hour week, imposing the fuel tax and now raising the pension age - has met an increasing resistance from the unions and new social movements such as Yellow Vests. Clearly growing numbers of workers of all description, self-employed and exploited petty bourgeois, have the will and the capacity to refuse to pay for France's capitalist crisis.

But has the crisis of the French ruling class created a workers' movement sufficient to bring about a pre-revolutionary situation which poses the question of which class rules? We argue that the movement so far has failed to break decisively from the bureaucracy and the treacherous reformist parties, let alone create organs of independent workers power capable of staging an indefinite political general strike that poses the question of power. Despite the will and capacity to mount a general strike, workers organisations are still held back by the union bureaucracy, reformists and fake Trotskyist parties, and

ultimately the absence of a revolutionary party and program capable of leading a political general strike to victory.

### The Yellow Vests Social Movement

The Yellow Vests began as a spontaneous social movement against paying a new diesel tax that Macron imposed to fund France's obligations to the Paris Climate Accord. It put the burden of the cost of climate change onto workers, self-employed and farmers, rather than the big capitalist polluters. Its spontaneity was dramatically expressed by protestors wearing the mandatory Yellow Vest kept in every car for any emergency.

The Yellow Vest program includes some democratic demands we certainly support, but most of the immediate demands are not transitional because they do not involve workers directly in fighting for them. For example the [minimum wage](#) begs the state to construct a poverty trap rather than motivating workers to get rid of the wage system. The program is a visionless list that assumes no fascist danger and no international collision between France, as part of the U.S.-led bloc, and the 21st century China-Russia imperialist bloc on the rise. Without a plan for taking power this program leaves the initiative in the hands of Capital. The question of class power is debased as that of 'direct' or 'popular' bourgeois democracy. They implicitly accept the bourgeois-parliamentary expropriation of the workers' franchise, the dictatorship of Capital in the workplace and society at large, and the exploitation of the semi-colonies of the former French empire.

The Yellow Vests began, and survives, as a militant social movement as it was not under the influence of the reformist left parties and the top union bureaucrats. Most of the reformist and centrist left characterised it as a petty bourgeois populism inherently leaning towards the fascist right. As the Yellow Vests protests grew and were met by state forces causing many severe injuries, the class basis of the populism became clearer. Fascists were thrown out of demonstrations, and unelected petty bourgeois leaders stood up in place of "grass roots" democracy. The Yellow Vests list of demands became focused on popular citizen assemblies, a utopian

petty bourgeois form of democracy, which of course Macron seized upon as a solution to get the movement off the streets. He failed, as the Yellow Vests are now joining in the strike movement kicked off by the pension "counter-reform" at which point they become part of the "balance of forces" much loved by reformist parties not least the Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste (NPA – New Anti-capitalist Party), and subject to the same revolutionary criticism.

### The New Anti-Capitalist Party

The influence of the reformists' control over the labour movement is demonstrated by the [NPA](#) which has its roots in the reformist history of the post-WW2 Fourth International and is no longer associated with Trotskyism. It has some influence in the unions. It backs the RAJP and SNCF unions' fight against Macron's pension "counter-reform". It reports that the January days of action drew increasing support and exhibited an "atmosphere of joy, combativeness and strong determination". Further, hostility towards the "counter-reform" is growing as "two-thirds of the French people want the project withdrawn outright." It argues on the one hand that "Macron has lost this political battle", yet on the other that the mobilization of workers, social movements etc., have not created the "balance of forces sufficient to make Macron yield". Yet all is not lost. There is a new realization of the disastrous consequences of the project awakening more resistance in the ports, energy, national railways, and Paris transport, that could alter that "balance of power."

The language of reformism reeks of class compromise. Counter-reforms already imply reforms. There is no conception of the need to go beyond countering reforms to defend them. No mention of a general strike, only disparate sectorial actions culminating in a "national mobilization." All the NPA has in mind in its program is forcing Macron to retract his attack on pensions. The growing balance forces as measured on the street will be no more than a bargaining chip to strengthen the hand of the labour bureaucracy in negotiations with ministers of state. So long as the revolutionary left does not

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actively contest the rule of the labour bureaucracy in government and the unions, the potential of the working class to mount a revolutionary defence of its interests will be stillborn.

The problem is that the crisis of revolutionary leadership means there is a vacancy for the position of a revolutionary party capable of fighting for a revolutionary program. We explain what we mean with the examples of the FLTI and GMI, each describing themselves as engaged in building a new international revolutionary leadership, yet demonstrate from opposing perspectives, centrist solutions to the workers struggle in France.

### **FLTI (International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction)**

The FLTI French section is Permanent Revolution. It [explains](#) that the cause of the current crisis is France's loss of competitiveness with Germany. It sees the crisis as a part of a wider European crisis and that the French workers are in the "vanguard" of the European class struggle. But there is no mention of the wider inter-imperialist struggle between the US and Russia which has an impact on the further decline and [potential break up](#) of Europe.

The FLTI critiques reformist currents like NPA who do not see the recent strike waves as a "mass political struggle" of "class against class", "paralyzing the economy", and so fail to recognise that "the working class has taken France over", and have "imposed" an independent General Strike "on the bureaucracy" which "calls into question who rules the country". The FLTI claims Macron has lost control of workers because they broke from the bureaucracy and took control of the strikes themselves. The symbolic occupation of the CFDT union headquarters, cutting the electricity, "demonstrated their power and [...] that the government can be defeated."

So far, the FLTI's analysis could have been written by syndicalists. Its political demands to build factory committees; co-ordinations of all local, regional and national struggles; self-defense

committees; dissolve the police and state forces; free all fighters; culminating in a National Coordination for an Independent, Revolutionary General Strike to bring down Macron and the Fifth Republic, to nationalize factories, refineries, ports, industry, and banks under workers control, are all demands raised by syndicalists. And these are fine demands, but they don't follow through to the class fight for state power. Even if it were true that the FLTI's description of events were as advanced as it claims, it would have a duty to raise the full Transitional Program for a Workers' Government. And even if events are not as far along the revolutionary road as they claim, the party of revolution would still be obliged by history and the Marxist method to raise a transitional program for a workers' state!

Instead it calls for a "new [Paris] Commune" in all of France, and doesn't mention Marx's critique of the commune and those of Lenin and Trotsky, or the lessons they directed at the anarchists, syndicalists and other currents, about the need for a Marxist party to organise the insurrection to smash the bourgeois state. The FLTI fails completely to raise the critical question of how the General Strike, while posing the question of power, can organise for the insurrection, take power and impose a Workers Government to plan for socialism in a workers' state.

'Internationalizing' a General Strike in France to a Revolutionary General Strike of all Europe hardly makes the French struggle a "bastion" of the "European and "world" working class. If there is no program for the General Strike to succeed in France how can the EU General Strike bring down "Maastricht"? Nor can the question of power be solved in the French semi-colonies occupied by French troops. Instead of internationalism, the export of bourgeois syndicalism opens the road for counter-revolution.

We conclude that the FLTI poses the question of power in advance of the General Strike, but does not warn workers that a Political General Strike must end in revolution or counter-revolution. It does not challenge the trade union consciousness of workers, the populism that is rife in the social movements, nor

the abstract idealism of youth, by putting forward a revolutionary program that spells out the need for political councils (soviets) and workers militias, and the split of the ranks from the officer corps, all of which are necessary for an insurrection and putting a Workers' Government in power.

What takes the place of Macron if his government falls? What happens if the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic falls? Without the struggle for a Workers' Government it will be the 6<sup>th</sup> Bourgeois Republic. Instead of challenging reformist consciousness with the Leninist Trotskyist program, the FLTI is sowing illusions that nationalization of bourgeois property is possible without the smashing of the state. The FLTI has no claim to call itself Leninist, Trotskyist or Internationalist. Moreover, without making the call for a new revolutionary international based on a Leninist/Trotskyist program, it is not even claiming to be a "fraction" of that future party.

### **GMI (International Marxist Group)**

The GMI (French section of the Permanent Revolution Collective) [analysis](#) refutes the FLTI position that the workers have taken control of the unions in preparation for a General Strike. Moreover, the reformist left parties serve to "rescue" the union leaders. The GMI argues that the bureaucracy is still intact and there can be no successful preparation for a Political General Strike which does not involve the intervention in the unions of a revolutionary workers party which as yet "does not exist and must be built." Partial and holding actions instead of mobilising resistance are designed to make workers' pay for their pensions and lead to passivity and demoralization. The results of the 'days of action' are isolation and exhaustion of struggles. The GMI intervened in mass meetings to call for a General Strike to unite all the sectors including students and youth, but without success. The struggle is now in a downward phase because the rank and file did not win against the bureaucracy and the reformist political parties.

Unlike the FLTI which sees the workers in control of the unions, and a political

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general strike on the near horizon, the GMI sees its main task as building the revolutionary workers party that can intervene in the unions and lead the break with the bureaucracy. “*All conscious workers, all revolutionary proletarian nuclei must unite in a single communist organization capable of facing union bureaucracies, determined to fight for class independence, class struggle, socialism.*” Yet, its immediate perspective is to build for a “General Strike until withdrawal [of the pensions ‘reform’].” The need for a party is clear, but where is the Transitional Program to overcome the crisis of revolutionary leadership? What use is the revolutionary workers party that understands that the class struggle is raising spontaneous struggles to such a level that support for a Political General Strike is on the agenda, yet does not raise the full Transitional Program to go beyond the “withdrawal” of the pension reform to the seizure of power?

Any revolutionary workers party has to say in advance that a Political General Strike cannot succeed without raising the class consciousness necessary to build workers’ councils and militias capable of taking advantage of the defeat of Macron and to go on to defeat the bourgeois state and install a Workers’ Government. Again, this is elementary Marxism after the Paris Commune and the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky. For a group that is part of the Permanent Revolution Collective, it betrays that theory/program with a centrist adaptation to the conception of what is ‘possible’ rather than what is ‘necessary’ to advance the revolution – the Transitional Program and Permanent Revolution!

### Proletarian Demands are Transitional Demands:

Trotsky’s Fourth International was founded on the [Transitional Program](#) for socialist revolution, concentrating the lessons and method of advancing the socialist program, of developing the class consciousness of the workers and mobilizing for the fight for state power. He fought every alien class force the workers’ movement experienced in his time and fought the expression of those



*Bourgeoisie has one right for workers...the right to a police bullet*



*Firefighter shot by police pulled to safety by workers under Red Flag*

forces when they took programmatic deviation forms, just as Marx, Engels and Lenin had.

“Classical Social Democracy, functioning in an epoch of progressive capitalism, divided its program into two parts independent of each other: the *minimum program* which limited itself to reforms within the framework of bourgeois society, and the *maximum program* which promised substitution of socialism for capitalism in the indefinite future. Between the minimum and the maximum program no bridge existed. And indeed Social Democracy has no need of such a bridge, since the word *socialism* is used only for holiday speechifying. The Comintern has set out to follow the path of Social Democracy in an epoch of decaying capitalism: when, in general, there can be no discussion of systematic social reforms and the raising of the masses’ living standards; when every serious demand of the proletariat and even every serious demand of the petty bourgeoisie inevitably reaches beyond the limits of capitalist property relations and of the bourgeois state.

The strategic task of the Fourth International lies not in reforming capitalism but in its overthrow. Its political aim is the conquest of power by the proletariat for the purpose of expropriating the bourgeoisie. However,

the achievement of this strategic task is unthinkable without the most considered attention to all, even small and partial, questions of tactics. All sections of the proletariat, all its layers, occupations and groups should be drawn into the revolutionary movement. The present epoch is distinguished not for the fact that it frees the revolutionary party from day-to-day work but because it permits this work to be carried on indissolubly with the actual tasks of the revolution.

The Fourth International does not discard the program of the old “minimal” demands to the degree to which these have preserved at least part of their vital forcefulness. Indefatigably, it defends the democratic rights and social conquests of the workers. But it carries on this day-to-day work within the framework of the correct actual, that is, revolutionary perspective. Insofar as the old, partial, “minimal” demands of the masses clash with the destructive and degrading tendencies of decadent capitalism – and this occurs at each step – the Fourth International advances a system of *transitional demands*, the essence of which is contained in the fact that ever more openly and decisively they will be directed against the very bases of the bourgeois regime. The old “minimal program” is superseded by the *transitional program*, the task of which lies in systematic mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution.”

Trotsky was very clear that the program was the means for developing proletarian leadership and raising the class consciousness of the working class (Leon Trotsky, “[The Political Backwardness of American Workers \(1940\)](#)”):

“...What can a revolutionary party do in this situation? In the first line give a clear honest picture of the objective situation, of the historic tasks which flow from this situation irrespective as to whether or not the workers are today ripe for this. Our tasks don’t depend on the mentality of the workers. The task is to develop the mentality of the workers. That is what the program should formulate and present before the advanced workers. Some will say: good, the program is a scientific program; it corresponds to the objective situation — but if the workers won’t accept this program, it will be sterile. Possibly. But this signifies only that the workers will be crushed since the crisis can’t be solved any other way but by the socialist revolution....”

Cont. pg. 21

*Cont. from pg. 20 France*

## Stand with Trotsky!

For the ruling class their right to private property is congruent with the workers right to homelessness, to limited education, to unaffordable healthcare, to climate catastrophe. We reject the capitalist claim to superior bourgeois right!

For the survival of the one productive class in society, the working class, the capitalists control of production and private accumulation of surplus value must be ended by the socialist revolution. The fight for socialist revolution begins with every minimum demand and advances through the intervention of vanguard and revolutionary workers to transitional demands and the conquest of all power by the workers and the oppressed. The program must be "indissoluble" (Trotsky), popularized at every opportunity by the workers' revolutionary party.

**End wage slavery! The minimum wage is a slave wage! We do not fight for a poverty trap! We say make the bosses pay!**

**For Safe and Healthful Jobs For All With Living Wages!**

**Safe, healthy habitation for all! We must establish housing as a human right.**

**For massive investment in slum clearance under local workers' council control!**

**Share the work! Share the gains in productivity! For 28 hours work for 35 hours pay! For a Sliding Scale of wages and hours to spread the available work!**

**No to "externalities!" Make the bosses pay the tax burden of environmental remediation, not the drivers, truckers or small farmers! Those who profited from fouling the planet must pay now! Open the books! Accept no cries about bankruptcy! Profit is not a right superior to life! Collect the environmental debt the capitalists' power and privilege rest on.**

**The bosses want to work you till you die so the banks can save on pensions! Defend and expand social medicine and public education!**

**For fully funded, nationalized education and healthcare under workers control!**

**Socialize big pharma and the whole for-profit healthcare industry without compensation to big shareholders.**

**Significantly reduce the retirement age! Pensions for all and more time to enjoy it! Because the workplace is not under workers control and as such imposes severe financial and physical stress on manual labor, it robs life of six to seven years during labor's production of goods and services.**

**Down with Social Chauvinism! Defend the Roma and all minority and immigrant populations from right wing, racist and fascist attacks! FREE ALL political and class struggle prisoners! Abolish the "anti-terrorism" laws, the rulers' racist measures against immigrant rights! Full citizenship rights for all!**

**For a victorious Paris Commune the revolution must be international! Our class enemy is at home! For solidarity labor action with anti-imperialist forces in the semi-colonies and former colonies. Publish all of Paris' secret treaties! Free Martinique and Guadeloupe and all the colonies!**

**Down with Imperialism! Defeat French military interventions! Since 2001 France has intervened in Afghanistan; Ivory Coast; Chad; Libya; Somalia; Mali; Central African Republic; Syria and Iraq.**

**Defeat Fascism! Against the danger of fascist preparations and anti-union and anti-immigrant terror, we need troops and veterans to train workers militias, to make every picket line the front line and conduct comprehensive fraternization and propaganda to win the troops to the workers' cause! Police are not "uniformed service" workers but state brutalizers and killers! Abolish the police! Form neighborhood Committees!**

**Our class enemy is at home! Fight the class war at home not the imperialist wars abroad! Bring troops deployed abroad home now! For rank and file military committees! For rank and file election of officers! Arrest the capitalist state's officers!**

**France Out Of NATO! Down With Imperialist Blocs East And West!**

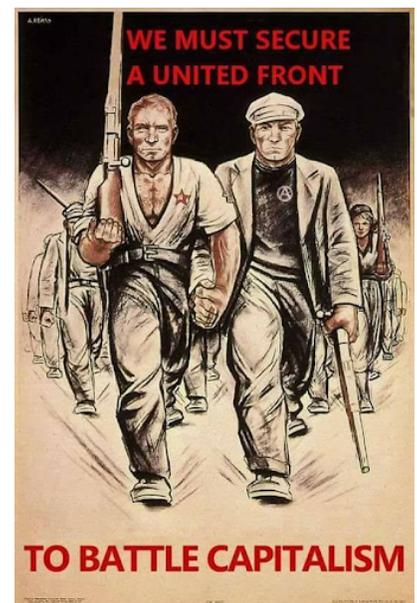
**Down with the EU! For A Socialist United States Of Europe!**

**Build workers' councils and self defence committees! Elect recallable delegates to a national workers' council!**

**Down with the labour bureaucracy! For rank and file control of the unions! Build strike committees and coordinate regionally and nationally! Prepare the political general strike to bring down the Government!**

**For a Workers' Government based on Workers Councils and a Workers Militia to expropriate industry and banks! For a planned socialist economy under workers control!**

**For a Revolutionary Workers Party and a new Workers International, the World Party of Socialism, based on the method of the 1938 Transitional Program!**





## From Coronavirus to the Commune

*The following is reprinted from our comrades of the Communist Workers' Group of New Zealand/Aotearoa (CWG-ANZ):*

**The response to the coronavirus pandemic cannot be read in isolation of capitalism in terminal decline. In a sentence it is another example of nature biting back against its destruction at the hands of capitalism over centuries; a contradiction which is exploding today. A coronavirus that has jumped species from bats to humans is but one of the many breakdowns of capitalism in terminal crisis which needs to be traced back to its fundamental cause in order to eliminate it with a socialist revolution.**

We can work back from the pandemic through immediate causes to intermediary causes all the way to the fundamental causes of terminal crisis so as to then discover the knowledge necessary to build a new society.

To illustrate this, the virus itself has probably been around in bats for a long time. Not as long as the viruses that lurk beneath the tundra that are about to be spread through methane bombs. But bats and humans had distinct ecologies, and co-existed with their viruses, until the late 19th century when global capitalism began to invade and eliminate human and other species boundaries. This has been turbocharged by the effects of extreme climate change forcing migration from existing habitats.

All this apparent chaos is not the function of *globalization*, *overpopulation* or *neo-liberalism* as such. They are symptomatic of deeper causes. Globalization is global capitalism, the effect of the rise of global imperialist exploitation of colonies and semi-colonies to plunder and extract

human and physical resources to the point of ecological collapse.

Nor is overpopulation more than a symptom. It ignores the way in which people are distributed by imperialism – into overdeveloped rich nations and underdeveloped poor nations and regions. The demographic of the rich nations is of a declining white race. That of the poor nations is an impoverished, overcrowded and black and brown reserve army of cheap labour.

Nor is the free market of ‘neo-liberalism’ more than a symptom of capitalism in its end days privatizing public assets and destroying the historic gains of the labour movement to restore profits. A futile effort when the conditions for profitability are being terminated by the *capitalocene* in extremis.

Capitalism in decline has exposed in all its hubris, many chaotic forces over which it has no control and which destroy the conditions for its own existence – in sum a functioning ecosphere. Taking off for planet B is a rich man’s Silicon Valley sci-fi fantasy.

Obviously, these same chaotic forces are manifest as pandemics, drought, famine, floods, nuclear meltdowns, ecological collapse, wars etc., threatening the extinction of all life on the planet. Yet despite such forces being beyond capitalism’s control, they do not absolutely determine the fate of humans who have the capacity to free themselves from the chaos of dying capitalism.

What separates humans from other species is the capacity for reflective thought and planned action. This can be seen when politicians, representing capital-in-general, act to defend capitalism’s conditions of existence, i.e. a population of healthy workers and consumers necessary for profits.

Thus, China, Taiwan and Singapore used proactive authoritarian methods to lock down and screen population movements to contain if not stop the spread of the coronavirus.

Other nations caught up with more ‘democratic’ pretensions, are unprepared having decimated their

public health systems in the last decades. So, they wait on advice from the WHO and have failed to proactively mitigate or contain the spread.

Clerical dictatorships like Iran and India put social control above public health exposing their working populations to the decimation by the pandemic.

What this illustrates is that the capitalist state-representing the interests of the collective capitalist, can go some way to mitigate pandemics that threaten capitalism’s existence. But at the same time, they cannot become truly collective, certainly not democratic, or driven by an informed public, or based on the best science. They cannot break with the interests of the capitalist ruling class which refuses to fund public science and a health system that can cope with let alone prevent pandemics.

This is evident in the failure of capitalist governments to respond adequately to climate science on the [capitalocene](#). These responses will be too little, too late, uncoordinated, meet resistance from below, and be overwhelmed by the manifold accumulating effects of a collapsing capitalist world economy.

Therefore, the only hope of humans surviving this tidal wave of destruction is to eliminate the root cause, the deadly inertia of a dying capitalism with its hidebound institutions locked into the short-term profiteering of the tiny ruling class.

We can turn globalisation from imperialist destruction, into global unity of working and oppressed peoples. We can turn overpopulation from slums, disease and famine, into communes everywhere capable of building sustainable habitation. We can turn the chaotic capitalist market into its opposite, the economic and social plans of the communes, representing the democratic will of the people globally to build a new society in harmony with nature.

This is the logic of humanity rescuing itself from disaster. It needs to happen, and it is already happening now, in the migration of peoples from poor to rich

*Cont. from pg. 22 Coronavirus to Commune*

countries; the spontaneous uprisings against military dictatorships; the millions on the streets fighting for basic rights; the women and youth mobilizing against dying capitalism; but what is lacking is a clear vision of the new society and how to get there.

There is only one vision of a society beyond capitalism that has shown the way forward, and is capable of learning from the lessons of history. That is revolutionary socialism in the form of a revolutionary international party and transitional program representing workers of all nations. The party applies the program and tests it in the struggle to open the road to the socialist revolution going from the most immediate demands to the overthrow of the capitalist system.

## From Disaster Capitalism to Survival Socialism

*The following is reprinted from our comrades of the Communist Workers' Group of New Zealand/Aotearoa (CWG-ANZ):*

**The coronavirus pandemic coming on top of a global economic slowdown compounded with climate breakdown will be more than enough to tip the world into depression. And when it happens it will be the last depression. China which produced most of the goods to pull the rest of the world out of the Global Financial Crisis cannot do the same today. Central banks' interest rates are already on close to zero or negative interest rates. Bosses are in a panic and it's about their survival, not ours, the working people, the producers of wealth.**

So here we are now scraping the bottom of the barrel. The global capitalist economy is on a drip feed of the state spending printed money that we working people will ultimately pay for out of our labour. Unless we refuse.

All of this is glaring at us in the face. So why should we be shut up by quarantine or curfews and let the rotting capitalist system get transfused with our blood?

If there ever was a Disaster Capitalism

it is now. And that is saying something after several major depressions and world wars. Isn't it time to say that there is a way out other than yet again bosses' making working people pay with our livelihoods and our lives? We must say, no more!

We know that the bosses' state will print money to bail out the corporates whose interests the state serves anyway. Parliament is a talk shop to keep the masses diverted from the real business behind the facade of democracy. But the real business is now bust and Parliament stands exposed.

Let's say NO. Your crisis is our opportunity. We will not die while you insulate yourselves in your bunkers. We will not pay for your luxury with our wages and taxes. Your profits are nothing more than our accumulated surplus labour anyway. We won't be falling for disaster capitalism this time. We want survival socialism!

When the assorted capitalist regimes from Boris to Donald to Modi to Jacinda all come out with rescue packages that will keep the bosses' businesses alive we must reject handouts to the rich in our name since we will pay for it. The bosses' and their political stooges have preached neoliberal doctrine at us for decades swearing by the market as our saviour.

Now they are turning around and saying, the state must save us all in the national interest. It doesn't embarrass them in the slightest that this is the repudiation of their free market shibboleths and it is us workers who are paying for the bosses' welfare state. So, let us stick it to them.

**In the place of rotten capitalism rooting us with its disaster capitalism, let's say no, we want survival socialism. When business complains that the state must pay for their lost profits we say no, you are bankrupt. We won't be fooled that the state subsidizing our wages makes you viable. That goes out of our pockets into yours.**

Prove that you deserve to exist by paying living union wages, paying us for sick leave as long the pandemic threatens, or if you're so fragile and can't survive

in a rotting capitalist system which makes workers die for your profits, you should end in the scrap yard.

Instead of state spending to revive dying capitalism and the further destruction of nature, workers must demand that any state subsidies to business have to be on the terms of the majority of working people. If 'public health' is to mean anything but a healthy workforce to be exploited, let's redefine it as a healthy publicly owned economy.

This means instead of handouts as bailouts, the state should take shares of the same value as public assets. But to qualify, firms must be productive of goods that we need, growth must be sustainable, carbon negative, and not at the expense of nature.

Moreover, since we, the workers make the wealth, part of which you claim as reward for your failed entrepreneurial skills, we demand to set the terms for sharing our wealth with you. We will take over the running of the business and employ you as manager under our supervision.

If the bosses refuse our terms and close down the business, those that are viable will have their assets taken back as our expropriated wealth, and we will run them under workers' control.

As we can't run businesses without capital, we want to expropriate the assets of the shareholders of the big banks (not the worker's and pensioners' assets) and create one big development bank to fund social production.

If the business is worthless and we are left unemployed we demand that the state pays us redundancy and an unemployment benefit we can live on. By the way, we are the ones who know what our cost of living is, not some bureaucrat paid to make it up.

The current compounded disaster proves one thing: that the tiny minority of wealthy owners of capital have shown they cannot profit anymore by destroying nature, by making workers' pay for their crisis, and by creating conditions that

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*Cont. from pg. 23 Disaster Capitalism....*

allow pandemics to rage through the working population, while they retreat to their resorts.

And since capitalism was built on centuries of stolen labour-value produced by workers, we will take it back to finance survival socialism. This will allow us to scrap the market chaos which piles one disaster upon another, and where scarcity, poverty and misery are our fate.

It will allow us to plan and build a socialist economy where assets are jointly owned and controlled by the working people, and where production for need rather than profit is the goal; where each works to their ability and gets what they need; where living conditions are sufficient for a healthy, good life, in harmony with nature.

Of course, no capitalist government will do any of this as their loyalty is to the ruling class. So, working people as the big majority need to build their own movements and parties to the point where they have the power to take control of the economy and win mass support for a working peoples' government able to implement survival socialism.

**We have to do this for humanity to survive all these crises now accumulating as a terminal crisis. We had better start building now.**

## **The Syrian revolution at the cross roads**

Will the Syrian people succumb to the Assad/Putin counterrevolution to recover Idlib, or will they be victorious over Assad/Putin and create a new base for the revolution to take root and revive itself as part of the suppressed permanent revolution of the region? It is necessary to assess the balance of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution as they fight to the death. Into this mix we factor in the potential game-changer of Turkey objectively taking the side of the revolution.

On the side of the revolution we have the majority of the Syrian people who have stood against and been martyred by every assault from March 2011 to today. This includes the 'civilians' who remain

resolute and the 'moderate' and 'Islamic' militias who despite being politically at odds, are in a military bloc against the regime. Internationally support is weak (never sufficient to properly arm and augment the militias), sporadic (US, Turkey and Arab states arming militias but at odds with the revolution) and ineffective (EU and Arab states attempts at diplomacy) and must be unless it actively takes the revolutionary side in the war against the regime. The question of whether Turkey's military intervention measures up to that standard is currently being tested on the ground and in the air in Idlib.

On the side of the counter-revolution the Assad regime is backed by Russia. Without it, the regime would have been defeated in 2015 when the rebels held most of the country and several large cities including Aleppo and Idlib. The Arab states that suppressed the Arab Spring in their countries sided with the Assad regime but were incapable of defeating the Syrian revolution. Iran is a special case, as it was instrumental in engaging Russia to intervene in Syria. Therefore, in the absence of any major imperialist power siding with the revolution, Russia's intervention swung the balance of forces decisively in favour of the counter-revolution.

### **Russia and Turkey strategic partners?**

Until recently, Russia and Turkey have developed as strategic partners, with Russia supplying Turkey with missiles and long-term energy. Russia collaborated with Turkey's campaign to create a buffer zone along its border with Syria to prevent the Kurd 'terrorists' from creating an autonomous Kurdish republic and strengthen the PKK's fight for self-determination inside Turkey. Imperialist Russia and semi-colonial Turkey made a deal that served the interests of both, but at the expense of the Syrian Revolution. The Astana agreement expresses that compromise deal. Russia is mainly interested in destroying the revolution in the name of the 'war on terror'. Turkey supports the revolution only insofar as it can be used against the Kurds to create a buffer zone. Iran was interested in further spreading its influence from Iraq to Palestine. But there was a contradiction at the heart of that deal.

Russia wants Turkey to use the moderate rebels in Idlib under its influence to destroy the Islamic "terrorists" while Turkey wants to use those same rebels to set aside their differences and help create a buffer zone against Kurd autonomy. Such a contradiction was suppressed while the Astana deal held with neither side pressing its main interest. This stalemate was broken when Russia decided to join with Assad to invade Idlib against the 'terrorists' and take it by force. Both sides accused the other of breaking the Astana deal while professing to want a further negotiated outcome.

### **Russia and Turkey explode the contradiction**

But the die was cast. Putin and Assad were against the 'terrorists' surviving anywhere. Astana was never observed on the ground and the gains made by the regime backed by Russian and Iranian forces tore it up. Assad's revenge as elsewhere in Syria, was the total destruction of towns and cities and the targeting of civilians, men, women and children, schools and hospitals. This was to be the total destruction of the revolution. Turkey's response was to defend its buffer zone, by invoking a humanitarian crisis of the million refugees camped on its borders, and defending its authority under Astana to maintain observation posts inside Idlib. This situation then quickly escalated within weeks from a few soldiers on the ground to masses of tanks and infantry, and then F-16s in the air.

Is Turkey's military intervention on the side of the Syrian revolution? Certainly, the Syrian masses in Idlib and elsewhere declare it to be so. They are ecstatic in support of Turkey defending their lives and towns, schools and hospitals from destruction by the regime and Russian forces. Moreover, Erdogan has opened Turkey's border to the West to allow Syrian refugees to gain access to the EU if they can. In this he is responding to the EU breaking its agreement to support Turkey for stopping the near 4 million Syrian refugees leaving for the EU. Objectively then, despite Erdogan's overwhelming national interests, his intervention in Idlib is on the side of the revolution against counter-revolution.

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Cont. from pg. 24 Syria...

## Defeat Russia in a war with Turkey

Revolutionaries who claim the tradition of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky must agree. We support the Syrian Revolution against the counter-revolution. The revolutionary people who refuse to live under Assad can make use of any support offered their cause, whether or not their long-term objectives with their allies are the same. The revolution must live to fight another day, just as the militias who surrendered to Assad in return for safe passage to (ultimately) Idlib.

Yet, in defending Turkey's military intervention on the side of the revolution we do not agree with its bourgeois national pro-imperialism, its political regime, nor its oppression of the Kurds. And if the war escalates into a wider war between two main protagonists, Russia and Turkey, we take the side of the oppressed semi-colonial nation against the imperialist oppressor nation.

## For a Socialist Union of the Middle East!

We unconditionally take the side of the workers and poor farmers who are the life blood of the revolution. We call for a ceasefire and a workers' and farmers' government in Idlib supported by all the Arab masses, and defended by workers internationally.

But for this to succeed the workers of the Middle East, in particular of Turkey and Iran must overthrow their authoritarian regimes and take the leadership in the anti-imperialist fight, breaking with their imperialist masters and overthrowing their pro-imperialist bourgeois ruling classes.

We demand that the workers of Europe, and the other imperialist powers, fight to open their borders to migrants and refugees fleeing the exploitation and oppression of centuries, and build antifascist militias and workers councils capable of overthrowing their ruling classes, liberating the oppressed semi-colonies as part of the global socialist revolution, under the leadership of a new revolutionary communist international.

3 March 2020, Statement by the ILTT



## Bolivia: Down with the coup!

### For a workers' and peasants' government!

*The following is translated from our Brazilian comrades of the Grupo de Trabalhadores Revolucionários do Brasil (GTR-BR), August, 2020:*

As Leninism-Trotskyism taught us, the Popular Front opens the way to fascism! For more than a decade, left-wing populist and traitor governments ruled by applying imperialist plans and attacking the Latin American working class.

The coup d'état in Bolivia and the instability throughout Latin America is a consequence of the terminal crisis of capitalism, which shows that this system cannot be improved, as the "progressive" governments of the region wanted us to believe.

These popular front and reformist leaders demoralized and demobilized the direct struggle of the workers. They created illusions in the bourgeois democratic regime and they never tired of saying that capitalism was now "democratic" and military coups were no longer possible. Just as they sold imperialist propaganda with the end of the USSR and the neoliberal offensive, of "good" and "peace" capitalism.

The global crisis of capitalism is the affirmation of the Leninist theory that capitalism in imperialist times is destructive, that this is the epoch of crises, wars and revolutions. "21st Century Socialism" proved to be a farce, as well as its supposed "sovereignty" and the theory of a "multipolar" world, which they use to justify their alliances with Chinese imperialism and the BRICS.

The trigger for this coup is the decline of

US imperialism that loses influence over the Bolivarian ALBA that turns to China for trade and investment. But China is not just a semi-colony capable of rescuing the ALBA from US imperialism. China is the largest imperialist rival of the US, globally and also in Latin America. It is their economic power that is turning American semi-colonies into Chinese semi-colonies. It is Morales' agreement with China on raw materials, especially lithium, that has deprived the US and the Santa Cruz oligarchy of most of this great wealth.

The reformist left that shifts all direct workers' struggle to bourgeois elections and now allies with Chinese imperialism as an alternative to American imperialism is part of the counterrevolution. Bolivia and the whole world are being drawn to the growing inter-imperialist impulse leading to the war between the US bloc and the China / Russia bloc. And the "left" is splitting, supporting one or another imperialist bloc!

Stalinists, RT socialists and some fake Trotskyists defend the imperialist bloc of China / Russia and their allies in LA (Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua and Bolivia) against US imperialism. These LA governments have confrontations with American imperialism that are not at all "anti-imperialist" but pro-Chinese and Russian imperialism. To this left, it is no longer fighting the large foreign enterprises that often drive workers from their homes and lands, and devastate the environment as do the lithium mines today, which destroy the water and destroy the whole Uyuni Salt Flat region. They advocate handing over to Chinese companies, repeating Beijing's propaganda that their worldwide expansion would be "win-win," "help" for the semi-colonies. They join with the "progressive" or "democratic" bourgeoisie nationally, and in a great popular front with the imperialist bloc of China and Russia, internationally.

Latin American leftist organizations, Trotskyists like LIT and UIT, do not support Evo or Maduro, and have always placed themselves in leftist opposition to these governments. However, their solution for a way out by bourgeois democra-

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*Cont. from pg. 25 Bolivia....*

cy have placed them in positions of direct defense of the reactionary actions of the bourgeoisie, such as support for the maneuvers that led to Dilma's impeachment in Brazil. There are also ultra-leftist organizations that stand directly on the right side, defending the coup in Bolivia or Venezuela as progressive that will overthrow the dictators and establish bourgeois democracy. The LIT comes to the nonsense of calling to combat the coup in Bolivia with "free elections!". LIT, UIT and FT do not see China and Russia as imperialists, but they do not defend them as the Stalinists do. They ignore Chinese expansion into the world and rivalry with the US in their daily politics, and the issue is restricted to a mere formality decided by their leadership, with empirical methods that lead them to revisionist theories of "sub-imperialism" as the LIT thinks, or in "transition" to imperialist, as the FT leadership concluded.

The FLTI says China and Russia are semi-colonies and accuses as revisionist the position that these countries are imperialists. They are right when they say that in the imperialist era, because of its destructive character, it is not possible for a semi-colony to develop its productive forces and become imperialist. This theory of "developed", "multipolar", "transitional" capitalism is revisionist and serves the reformist politics of the left to ally itself with the "progressive" national bourgeoisie or "good" China / Russia or "democratic" imperialism against the USA. FLTI concludes from its analysis of the coup that Morales sold out to the US. If that was the case then how to explain a US backed coup? China and Russia are today imperialists because their revolution recognised that it was only possible to develop the productive forces by ending capitalism. That's what these countries did. But they failed to defeat global capitalism and were forced to rejoin global capitalism. With capitalist restoration they return as rival powers of the USA. Failure to recognize the imperialist character of the China / Russia bloc creates illusions about who is the enemy and precludes a program that fits reality, and that consequently combats imperialism and traitors within the ranks of the working class, especially the Stalinists, who advance in their alliance with China

and Russia, defending dictatorships like Assad's in Syria.

Workers need to get rid of these opportunistic leaders that tie them to the bourgeoisie and its "democratic" regime. The masses that have been suffering the fury of the counterrevolution, as in Syria or the repressions of the coup in Bolivia, show that fascism is growing in this crisis as a necessary method for the bourgeoisie to attack the class and crush it. The only force capable of combating imperialism, fascism and military coups is the organized and independent working class and its revolutionary struggle for the end of capitalism and the bourgeois state, with its Party and a Revolutionary program.

Faced with the crisis the country was in, with roads and streets blocked by protesters, government-linked and opposition parliamentarians attacked and their homes being burned down, the COB has spoken publicly to call for Evo Morales to resign without giving any class alternative to the offensive of the traditional right allied with American imperialism. The reformist, "trade unionist" leadership of the COB, and the bureaucratization of the unions where there is no grassroots organization, led to capitulation to the coup and betrayal. It is important to call on the COB to form councils and militias and fight for a workers' government, but this will not happen without a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party leading the struggle.

After the coup, the COB bureaucracy gave more proof of its reformism and treason giving the coup-makers a 24-hour ultimatum "*to restore the constitutional order, social peace and unity of the Bolivian people and to avoid further bloodshed, sadness, mourning and violence...if they don't, the COB will make a general strike to march to La Paz.*" call. The sectors linked to Evo's MAS party demand that the march demand the return of Evo.

For Bolivian workers and peoples not to fall into the counter-revolutionary trap of the bourgeois elections and not be defeated by reaction, a revolutionary party with a Marxist program is needed to lead organized workers in the COB, unions and indigenous organizations to break

with their opportunistic leaderships, to build their grassroots and self-defense committees, and General Strike, march to La Paz to defeat the reaction, seize government buildings, occupy the factories and strategic facilities of the Bolivian economy, expropriate the Transnationals and landowners, break with all imperialism and install a Workers' Government that advances the measures of Socialism.

From Bolivia to Syria, Iraq, Lebanon to Hong Kong, from Barcelona to Chile and Ecuador, popular uprisings and revolutionary processes have been driven to defeat by the Popular Front and illusion in the bourgeois democratic regime. The necessary class independence and solidarity among the world's workers has been replaced by class division to support one or another imperialist bloc and their respective regional bourgeois government allies. **Faced with the capitalist crisis combined with the threat of a climate collapse, capitalism must die! Long live Socialism!**

## Where is Britain Going?

*The following is reprinted from our comrades of the Communist Workers' Group of New Zealand/Aotearoa (CWG-ANZ), December, 2019:*

After 9 years of bitter austerity, how did the Tories turn an entitled, lying clownish toff like Johnson into such a winner, and an avowed parliamentary socialist like Corbyn into a weak chump? The answer lies in the failure of Labour to stand up to Johnson's Trumpish rally to 'make Britain great again'. Fatally, Lexiteers like Corbyn tried to meet Brexit halfway with a 'Socialist' Brexit, or Lexit.

The Tories were split over Brexit but the Brexiteers fought inside the party to defeat the Remainers, so the campaign was all about Brexit. Labour was also split, but refused to take a position and compromised on a second Referendum. So, Labour broke the stalemate by allowing Johnson to turn its Brexiteer working class voters into his pawns.

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*Cont. from pg. 26 Britain....*

Never mind. Brexit is far from over, and Johnson's hard Brexit will explode on the streets and workplaces rendering parliament impotent to stop the breakup of Britain. It will push Scotland towards independence, and give Northern Ireland every reason to join a united Ireland. This will pose for socialists the test of their ability to organise the working class against reactionary bourgeois chauvinism and for proletarian internationalism.

To understand why this election will launch an open class warfare that can only be resolved by fascism or socialism, we need to explain how Britain's existential crisis, as part of a wider terminal crisis of global capitalism, has forced Brexit to the top of the bosses' political agenda.

### **Brexit stalemate**

The stalemate over Brexit is a symptom of the paralysis of the British ruling class facing the dilemma of its future as a declining imperialist power maneuvering between the US bloc or the Russia/China bloc. The rise of Russia and China threatens the waning US world hegemony. The EU is torn between the two but increasingly drawn towards Russia/China.

This poses a problem for the UK ruling class: to remain in the EU as it gets pulled away from the US towards Russia and China, or to leave the EU and stick with the US come what may. The British ruling class is split between the finance sector, the legacy of Britain's rentier role in the world economy, and the national bourgeoisie who are now in partnership with US, EU and Asian transnationals.

Both fractions are globalist in outlook and make their profits in a multilateral world where capital and labour know no borders. Johnson in copying Trumps 'exceptionalism' is acting contrary to Britain's globalist role. There is no case for abandoning the EU for the US – since Britain profits from both – unless Britain is so uncompetitive and sees no future in the EU allied to Russia/China and is desperate to gamble on the declining US. So, what part of the ruling class has an interest in writing off the 20th century and building a fantasy of reclaiming the glory days when "Britain ruled the world"?

None except a small section of British capitalists that wants to share in a US takeover and asset stripping of British assets including the remaining state assets such as the NHS. This is the Trumpist strategy to save the US that the reactionary Tories endorse.

The trade deal being negotiated with the US will reduce Britain from the status of declining imperialist power to a client lackey state. Those who stand to gain from a hard Brexit are those who blame Britain's decline on EU membership and want to become the servile junior partner of the US. They are a tiny, backward chauvinist fraction that rejects globalism to make Britain great again. But this slogan actually means becoming mere neo-colonial compradors (agents) of US vulture capital. This is the reason that the Brexit comprador fraction needs to manufacture a populist movement of chauvinist workers and petty bourgeois social imperialists to give it parliamentary legitimacy.

### **Lexit succumbs to chauvinism**

The left is mightily confused over Brexit when it puts itself into the camp of the comprador Brexit faction of the British ruling class. While the left propagandizes that Brexit creates a Left-exit (Lexit) for workers to take power, in practice they are acting as stooges to call on workers to side with British imperialism over German imperialism. What's more they sign up to 'their' ruling class to defend Britain from all foreigners, migrants, militants, and revolutionaries to defend 'glorious Britain'. The bankruptcy of this 'social imperialism' (socialism at home paid for by imperialism abroad) explains Labour's defeat by the Brexit populists.

The problem with the Lexit position is that it takes a historical construction of the bourgeoisie, the nation state, and defends it as timeless. But since the arrival of the age of imperialism early in the 20th century, capital has known no borders. It has had to expand globally to boost profits at home. Giant monopolies backed by their nation states have gone to war to make their rivals and the world's workers' pay for their crises of overproduction.

Thus, excess capital is destroyed in de-

pressions and wars, while workers' wages have been driven down by depression and their resistance defeated by conscription to fight the bosses' wars. The 20th century proves that workers used as cannon fodder must mutiny and unite with workers everywhere to overthrow crisis-ridden global capitalism. In the place of bourgeois nation states workers will create socialist republics that replace chauvinism with internationalism and a global federation of workers' republics.

### **Fascism or Socialism**

The extreme logic of bourgeois nationalism leads to the rise of fascism to smash workers refusal to pay for the bosses' crises. This is where we are again today, in a full blown, terminal crisis of global capitalism, where new movements are beginning to rise up against global capital. And once more the bosses are encouraging fascism to raise its ugly head to smash workers struggles for basic democratic rights from Algeria to Hong Kong.

Within this framework, the situation in Britain is consistent with a declining imperialist power reverting to imperialist xenophobia, led by a reactionary comprador clique of the bourgeoisie that has been defeated by monopoly capital. In its desperation to protect its wealth it exploits the fears of workers against migrants to ape Trump in backing imperialist Britain against imperialist Germany and France. And in many European countries the same centripetal forces of national populist movements are creating the swamps in which fascism breeds.

There is nothing progressive in defending bourgeois nations in the name of the 'left'. It leads to the enlisting of workers behind the national flag to fight workers in other countries in the interests of the ruling classes and against the interests of humanity and nature. Against the populist/fascist movements that are forming to divide and smash working peoples, the only left position that can lead to the end of capitalism, is that which unites workers across national borders into one international revolutionary force capable of ending capitalism and building socialism.

## Capitalism to Commune

*The following is reprinted from our comrades of the Communist Workers' Group of New Zealand/Aotearoa (CWG-ANZ):*

While most capitalists still deny that climate change has anything to do with them, increasingly the world is now facing up to the truth of climate change. Yet most don't understand the cause and therefore cannot grasp the solution. The default position of Greta Thunberg, Extinction Rebellion and climate science in general is that the problem is Anthropogenic Global Warming (AGW). And the solution is to make that abstract 'man' human again. We argue that 'man' is not to blame; it is capitalism. So we should at least be talking of the Capitalocene. Yet what is understood by capitalism today makes all the difference as to what we do about it. We argue that capitalism cannot be reformed. It has to be overthrown and replaced with the Commune.

### What is Capitalism?

If capitalism is mentioned as the cause of climate change, it is as an aberration on the part of elites, or capitalists, who are out of step with nature. Capitalism can be corrected if it is rescued from deniers like Trump. One can vote for a government that will act on climate change. So, the typical 'anti-capitalist' corrective is to focus on the elites and advocate 'democratic' and 'non-violent' means of providing a new leadership that can apply the technical fixes to solve the problem. Or, abandon technology as if that rather than the capitalist who owns and uses it as a means of production, is the problem. But that ignores that capitalism is more than market and exchange relations. Capitalism presents itself as a system of market exchange which inverts and obscures production relations. Workers do not see that their labor power produces value when capitalist ideology preaches that value is determined by market supply and demand. The extraction of surplus value from workers at the point of production is trivialised as workers and bosses fighting over a 'fair share' in the distribution of incomes.

This fetishism is the basis of bourgeois ideology which ignores class exploitation during production and mythologises

'capitalist man' as the free individual who buys and sells on the market. Marx's critique of bourgeois political economy proved that value is created during the production of commodities which is then realised by their sale in the market. Value is not created by supply and demand driven prices of commodities, say oil, that can be regulated by the state.

For example, the fossil fuel industry produces value by using human labour to extract fuels. Therefore, regulating the market to shut down the fossil fuel industry cannot work because it retains ownership of its capital assets including labour, and has the power to manipulate political policy in its defence. Revolution is necessary to expropriate capitalist assets and redirect them into sustainable production. But to understand this, we need a social science that "tells the truth" about capitalism and its "war on nature" and what we need to do to overthrow capitalism.

It is not good enough to extrapolate from climate science to the bourgeois ideology of fetishized capitalism. Climate science has recognised the bio-physical problem of what happens when the atmosphere heats up rapidly with terrible consequences for life on the planet. But bourgeois ideology makes the cause of AGW abstract 'man'. This assumes there is ahistorical, universal man, rather than an historical man shaped by the socio/economic relations, or production relations, that characterise specific historical societies, or modes of production, that determine how 'man' relates to nature.

Let's get rid of 'Man' and replace him with Human. Human's relation to nature changes because humans are part of nature, capable of acting with nature or against it, i.e. their own 'human-ness'. Therefore, human's changing 'nature' is the result of historical change from non-class society when both Humanity and Nature are in union, to class societies where contradiction destroys that unity.

It follows that if 'human nature' is ahistorical, static, and unchanging, and is responsible for AGW, how can it change enough to reverse AGW and avoid human extinction? The impasse is broken once we understand how 'human nature' changes throughout history, shaped

by the production relations that define what Marx calls historical 'modes of production'[MOPs]. If Humans change historically, under different production relations, they can under some conditions cause AGW, yet under other conditions change to avoid its consequences.

These production relations embody the contradiction between humans and nature, and vary from complete unity in non-class society to rising contradiction in class societies to an existential contradiction in capitalist society. But before taking that discussion further we need to get rid of the flawed concepts of AGW and the Anthropocene.

### From Anthropocene to Capitalocene

So, we have a climate science that has named the period in which 'man' causes AGW, but in the absence of a developed social science of climate change we are stuck with the unscientific abstraction of the Anthropocene. This concept may have shifted the blame from nature to 'man-made' climate change, but at the cost of failing to point us in the right direction for solutions. First it is not abstract 'man' (human) that created climate change, it is capitalist human. Let's replace the wrong 'man' with the right 'human' to signify the universal qualities of humanity that are potential in the union of humans and nature. But where the contradiction between human and nature exists, this potential unity is yet to be realised. Let's look at the history of this potential unity.

Pre-capitalist modes of production [MOPs] had historically specific 'human natures' corresponding to the Kinship, Domestic, Slave and Tributary MOP and their corresponding production relations. Kinship relations were the basis of co-operative production and the sharing of products among kin as equals. Domestic relations describe the unpaid domestic labour of women for the benefit of men (i.e. the Patriarchy). Slave relations drove the slave production and the extraction of the product by slaveowners. Tributary (including feudal) relations comprised peasant production and extraction of rent by landowners.

Where these modes have survived in the margins of capitalism, subordinated to

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capitalist production relations as ‘indigenous’ peoples, unpaid domestic labour, slaves, low paid or unpaid agricultural workers, and so on, they remain trapped in uneven and combined development where all these forms of labour are subsumed to, and extracted by Capital. Capital controls and exploits pre-capitalist labour forms as a subsidy to the costs of wage labour, thereby ‘combining’ and ‘underdeveloping’ these forms free from exploitation.

All of these specific historical ‘human natures’, Kinship, Domestic, Slave, or Tributary, and their subordination to Capital exhibit a fundamental unity, in relative harmony with nature. They vary in their degree of unity with nature, from relative unity in class-less societies, while the growing separation of humans and nature intensifies as we go from the exploitation of women, slaves, peasant production, to the advent of capitalism. Before capitalism, none of these MOPs threaten to disrupt the union of humanity with nature, there is no extreme contradiction between humans and nature, despite some extinctions and local climate changes, in their respective production relations with nature.

If Anthropocene means ‘man-made’ climate change, then these pre-capitalist producers share none of the blame! But equally while pre-capitalist unity with nature inspires a vision of a non-capitalist human future, any return to pre-capitalist production relations is not part of the solution to climate change. The unity between humans and nature of pre-capitalist production relations cannot meet the needs of 8 billion humans today who are already enmeshed in the global capitalist system. The reason that such modes survive today is because they serve a purpose in providing cheap labor and raw materials to counter the Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall (LTRPF) in the ‘developed’ countries.

Marx in his analysis of capitalism, fully realised how pre-capitalist modes survived in the service of capital, and toward the end of his life considered the possibility of the Russian peasant commune ‘leaping’ from a kinship mode into socialism with its ‘commune-ism’ intact

and avoiding the transition to capitalism. More than twenty years later, the young Lenin tested this proposition in his book on the Development of Capitalism in Russia. Lenin found that by the 20th century the commune was subordinated to feudalism and its growing incorporation into global capitalism. The commune could not hold out to more ‘advanced’ modes that penetrated its economic relations and diverted its labor to the feudal lords and capitalist bankers and industrialists.

Capitalism, for the first time in history, created the potential for the unity of humans and nature within the contradiction of its production relation. While Capital dominates nature to the point of destruction, at the same time it creates the embryo of socialism within it, in the form of human Labor, that can resolve this contradiction in the future Commune.

Our present predicament is one of extreme contradiction between humans and nature in which the unrealised potential of unity of the Commune is the key to post-capitalist production relations. While pre-capitalist production relations were adapted to relative ‘scarcity’, post-capitalist production relations must restore the unity of humans and nature by overcoming the ‘scarcity’ imposed by capitalism and creating ‘plenty’ as the pre-condition of the future Commune.

So, how do we develop a social science of climate change? How can humans stop climate change in time, or failing that, mitigate its destruction of the biosphere? First, we get rid of the ahistorical and dead-end concept of the Anthropocene. It fails to explain why ‘industrial’ (another abstract concept) society created by the anonymous ‘man’ took off and developed at the expense of nature. Bourgeois ideology has its Robinson Crusoe myth of the birth of capitalism, that stranded white man who enslaved his black man Friday, a tragi-comedy which glorifies the separation of humanity from nature.

It ignores the real culprit, the capitalist production relations that created the conditions for ‘industrialisation’. To the extent that it acknowledges capitalism as an historical society, it explains its development not as a specific mode of production, but rather the myth of ‘economic

man’ driving the evolution of the market, as both ‘natural’ and ‘just’.

It follows that this mythology is a road block to ending capitalism. If ‘economic man’ can perform such wonders then surely Anthropogenesis can find new socio/technical fixes that make capitalist production lean, clean and green. Capitalism would be a good idea, says Chomsky et.al., so let’s make it better and survive. This is the ideology that permeates the bourgeois social ‘science’ that traps the leaderships of social movements such as Extinction Rebellion within bourgeois history, law and politics.

This ‘science’ is antagonistic to the revolutionary social science we need to guide us towards a post-capitalist future. Because the Anthropocene has become an ideological alibi to free capitalism from the blame for climate change, our first step is to replace it with the Capitalocene. When that too, proves a barrier to revolution, we can open our eyes to new possibilities.

### **Capitalocene means ‘capitalist-made’**

While capitalism made climate change it had to make the ‘capitalist human’ to make it happen. But what makes a capitalist human, and the ‘human nature’ specific to capitalism? The production relations between capital and labour. Like previous class societies, capitalism arose when an emerging class, the bourgeoisie, challenged the artificial scarcity of the old feudal production relations. The bourgeoisie were not concerned to solve the problem of scarcity for humans as such, but to accumulated the surplus labour of wage workers as their own private property.

Far from realising the potential of the unity of humanity and nature, the new production relations separated the producers from nature to an unprecedented degree, alienating workers from nature – that is their labor and means of production – exploiting nature to exhaustion. Capitalist development became possible only by exhausting nature so that the contradiction between humans and society grew to the point of destroying the very conditions for capitalist growth.

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Unlike the Anthropocene which can be reformed by capitalism as solutions to AGW, the Capitalocene is defined by the antagonism between humans as nature, and capital as destroyer of nature. Marx understood that underlying the class struggle in the market between workers and capitalists there was a deeper contradiction between nature/labor and capital/society. He wrote about this contradiction as a metabolic rift to mean that the essential interdependence of nature and society was doomed to rupture when capital exhausted nature.

Its existence became the driving force of the fundamental laws of motion of capitalism. The separation of humans from nature under capitalism followed from the metabolic rift between labor as nature, and capital as destruction of nature. The resolution of this contradiction would be socialist revolution for nature against capital and new production relations in harmony with nature, realised in full under Commune(ism).

Kohei Saito, in his book *Karl Marx's Ecosocialism*, shows that Marx from early in his study of Capital understood the metabolic rift as both the secret of capitalist development as well as the ultimate cause of its decline in the necessary destruction of the conditions for its existence. The Young Marx recognised this as a contradictory process as capitalist production for profit led to the inevitable exhaustion of nature as wage labor, land and other means of production [MP]. Workers sold their Labour Power [LP] as a natural productive force to Capital. Part of it, necessary labour [NL], was advanced to them as wages to pay for the reproduction of LP. The surplus-labour [SL] was expropriated by Capital as the basis of profits.

In consuming their own NL and forfeiting their SL, this production relation alienates workers from control of their own labour (nature). Workers' alienation from nature includes alienation from the human self, from solidarity with other humans, and from capitalist society. As a result, the fundamental contradiction between nature and humanity sets up an historical class struggle between labour and capital to defend nature or destroy it.

We can see already that the concept of the Capitalocene that does not entail this contradiction is as apologetic for Capital as the Anthropocene. Capital is an historically specific mode that created at its heart the working class as a productive force of nature, which far from carrying any blame for climate crisis, would become its 'gravedigger' and finally explode the contradiction in the socialist revolution.

Marx critiqued the political economists who failed to see that the Capitalist [MOP] was historically specific. They had an evolutionary theory of capitalism in which the market and the individual bourgeois entrepreneur freed Capital from ancient and feudal scarcity and could overcome any natural limits with technology, giving it everlasting life – an early expression of a utopian Capitalist scenario!

In rejecting this evolutionary myth, Marx first had to debunk bad theories of the natural limits to Capital. Malthus claimed that population limits were set by loss of soil fertility. Marx buried himself in the debates over Agricultural chemistry and physics to show that capitalist agriculture could overcome soil exhaustion and overpopulation in the short term, but only by plundering and exhausting nature in the long term.

Between the short-sighted Malthus and Ricardo, and the bourgeois utopians without limits, Marx credited the class struggle as setting the limits to capitalist production. Capital would plunder nature to raise profits until such time as the class-conscious proletariat would overthrow it. Marx's Ecosocialism can be summed up thus: the contradiction between Nature and Capital sets the absolute limit which capitalism today has now reached posing two roads forward. Nature will destroy capitalism and with it, humanity, unless humanity, in the form of socialism embryonic within capitalism, is born and destroys the Capitalocene replacing it with the Commune.

### **From Capital to Commune**

To overthrow the Capitalocene as the concrete embodiment of the destructive relation between nature and capital we have to get rid of the concept of

Capitalocene imprinted with bourgeois ideology. It is not capitalism in general, vaguely defined, subject to abuses and aberrations, and open to state reforms, that causes crisis of global warming. It is Capital destroying Nature. Therefore, capitalist relations of exchange and distribution cannot be reformed as they are embedded in the underlying production relations. And these production relations presuppose private property and the dispossession of the producers of their own means of subsistence which is enforced by the capitalist state apparatuses.

The state is not a class-neutral institution that can limit the political power of the elite, with occasional, liberal or labour-type governments. Its citizens are fetishized bourgeois individuals who must obey the state as the 'organizing committee' of the ruling class. The state enforces bourgeois law which defends private property and ensures that political representation does not challenge capitalist rule, using its armed forces, its spies and its controls over the media to enforce that rule. There is no room for reforms in any of these institutions devoted to Capital. If the specific production relations of capital and all of its supporting institutions are committed to destroying nature, they cannot be reformed, then they must be overthrown.

### **But how?**

This fundamental contradiction between nature and capital is not a timeless abstract force, but the historical flesh and blood class struggle. It is the contradictory unity of nature and capital that is the force for change. Under the specific economic relations of capital, humanity, as part of nature, is turned into its opposite, inhumanity, antagonistic to nature.

The 'young' Marx may have generalised about humans alienated from nature, self, others, and society, but he doesn't leave it there by just talking about or 'interpreting' capitalist society. In his *Capital*, he shows how the alienated producers become conscious of their 'humanity' and fight back against capital becoming the embryonic material force necessary to liberate nature. Let's look at the transition whereby the class struggle of those who produce labour-value creates the embryo of socialism within capitalism

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itself.

As we saw, the origin of capitalism was made possible only by the plunder of pre-capitalist society. That disrupted the metabolic balance within these societies destroying their capacity to reproduce themselves. This plunder was continued by the colonial dependence of capitalism on their stolen land, labour and natural resources to further capital accumulation in the 'homelands'. Capitalism harnessed these natural forces of production for private profit. And as competition to cut prices led to the never-ending search for cheaper inputs to maintain profits, capital became a global force exploiting and alienating nature to survive and grow. Not according to the evolutionary story of the 'progress' of European 'civilisation'. But rather, the capital relation that separates producers from their means of subsistence, so that what they produce with their labour-power, value, becomes the private property of capital.

Marxist writers follow Marx in calling this destruction of nature the 'metabolic' or 'ecological' rift. But nature fights back in the form of the producers of value. Capital accumulation globalises the formation of a powerful force where labour harnessed to capital, as slave or wage-labour, is forced to resist capital, to avert its destruction and reclaim its essential 'human nature'.

Here, then is the inescapable law-like emergence of the global social force of nature that must challenge the rule of capital to create the conditions for the Commune. Marx gave us many examples of the existence and development of the first stage of this embryo as 'socialism'. From the resistance of indigenous society to conquest; the slave revolts, organised wage-labour and de-colonisation.

Today, Marx would recognise the continuity of all these struggles fusing with the contemporary uprisings of workers and the poor (the global producers) against austerity and the rise of fascism. And to clinch his argument, all these struggles are essentially united in the fight to defeat capital and restore the unity of society with nature, now becoming manifest in the growth of the global movements

against climate catastrophe.

Of course, this force for change does not automatically end the historic rule of Capital. It has to overcome the limits of bourgeois ideology that resists Marx's Ecosocialism and defends capital as a progressive force compared with socialism or communism. Various spurious 'left' voices combine to abort the embryo of socialism as incompatible with 'democracy'. Yet it is the underlying contradiction now peaking historically as the threat of human extinction which teaches us that the dialectic 'knows' reality and dissolves the apologetics of capital.

Even so, this objective process is not capable of ending Capital without the subjective consciousness and actions of nature, class struggle, driving socialist revolution. The forces "not of our own choosing" that operate "behind our backs" now come out to the front and are recognised and understood. That knowledge becomes the program of the revolutionary party. Namely, the Marxist party that tests the program in action to resolve the contradiction between nature and capital as socialist revolution.

That revolution begins the transition to socialism but is only the first stage of Communism. The producers' rule with their own class state to suppress counter-revolution. It lays the groundwork of workers' democracy and a planned economy preparatory to the return to nature. But it falls short of 'freedom' from necessary labour and the conception of a classless and stateless Commune. Let's look at the revolutionary transition that takes place when the socialist embryo becomes the newly born infant and develops within the post-capitalist conditions from scarcity to plenty as the precondition for communism and the Commune itself.

### **Commune: Union of Nature and Humanity**

Marx never attempted to put forward a blueprint for communist society of the future beyond a few necessary conditions. He assumed that the socialist transition would create the conditions for communism. When workers "win the battle for democracy" and take state power, they become the ruling class to

suppress reactionary classes. The transition to communism creates social ownership and planned production. Bourgeois norms remain until scarcity is overcome. For example, workers receive back the equivalent of their work. When the Commune is fully developed the norm becomes "from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs".

In the Communist Manifesto of 1848 Marx caustically compares bourgeois society with communist society. The Communist Mode of Production (Commune) abolishes private property for property in common. Classes are abolished and with them the class state. Likewise, all the political and cultural apparatuses of capitalism. For example, women are liberated from domestic slavery and prostitution. Nation states are abolished for the voluntary associations of peoples. "In the place of 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."

The Commune remained an untested theory/program until 1871 and the Paris Commune. The working people of Paris rose up against the Government and created an embryonic workers state which lasted for two months before its military suppression. In the Civil War in France, Marx saw it as the first attempt to bring this theory to life through the practice of proletarian revolution. First the workers created a democratic administration – the Commune – and a militia to defend it. All public offices were filled by elected and recallable delegates, and paid no more than the average worker's wage. All governmental functions were centralised in the Commune and backed by the armed people.

The failure to build on these foundations was explained by the isolation of the Commune within France and internationally, and the lack of a Marxist leadership. Yet the lessons learned reinforced the 1848 prescription for socialist revolution to be internationalist, to lead all other oppressed classes including the peasantry, and as a result of the lessons of the Commune, the necessity to smash the capitalist state (rather than take it over) in order to create the 'proletarian dictatorship'.

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Four years later in his Critique of the Gotha Program Marx had to defend the program from retreating under attack from bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces. For the ruling class, the legacy of the Commune, the organised and armed proletariat opening the road to socialist revolution, had to be suppressed. Notably, Bakunin rejected the Paris Commune as an attempt to form a new oppressive class state thus depriving the revolution of the military means of success. And Lassalle spoke Marxist phrases but in practice reduced the program to begging Bismarck for state aid – an early welfare state. In reply to both, Engels argued that the Commune was the embryo of the “community” or “commune” that prefigured the abolition of classes and the state under communism. *Engels to August Bebel, March 18-28, 1875*

Communism therefore is the theory/practice of realising the Commune, restoring the unity of humanity and nature. After the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution was its only serious test. The Bolsheviks saw themselves in continuity with the Jacobins and the Paris Commune.

The Russian revolution went much further. It had the revolutionary leadership but succumbed to international isolation as the revolutions in Europe, which lacked that leadership, were defeated, allowing fascism to flourish and to seal this defeat in blood. While the revolution brought a workers’ dictatorship to power, defeating the imperialist invasion and Civil War, it was at the cost of major economic setbacks. Hopes that the Soviet Union would benefit from revolution in Europe, failed as the damage caused by war, and an economy producing less than pre-war levels of ‘scarcity’ weakened the revolution.

Isolated, and surrounded by world capitalism, the economically backward state was unable to catch up with advanced capitalism and overcome ‘scarcity’ before being dragged back by the counter-revolution. This broke the pact with the peasantry who turned against the revolution. In the absence of ‘plenty’ the Bolsheviks had to rely on capitalist production and bourgeois rights to manage the economy. The embattled and weakened

proletariat was exhausted and within the party Stalin formed an alliance between the peasantry and the rising bureaucracy.

What began as a workers’ dictatorship against capitalism ended by the 1930s in a bureaucratic dictatorship of the party in alliance with the petty bourgeoisie making ‘peace’ pacts with imperialism.

But like ‘Paris’ 1871, ‘October’ 1917 vindicates the Bolshevik’s theory/program of the socialist transition to the Commune. Writing in 1924 as a direct attack on Stalin’s hijacking of the revolution after the death of Lenin, Trotsky spelled out the Lessons of October. In the epoch of imperialism capitalism had exhausted its historical mission. International socialist revolution was now top of the agenda. And no revolution could succeed if not international.

For that to succeed there must be an international communist party. Russia opened the road but succumbed to counter-revolution externally and internally. Yet the lessons of October remain as the guide to world revolution, then, and now.

Marxism as scientific socialism has taught us that the contradiction between nature and capitalist society must be resolved by the producers if it is to be overcome and the re-union with nature restored. No bourgeois theory of social change no matter how radical can achieve that because they fear the Commune. The proletariat is the only class with the interest in resolving that contradiction on behalf of all oppressed classes and peoples, humans and non-human species.

It must do this by becoming class conscious, building democratic soviets or councils and implementing the socialist program of smashing the bourgeois state, expropriating capitalist property, and beginning the transition to the Commune. Short of the Commune, there is no version of capitalism reinvented that can possibly mobilise the world’s producers to organise, act, and rescue nature from the capitalist system that must destroy the planet. Unless capitalism’s gravediggers rise-up we will all end up digging our own graves.

*Cont. from pg. 3 Editorial....*

**based on 3rd world super-exploitation.”** The trade union tops completely abdicate to the police union position, apart from a banner on the DC HQ building.

**Left Voice**, the American section of **La Izquierda Diario / Left Voice**, calls for mass self-organization of the working class. **So does the CWG, except that in the face of fascist and police murder and violence, we explicitly call for organized working class self-defense. Armed, trained, militant and disciplined Labor, Black and Brown Self-Defense Guards are urgently needed now, organized out of our union halls and community centers.** The Union movement has a responsibility to insure that existing self-defense organizations of the oppressed, such as the Huey P. Newton Gun Club, the Not F\*\*\*ing Around Coalition, the John Brown Gun Clubs do not stand isolated, but will be linked to the social power of the organized labor movement. Labor, Black and Brown Self-Defense Guards are needed to defend every demonstration, along with mass trade union contingents to drive the fascists and white supremacists from the streets. **For United Front self-defense of the workers and the oppressed!**

The more organized, militant and resolute the workers are, the more likely are the capitalist state forces of repression, the cops, CBP, ICE, etc. to hesitate, to not attack the demonstrations and to stand aside rather than defend the fascists. Workers self-defense, patrolling the Black and Brown communities, will also put some restraints on the rampant racist cop terror that will never end so long as capitalism exists. The liberal methods of defunding the police, rewriting police policies, civilian review boards, more training, and community policing will do nothing to curb the racist police violence that is endemic to American capitalism.

**Build armed, trained, and disciplined Labor, Black and Brown Self-Defense Guards from out of our union halls and community centers to defend against racist cop and fascist terror!**

**No platform for fascists or white supermacists! For mass Labor,**

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**Black and Brown mobilizations with organized trade union contingents to sweep the fascists and white supremacists from the streets! Defend immigrants! Drive ICE and the CBP from the workplaces and communities!**

**For Labor political strikes in response to racist cop terror and violence! "They shoot us down, we shut them down!" For Worker/Oppressed tribunals to find justice for all victims of racist cop violence and murder!**

**Cops and prison guards are not workers! Kick the cops and prison guards out of our labor unions, councils and labor federations!**

**Build a fighting Workers/Labor Party, a class struggle combat party of the workers and oppressed to organize and coordinate struggle! Fight for a workers government to put an end to racism, cop and fascist terror, anti-immigrant attacks and capitalist exploitation once and for all! For workers rule and socialism!**

**A democratic national convention: "NOT!"**

The DNC made for a prime time, feel good festival of Zoom faces of America as the convocation of the so-called Anti-Fascist United Front sans a workers party but uniting the forces of the workers movement with wide swaths of the techno-managerial caste and the corporate bourgeoisie from both sides of the aisle. We saw a layer of Republicans, building the mythology of the centrist consensus. Meg Whitman and Colin Powel, two exploiting thugs and heroes of US imperialism, bourgeois feminism and bourgeois "black liberation" in their own right are welcomed by the DNC to build the big umbrella trapping the workers under the yoke of capitalism and imperialism for the united task of defeating Trump.

While the rats jump from the sinking ship of the Republican party, we note the Yachts for Biden showing the class nature of the party. Supine acquiescence in class society and wage labor and capital-

ist dictatorship is all they offer the workers and oppressed.

While the Democrats pretend they are fighting the "fascism" of the Trump regime, the workers, oppressed and youth of Portland are fighting the fascist Proud Boys, Boogaloos, and Patriot Prayer gangs who are 'outside agitators' flown in for weekend rioting funded by the extreme right and protected and abetted by both the federal and local militarized police. Don't be fooled! The Democratic mayor of Portland, just like the Democratic mayor in Chicago and other cities line up squarely as militarists who provoke police riots against the #BLM protests and do so nationwide. It is not just Trump and the fascist thugs, it is the Democratic party which sends the cops. Even to question and possibly snatch you at home!

Sophisticates of the academic set and punditry are telling us that the Biden who gave us the Biden Plan for the partitioning of Iraq and author of the racist 1994 Crime Bill and Kamala Harris the "top Cop" of CA under Jerry Brown have somehow both been pulled to the left by the current events following the racist executions of George Floyd, Bryonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery and others. The left liberals and pacifists lap this up as if they are winning the hearts and minds of the Democratic centrists...but the Blue Dogs are not moving toward the center and sit on their haunches protecting the bourgeoisie from any 'progressive' legislation from making it past their oversight. As for Joe and Kamala all of a sudden becoming social justice warriors, let alone anti-imperialists or even rainy day champions of the oppressed at home and in the super-exploited semi-colonies, we dismiss such fantasy with a yawn. We tell the workers expect austerity, Larry Summers 'economics' in place of Kudlow/Navarro, and attacks on Social Security from the self-styled "Lunchbox Joe," who is still the senator from DuPont.

Workers want to know who will provide a healthy and safe workplace and jobs for all? Who will protect our kids and teachers and provide safe quality education for all? Not anyone on the ballot in November! Waiting for November or January 21 is as foolish as waiting for the publication of the unredacted Muller

Report! The ruling class parties have no solution to the capitalist crisis, the environmental melt down, or the pandemic. "Intersectional" academics are thrilled. Oh the places you'll fill! Get your resume ready! The next layer of sycophant enforcers of imperialism and state terror will look just like you!

Revolutionary Marxism does not hide the facts that only class struggle methods and political independence form the foundation for the fight for power. We say every retreat into the capitalist party or even the de facto class collaboration popular front with the Democratic party is a step backward, not toward our liberation. First and foremost because the workers' class consciousness and workers' party is not being built or advocated for, and is taken off the agenda for not just this moment but the foreseeable future. Ask yourself why and who took it off?

How does the left explain that 'anarchist' Noam Chomsky, 'communist' Angela Davis, labor leaders and Republican Meg Whitman (ex CEO for Hewlett-Packard) are in the same Biden boat? To those who fight for political independence of the working class, much of the left (from the Nation to Counterpunch and Truthout) explains their positions like this: 1) Defeat fascism at all costs, 2) the Democrats are better 3) it will be easier to push the Democrats to the left than it will be to push Trump 4) Bernie, AOC, The Squad, etc., and the fake promise of the "democratic socialist" sheepdog appendage.

They claim they are in a tactical bloc to defeat fascism. Yet all history has shown that fascism does not go down without a fight. Fascism is defeated in bloodletting on a massive scale and at this point all the bloodletting is against the poor, Black, Brown and oppressed people, while gun toting black shirts are trying to claim their corner on the streets, in the dialogue and as part of the "democratic norm," sneaking the swastika into congress in November via QAnon.

We know that to defeat fascism the workers and oppressed cannot depend on the forces of the state to defend us; we see them defending the fascists at every street

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*Cont. from pg. 33 Editorial....*

action; now we need our own organizations, our unions, and community centers to organize Labor Black and Brown Self Defense Guards. Nancy Pelosi will welcome the Class of 2021 with its fascist QAnon members as part of the norm. We say no platform for fascists!

They claim the Democrats are better. We say they are better at hiding the rule of the capitalist class from the exploited and oppressed. They throw just enough crumbs from the bosses' table to put the masses off the streets and back into the electoral booth while the bread lines and soup kitchens mushroom on both sides of the election day calendar. The Crisis of capitalism is structural, not something that is easily modulated, never mind repaired by tweaking the tax code or increasing or lowering the prime interest rate. Between quantitative easing (printing funny money) and lowering interest rates, the ruling class has exhausted all its solutions from A to B! If you want to get to C you need communism.

They claim it's easier to push the Democrats to the left than it is to push Trump. This is also a version of the Zizek vs. Garza conundrum from 2016. Zizek said the battleground for the workers and oppressed would be better for us with a Trump victory, while Alicia Garza (founder of the BLM) claimed the battle ground would be better under Hillary Clinton! This is just the next of the seasonal attempts by the misleaders of the workers and oppressed make to sell virtues of class collaboration. They do this EVERY FOUR YEARS! They refuse to fight for the political independence of the working class and for the class struggle methods that build independent workers organizations and self defense power year after year. Then they get within months of the election, shrug their shoulders and say we have nothing to offer you except a better battle ground after the election! Campaigning to elect the Democratic Party goes hand-in-hand with their legalistic pressure politics, to pressure the Democratic Party to the left and the capitalist state for reforms. This is divorced from organizing the working class and oppressed to fight for socialist revolution.

These wanna-be Sun Tzus forget one thing! The battle is already raging and you have no army because you refuse to fight for labor and the oppressed to break from the capitalist overlords, either programmatically or organizationally. At every event on the streets you strive to find "progressive" Democrats to promote and you isolate those who fight for class independence. Thus they set the class up for failure and defeat.

Also they do not recognize that it is the popular front itself that paves the way for fascism because it will never win socialism, exactly as it is based on peace with a wing of capitalism and imperialism. Social chauvinism is the name of the game that unites Meg Whitman, Colin Powell with Bernie, AOC and "the Squad" with the likes of the Third Camp from the League for a Revolutionary Party and to the lost and homeless wanderers whose ISO collapsed in 2019 and the other fakers and opportunists like Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party and the real CPUSA and its offshoots.

What will change in November? Actually nothing, except it may signal the last, desperate 10-11 weeks of Trump doings. If he loses, there is real worry that he will not leave office, and about what to do if he won't. We will call for a General Strike and workers to power, no confidence in the state or the Democrats. The only means of resolving the racist police culture, economic and pandemic crises and the coming austerity in favor of the working class is through socialist revolution, for the workers to take state power and rule society. And for that we need our own working class party. The Democrats have shown they are not capable of defeating the vestiges of the 3/5th clause of the Constitution and the compromise struck with the Slaveocrats that produced the electoral college. America's original sin has not been eradicated by generations of 'progressive' parliamentarism and now is not their time nor will it ever be, because the wealth of generations of the ruling class depends on the power it affords them in law to enforce the system of wage slavery.

*Cont. from pg. 7 George Floyd....*

**Build racially integrated, armed, trained and disciplined Labor/Black/Brown self-defense guards out of our union halls and community centers to defend Black and Brown people against racist cop, fascist and vigilante terror!**

**For mass labor-centered mobilizations to drive the racist terrorists and the fascist militias from the streets! Convene workers tribunals for justice for all victims of cop violence!**

**Charging Derek Chauvin with only third degree murder and manslaughter is a mockery of justice! Workers and oppressed will never find justice through the capitalist courts!**

**Cops, National Guard and Military off the streets! Hands off the demonstrators!**

**For Workers Political Strike Actions to Oppose State Repression and to Defend the Protests! Shut the Whole Country Down!**

**Free all arrested anti-racist protesters! Defend Samantha Shader! Drop all charges and release her now! An Injury to One is an Injury to All!**

**'Antifa' are not terrorists! Government hands off 'Antifa'!**

**No to stop and frisk and racial profiling! Cops out of the schools and off of transit!**

**Racist police terror and violence will never end until American capitalism is abolished. For revolutionary integrationism! End discrimination in housing, jobs, education and healthcare! For Black liberation through Socialist Revolution!**

**Build a fighting Workers/Labor Party and a Workers International a tribune of the workers and oppressed, to fight for a Workers Government! For workers rule and World 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.

### **Free and Drop All Charges Against Julian Assange!**

**While Liberals and  
 AnarchoDemocrats Cheer, Assange  
 Loses Extradition Battle in U.K.**



The U.K.’s Trump, Boris Johnson gloats as Assange loses his anti-extradition case. U.S. imperialism wants to jail him for life for exposing the secret film of a U.S. Army execution of Iraqi journalists and their families. For liberalism he needs to be silenced because he cooperated in the release of stolen Democratic Party e-mails in 2016, thereby making him, in their minds, a Trumpite, a Putin agent and a rapist/misogynist (relying on charges discredited and thrown out by Swedish courts.)

Of course Assange did not work for Trump and said he thought Trump “won’t be permitted to be elected” by the ruling class. Non-and anti-dialecticians don’t make the connection between the persecution of Assange and the U.S. withdrawal and denunciation of the International Criminal Court.

**The CWG defends free journalism, Julian Assange, Chelsea Manning, Edward Snowden and all whistleblowers.**

### **Brooklyn Activist Lawyers Charged With Attempted Firebombing**

In New York, where police and their sympathizer organizations use vehicles to attack Black Lives Matter bodies, prosecutors are victimizing Colinford Mattis and Urooj Rahman, charging them with providing demonstrators with molotov cocktails and attempting the firebombing of an unoccupied police cruiser. This has become a cause celebre for the Police Benevolent Association, the so-called police “union,” and a hobbyhorse in their war of words with Mayor DeBlasio.

We call for the expulsion of these fake “unions” from our labor federations! We want the police and Blue Lives Matter and Blue Line attempted murderers of protesters and emulators of the Charlottesville fascist murderer-by-vehicle to be put away as arch-criminal sociopaths!

**FREE RAHMAN and MATTIS!  
 DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST  
 BLACK LIVES MATTERS  
 PROTESTERS!**



### **The Trump/ Xi united front of imperialists suppressing the vote!**

**Vote Suppression in Hong Kong,  
 Arrest of “Long Hair” and  
 Hundreds More!**

In Hong Kong Carrie Lam postponed the September 6th legislative election citing spikes in the CoronaVirus. While it will take more than elections to dislodge the ‘red’ capitalist’s of the Chinese Communist Party, whose puppets in Hong Kong maintain the party’s financial hub and intersection with international finance capital, revolutionaries defend democratic rights and encourage the struggle for the right to vote to expose the undemocratic nature of imperialist rule of both the Chinese fake communists and the West’s fake democrats.

We demand the right to vote and say free the League of Social Democrats activist “Long Hair” Leung Kwok-hung, Raphael Wong Ho-ming, Figo Chan Ho-wun and the 300+ activists arrested after raising a banner outside the Eaton Hotel in the Jordan neighborhood to criticize the government for postponing the polls. **Free Long Hair and all political prisoners!**

### **We Stand With Iranian Anti- Government Protesters!**

On May 1, plainclothes police arrested at least 35 activists who had gathered in front of the Iranian parliament in a peaceful demonstration organized by independent labor organizations. Most were released on bail, but in August branch 28 of Tehran’s revolutionary court sentenced Atefeh Rangriz, an activist, and Marizeh Amiri, a journalist, both of whom have been detained since May, to 11 years and 6 months in prison with 74 lashes and 10 years and 6 months in prison with 148 lashes, respectively. If the sentences are upheld, Rangriz and Amiri must serve at least seven-and-a-half and six years of their sentences in prison, respectively. In October, authorities released Rangriz and Amir temporarily until the court of appeal issues a verdict in their case.

Over the past two years, Iranian courts have handed down harsh sentences to dozens of women who protested compulsory hijab laws in, as well as well-known human rights defenders, including Farhad Meysami and Reza Khandan, Sotoudeh’s husband, who supported their efforts. We also denounce the state murder of famed wrestler Navid Afkari on Sept. 12th!

## 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 !!!**

## What is a Socialist?

**Well, I can tell you what they aren’t very quickly: They aren’t a Republican and they certainly aren’t a Demo-Dix-icrat. They aren’t a member or supporter of any capitalist party whatever.**

**I’m not stating this as an argument I’m stating it as a fact.**

**The unconditional breakaway from capitalist politics and capitalist parties is the first act of socialist consciousness and the first test of socialist seriousness and sincerity...**

*- James P. Cannon*

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Class War (Paper of the CWG-US)

### International Leninist Trotskyist Tendency (ILTT)

*Integrating the RWG (Zim), RWG (BR), CWG (A/NZ), CWG (USA)*

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Class Struggle (Paper of the CWG-NZ)



*Labor Donated*