

# Greece: Mass Anger Over Savage Austerity

On June 29, as a two-day general strike virtually shut down the country and tens of thousands protested outside, the Greek parliament approved a new round of brutal austerity measures demanded by the Greek bourgeoisie and its imperialist overlords. The demonstrators—who included, in addition to workers, a broad range of the population from students and other youth to professionals and retirees—were viciously attacked by club-wielding riot police. More than a year of unrelenting attacks on the living standards of the Greek population has resulted in seething unrest across broad layers of society. In the last year alone, there have been at least a dozen one-day general strikes and massive protests. Hundreds of thousands of jobs have been lost, homelessness has skyrocketed and many people, especially pensioners, are reliant on soup kitchens for their survival.

Video footage of the wanton violence meted out by the cops has provoked widespread indignation, as has another video documenting collusion between the police and hooded provocateurs who infiltrated the protesters. Police fired endless volleys of tear gas and stun grenades and pummeled protesters with chunks of masonry. At least 38 were reportedly arrested in what was blatantly a cop riot. *We demand that all charges be dropped against the anarchists and other anti-austerity protesters, including those arrested during the earlier general strikes!*

It is clear for all to see that working people are being fleeced to pay for a crisis they are not responsible for. The economic crisis gripping Greece—a particularly severe expression of the world capitalist crisis—was triggered in the spring of last year as global financial capitalists, fearing that the heavily indebted Greek government would default on its loan obligations, began spurning Greek government bonds. The plummeting price of those bonds threatened European banks, especially in France and Germany—foreign financial institutions are exposed to some 340 billion euros in Greek public and private debt.

To try to head off the crisis, at least temporarily, the European Union (EU) and the IMF agreed last year to a 110 billion euro “rescue package” on condition that Athens impose draconian austerity measures on Greece’s working people. The October 2009 elections replaced the right-wing New Democracy (ND) regime with the bourgeois-populist Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) of George Papandreou, with the bourgeoisie calculating that the masses would more readily accept “sacrifice” if demanded by PASOK. The PASOK government answered the EU and IMF’s ultimatum with a year-long campaign of slashing public sector workers’

## European Crisis and the Bankruptcy of Capitalism

**Below: Mass June 28 protest in Athens during two-day general strike as parliament imposed sweeping austerity package. Inset: Victim of brutal cop attack on protesters the following day.**



KKE

wages, gutting pensions and ramping up taxes. These attacks hit hardest at the poorest in society, including immigrant workers. In addition, Greek officials, in response to EU/IMF demands that they raise cash by privatizing a host of state-owned enterprises, have launched what the bourgeois

press describes as a “fire sale,” auctioning off airports, ports and prime land.

European capitalists fear that a default by Greece could immediately pose a similar collapse by other heavily indebted countries such as Ireland and Portugal, which have already received bail-

outs from the EU and IMF, and Spain, whose economy is larger than that of Greece, Ireland and Portugal combined. Fearing the potentially catastrophic effects of such contagion, the EU/IMF hastily agreed last month on a second “rescue package” for Greece, amounting to a further 120 billion euros. Yet hardly anyone believes that these bailouts will do more than delay the inevitable default.

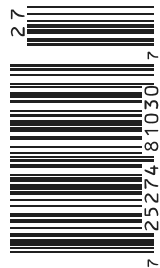
Everyone can see that the fate of the Greek working class, and much of the petty bourgeoisie, will be ever more dire without a radical solution. The working masses have demonstrated their combativity time and again. But the workers’ leaders, whether the despised PASOK-loyal tops of the General Confederation of Workers of Greece (GSEE) and the Confederation of Public Servants (ADEDY) or the far more militant-sounding Greek Communist Party (KKE) and its PAME labor front, have thus far succeeded in channeling workers’ anger into what amounts to militant parliamentary lobbying. In effect, they appeal to the Greek capitalists to stand up to their senior partners in Germany and France. This nationalist class collaboration is a recipe for demoralization and defeat.

The allies of the Greek proletariat are to be found not among its “own” exploiters but among the workers elsewhere in Europe and beyond. A proletarian upheaval in Greece could trigger a wave of class struggle throughout Europe against the ever more brutal and incessant attacks of the capitalists against the jobs, benefits and living standards of all workers on the continent. A workers government in Greece would immediately repudiate the imperialist debt. Such an act would require a direct appeal to the proletariat, from Germany and France to Spain and Portugal, to come to the defense of their Greek class brothers and sisters against the combined forces of the European bourgeoisies.

As long as Greek workers are mobilized primarily against the foreign diktats of the IMF and EU, they will be unable to see that opposing the imperialists is intertwined with overthrowing the Greek bourgeoisie. The Greek government is not simply a tool of the European and other imperialist powers, as some signs in the Athens demonstrations suggest, but of the Greek bourgeoisie that has always exploited, suppressed and bled the working class in the pursuit of profit.

The question that is objectively posed is the need for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order and the establishment of working-class rule. Yet

*continued on page 10*



## Workers Must Rule! For a Socialist United States of Europe!



Mavis Yorks

Winter/NY Times

**Left: Catrina Wallace got 15 years on bogus drug charges in retaliation for organizing Jena Six protests in Louisiana. Right: Bay Area Rapid Transit cop Johannes Mehserle served eleven months for coldblooded killing of young black man Oscar Grant, captured in passenger's video.**

Indymedia



AFF

# A Tale of Two Trials

On June 1, Catrina Wallace, a 31-year-old black single mother, was sentenced by a Louisiana court to 15 years on bogus drug distribution charges. Less than two weeks later, former Bay Area Rapid Transit cop Johannes Mehserle walked out of prison after serving a mere eleven months for his 1 January 2009 killing of Oscar Grant, an unarmed young black man who was shot pointblank as he lay face down on the ground. These two cases exemplify how little has fundamentally changed in racist capitalist America in the half century since the height of the civil rights movement.

Catrina Wallace was convicted by a jury with just one black member. At Mehserle's trial, which was moved from heavily black Oakland to Los Angeles, not one black person sat on the jury. Wallace was prosecuted as payback for her prominent role in organizing protests in defense of the Jena Six, young black men

caught in a web of racist provocation and criminal prosecution in the Deep South. Mehserle received a meager sentence and early release in recognition of his role in enforcing racist law and order for the capitalist rulers.

This is what American "democracy" looks like: black people have no rights which the ruling class is bound to respect. Wallace was one of a dozen people arrested in July 2009 in a pre-dawn drug sweep involving over 150 cops from federal, state and local agencies. No drugs were ever found, and the only "evidence" was the word of a convicted drug dealer acting as a police informant. Wallace refused to plea-bargain, and on March 31 she was convicted on three counts of distribution of a controlled substance. Rather than allowing these sentences to be served concurrently (five years total), the court vindictively ordered her sentences to run consecutively, a measure

usually reserved for serial killers and mafia dons. Free Catrina Wallace!

As we reported in "Jena, Louisiana: Free All Victims of Racist Cop Roundup!" (WV No. 978, 15 April), the plans for the drug sweep were hatched by Sheriff Scott Franklin in the immediate aftermath of the mass protest that shook Jena in September 2007. Tens of thousands of people from across the country marched through the town to protest on behalf of the Jena Six. That case began the previous year, when a black student received permission from a school official to sit under the so-called "white tree" at his high school, which is 80 percent white. The next day black students arrived to find three nooses hanging from a tree, leading to an impromptu protest some days later. That December, a white student found himself on the ground in a fight that ensued after he hurled the epithet "n----r" at a black youth, leading to the arrest of the six.

While Wallace's black skin marked her as yet another of the millions who have been warehoused in prison hells under the racist "war on drugs," Mehserle's blue uniform gave him a license to kill. While the killer cops maraud through the ghettos and barrios with impunity, Mehserle briefly saw the inside of a prison cell, thanks to numerous video images recorded by horrified passengers on the platform of the Fruitvale BART stop in East Oakland. Mehserle was shown standing over Grant, drawing his Sig Sauer P226 semiautomatic and firing into Grant's back as another cop

held Grant face down with his hands behind his back, calling him a "bitch ass n----r." The jury embraced Mehserle's fairy tale that he had mistaken his gun, weighing over two and a half pounds, for a taser weighing less than a pound, and found him guilty of only "involuntary manslaughter." Declaring that "this is not a case about race," Judge Robert Perry gave Mehserle the lightest possible sentence.

Catrina Wallace joins hundreds of thousands of black men and women victimized by the "war on drugs." If her conviction is not overturned, even if she were to leave prison tomorrow, Wallace would be deprived of basic rights. She would be barred from such services as public housing and welfare, denied the right to possess firearms and blacklisted from jobs. She also loses the right to vote for 15 years. Quite a different future awaits Mehserle. According to his lawyer Michael Rains, Mehserle plans to return to the Bay Area, hoping to find work in sales or retail "because he's so good with people!"

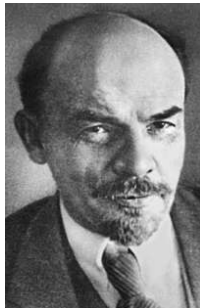
Racist cop-judicial terror is integral to American capitalism, which was founded on black chattel slavery and is maintained on the brutal oppression of black people, who are overwhelmingly segregated on the bottom of society. Justice for Catrina Wallace and the millions of other victims of this barbaric system requires nothing less than a proletarian socialist revolution that will sweep racist capitalism into the dustbin of history. ■

## Socialism and Technology



TROTSKY

*In the wake of the Japanese nuclear disaster, much of the left calls for shutting down nuclear power plants, echoing the anti-technology nostrums of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois environmentalists. Addressing the needs of the planned economy of the former Soviet Union, Leon Trotsky stressed that the all-round, qualitative development of industry and technology, which is arrested and distorted under the capitalist profit system, is essential for socialist construction.*



LENIN

We must not destroy technology. The proletariat has taken over the factories equipped by the bourgeoisie in that state in which the revolution found them. The old equipment is still serving us to this day. This fact most graphically and directly shows us that we do not renounce the "heritage." How could it be otherwise? After all, the revolution was undertaken, first and foremost, in order to get possession of that heritage.

However, the old technology, in the form in which we took it over, is quite unsuitable for socialism. It constitutes a crystallization of the anarchy of capitalist economy. Competition between different enterprises, chasing after profits, unevenness of development between different branches of the economy, backwardness of certain areas, parcelization of agriculture, plundering of human forces: all this finds in technology its expression in iron and brass. But while the machinery of class oppression can be smashed by a revolutionary blow, the productive machinery that existed under capitalist anarchy can be reconstructed only gradually. The completion of the restoration period, on the basis of the old equipment, has only brought us to the threshold of this tremendous task. We must carry it through at all costs.

—Leon Trotsky, "Culture and Socialism" (3 February 1926) reprinted in *Problems of Everyday Life* (1973)

## WORKERS VANGUARD



**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Harold Salt

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

EDITORIAL BOARD: Alan Wilde (managing editor), François Donau (production manager), Blandine Hauser (letters editor), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Walter Jennings, Elizabeth Johnson, Michael Joyce, Jane Kerrigan, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

*Workers Vanguard* (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: [vanguard@tiac.net](mailto:vanguard@tiac.net). Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is July 5.

No. 983

8 July 2011

## Labor Black League for Social Defense

### Workers Vanguard Discussion

"War on Terror": Marauding Abroad, Repression at Home" (WV No. 980) and "All Labor Must Defend ILWU Local 10!" (WV No. 979)

**Saturday, July 9, 3:30 p.m. • 3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215**

**LOS ANGELES**

For more information: (213) 380-8239 or [slsycla@sbcglobal.net](mailto:slsycla@sbcglobal.net)

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. Local Directory and Public Offices

**Web site:** [www.icl-fi.org](http://www.icl-fi.org) • **E-mail address:** [vanguard@tiac.net](mailto:vanguard@tiac.net)

**National Office:** Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, (212) 732-7860

**Chicago** ..... Box 6441, Main PO, Chicago, IL 60680, (312) 563-0441  
[chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net](mailto:chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net)  
**Public Office:** 1st Sat. of every month, 2-5 p.m., and by appointment, 222 S. Morgan (Buzzer 23)

**Los Angeles** ..... Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, (213) 380-8239  
[slsycla@sbcglobal.net](mailto:slsycla@sbcglobal.net)  
**Public Office:** Sat. 2-5 p.m., 3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

**New York** ..... Box 3381, Church St. Sta., New York, NY 10008, (212) 267-1025  
[nysl@tiac.net](mailto:nysl@tiac.net)  
**Public Office:** 1st and 3rd Sat. of every month, 1-4 p.m., and by appointment, 299 Broadway, Suite 318

**Oakland** ..... Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604, (510) 839-0851  
[slbayarea@sbcglobal.net](mailto:slbayarea@sbcglobal.net)  
**Public Office:** Sat. 1-5 p.m., 1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

**Toronto** ..... Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X8, (416) 593-4138  
[spartcan@on.aibn.com](mailto:spartcan@on.aibn.com)

**Vancouver** ..... Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2, (604) 687-0353  
[trotskyist\\_vancouver@shawcable.com](mailto:trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com)



# Defend Public Sector Unions!

# Canada: Postal Workers Hit by Anti-Union Law

TORONTO—On June 26, Canada's parliament passed a law forcing nearly 50,000 Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) members to take down their picket lines and return to work or face huge fines and the seizure of union assets. Confronted with sweeping giveback demands by the government-owned Canada Post Corporation, CUPW had launched city-by-city rotating strikes more than three weeks earlier. When workers in Toronto and Montreal, the two main sorting and delivery centres, were brought out simultaneously in a one-day strike on June 14, the company responded with a country-wide lockout.

The Conservative (Tory) government of Stephen Harper announced its back-to-work edict less than a day later—an unconcealed act of collusion with union-busting management. In addition to banning strikes for four years and kicking Canada Post's rollback demands to a government-appointed "arbitrator," the law imposes a wage settlement even lower than the corporation's last offer. Making clear that it was declaring war on all union struggles, the government also moved to break a strike by 3,800 Air Canada customer service agents that began on June 14. In this case, Canadian Auto Workers union leaders quickly abandoned the strike, signing a deal that accepted multiple concessions, notably on pensions, the central issue in the strike.

The social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP), now Her Majesty's Official Opposition in parliament, postured against the Tories' back-to-work laws, and its leader Jack Layton put in a token appearance at a CUPW rally in Vancouver. But the NDP's claim to stand on the side of striking workers is sheer hypocrisy, as shown by its record of breaking strikes and jailing union leaders while running governments in various provinces. Down-the-line supporters of Canadian capitalism, in mid June the NDP MPs (Members of Parliament) unanimously endorsed the Tories' call for a three-month extension of NATO's brutal military assault on neo-colonial Libya, in which Canada has been a full participant. The very day postal workers were forced to return to work, Canadian foreign affairs minister John Baird visited Canadian NATO troops in Italy, where he signed a bomb destined for use against Libya that included the message, "This postal service don't strike."

While the CUPW union leaders refused to swallow Canada Post's outrageous demands, they at no time sought to unleash the full power of the union on the picket lines. Their strategy of rotating strikes meant that the mail kept flowing until the company moved to shut down operations in preparation for the government intervention. The CUPW tops even offered to call off the strikes if management reinstated the old, expired contract. And once the lockout began, their only response was a series of punchless rallies featuring stale "solidarity" rhetoric from union bureaucrats and NDPers.



no credit

**Locked-out postal workers rally in Toronto on June 16 following back-to-work edict by Prime Minister Stephen Harper (inset).**



Doroszuk/Toronto Sun

We print below an article from *Spartacist Canada* No. 169 (Summer 2011), originally titled "All Labour Must Stand With CUPW!" which the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyiste, Canadian section of the International Communist League, distributed heavily at CUPW pickets, rallies and meetings.

\* \* \*

MAY 28—Some 48,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) are poised to walk off the job following an overwhelming strike vote of nearly 95 percent. In what amounts to a declaration of war, Canada Post is seeking to impose a two-tier wage and benefit system that will divide the workforce and roll back decades of union gains. For new hires, the postal bosses have vowed to slash pay by 30 percent, scrap guaranteed pension benefits, erode job security, lengthen work hours and cut vacation time. For retirees, they seek to ratchet up premiums for the extended health care plan. Across the board, they aim to eliminate the system of banked sick days in favour of a miserly short-term disability plan that would impose waiting periods for sick pay and reduce it by roughly 30 percent.

Canada Post has already eliminated 1,800 full-time jobs, mostly through attrition, and many more have been lost through contracting out. Management threatens to scrap 7,000 jobs in total once it completes its \$2-billion mechanization scheme, the "Modern Post," now being tested at a new \$100-million facility in Winnipeg. Within a decade, more than 80 percent of the existing unionized workforce is slated to retire, to be replaced by either machines or low-wage new hires.

At the same time, the postal bosses are driving the aging workforce to the wall. Under the guise of "reclassification," workers are being forced to do virtually any job management decrees, while ever more night shifts pose increased health problems and double the rate of injury. Postal workers have responded to management's abuses with work-to-rule campaigns and other protests. In south Winnipeg last November, 70 letter carriers wilddacted over unsafe work conditions ushered in by the new high-tech plant. Rural and suburban mail carriers, part of a separate bargaining unit of CUPW, staged a three-day walkout in the Edmonton suburb of

St. Albert against cutbacks that threaten to reduce their annual pay by up to \$28,000. On March 9, hundreds of letter carriers in suburban Montreal joined a protest over working conditions.

The ongoing capitalist economic crisis has already cost hundreds of thousands of workers their jobs across the country. Emboldened by its new majority status, the Harper government is now turning its fire from the unions in private-sector manufacturing to those in the public sec-



Agence QMI

**Laval, Quebec: Hundreds of letter carriers protest deteriorating work conditions, March 9.**

tor. At the centre of these attacks is Conservative MP Tony Clement. In his former role as industry minister, the rodential Clement presided over the 2009 bailout of the auto bosses, which saw workers in that industry lose as much as \$22 an hour in wages and benefits. Now, as head of the Treasury Board, Clement vows to slash wages and ax entire government programs as part of the Tories' plan to cut spending by as much as \$8 billion—ten percent—in the next year alone. Government spokesmen have mooted some 80,000 job cuts over the next several years.

What Harper and his gang *vow* and what they can *do* are by no means the same. The devastating blow to auto workers was not inevitable; it was made possible chiefly by the treachery of the bureaucracy of the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW). Pushing nationalist protectionism instead of the necessary class struggle, CAW president Ken Lewenza ob-

scenely trumpeted the sellout deal as a "victory." More recently in Toronto, in the face of the right-wing mayor's union-busting attack on city workers, the leadership of the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 113 simply rolled over, giving up the right to strike without a fight. Such concessions can only embolden the ruling class and demoralize the workers.

There will either be class struggle or defeat. If Canada Post gets away with its attacks on CUPW, the results will redound against the struggles of all workers, especially in the public sector. On the other hand, a hard-fought union battle in the post office would have the potential to reverse the bosses' one-sided war against the working class. But this will not be easy. For years the labour tops have strangled the enormous potential social power of the proletariat, negotiating defeats, givebacks and concessions, and gravely weakening the trade unions. On a political level, this has been expressed through support to the social-democratic NDP, which sees class struggle as a threat to its goal of "responsibly" managing the capitalist state.

For its part, in the recent federal election, the CUPW leadership called on union members to "consider voting for a candidate who supports public postal service, good jobs and better child care." This could include anything from the NDP to the bourgeois-nationalist Bloc Québécois or even the Liberals. A fighting perspective in the unions is inseparably linked to the struggle to replace the existing pro-capitalist labour bureaucracy with a leadership that understands that the interests

of the working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common.

## For a Class-Struggle Fight to Defeat Canada Post Attacks!

For decades, CUPW has been the *bête noir* of the capitalist class and its ideologues. This stems in large part from the militant postal strikes of the 1960s and 70s and from the union's longstanding support to struggles of the oppressed internationally. A *National Post* editorial (13 October 2010), "The Disgrace of CUPW," attacked the union for its participation in a May Day rally in Cuba and smeared its members as "bigots" for their defense of the besieged Palestinians.

Despite their radical reputation, however, the CUPW leaders have for years failed to lead the kind of struggle needed to throw back management's concerted drive against postal workers. There are

*continued on page 9*

## NOTICE

**Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated August 5.**

## WWP Hustles for Capitalist Politician Charles Barron

On March 30 the Spartacus Youth Club held a class at the City College of New York, titled "The Class Nature of the State." Among the attendees was Caleb Maupin, a writer for *Workers World* newspaper, the party organ of the reformist, pro-Democratic Party outfit of the same name. He attempted to defend his party's fawning over Obama and support to Democratic city councilman Charles Barron by distorting the positions of Lenin and Trotsky.

We welcomed this opportunity to clarify for those present the differences between us and the Workers World Party (WWP), using the lessons laid out in Lenin's *The State and Revolution*, written on the eve of the October Revolution of 1917. The capitalist state—with the cops, courts, prisons and military at its core—exists to defend the bourgeoisie's "right" to exploit the working class. It cannot be reformed with the help of "progressive" bourgeois

### Debate at SYC Class

imperialist war machine with renewed ferocity. We called for military defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against the imperialist occupiers, without giving any political support to the anti-proletarian Islamic reactionaries or the anti-Communist butcher Saddam Hussein.

Another SYC comrade pointed out that WWP, in its appetite to be "united against a common enemy," hitched its wagon to the long train of leftist groupies on the Obama campaign trail. He quoted two articles from *Workers World* newspaper in 2008. The first proclaimed: "The election victory of Barack Obama will go down in history as a triumphant step

mayor and pointed out that "The Democratic Party and its murderous, lying leaders *are* the most dangerous enemies of the working and colonial people today—in Vietnam, in the Congo, in Santo Domingo, in Bogalusa [Louisiana], and in Harlem." From Jesse Gray to "Jessie Jackson for president" in 1984, to Al Sharpton for NYC mayor again in 1997, nothing has changed for the WWP.

Their hero of today is Charles Barron. In articles like "Charles Barron Is a Fighter" (14 August 2006), *Workers World* breathlessly gushes that this capitalist politician is a "Black revolutionary." In response to our comrades' exposure of

ber 2006). Indeed, his job is to get ahead of any explosion in order to contain it.

Less than two years later, crediting the NYPD for an "excellent job," Barron emphasized, "I am not anti-police. I'm anti-police brutality" (*New York Times*, 22 July 2008). Throughout his career as a city council member, he has supported Bloomberg's efforts to pass stricter gun control laws, which seek to ensure that the "gang in blue" hold a monopoly on the use of organized force. Wielding his occasionally radical rhetoric and his claimed prior membership in the Black Panther Party, Charles Barron offers the same capitalist program as the rest of his colleagues.

In line with this strategy, Barron formed the bourgeois Freedom Party (FP) last summer. The stated reason for the FP's formation was that the 2010 New York State Democratic slate did not include any black candidates. At a 17 June 2010 news conference, Barron declared that the party's aim was "to get some parity and inclusion for Black people in the Democratic Party." WWP seems to have found true love in this lash-up. They write swooning articles with headlines like "Support the Freedom Party!" (16 July 2010) and "Freedom Party Challenges Racist Status Quo" (22 October 2010).

The Freedom Party takes its name from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which grew out of the voter registration campaigns during the civil rights movement. The MFDP was a militant civil rights organization that lacked a revolutionary programmatic alternative to capitalism and instead shared Martin Luther King's illusions in the party of John F. Kennedy. At the 1964 National Democratic Party convention, the Johnson/Humphrey machine crushed its attempt to unseat the all-white, Jim Crow Mississippi delegation.

Learning from the bitter experience of that convention, Stokely Carmichael and other militants of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) advocated a break with the Democratic Party. Unlike Barron's attempt to get "parity and inclusion" within that racist capitalist party, Carmichael said it was "as ludicrous for Negroes to join [the Democratic Party] as it would have been for Jews to join the Nazi party in the 1930s."

They joined with others to form the Lowndes County (Alabama) Freedom Organization, which took a black panther as its symbol. It was important because it was organized in opposition to the Democrats and because it openly advocated the right of armed self-defense. Shortly after, in Oakland, California, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was formed, inspired



Edward Reed

**Left: Charles Barron (at right) with Al Sharpton and NYC mayor Bloomberg at 27 November 2006 press conference appealing for calm following cop killing of Sean Bell. Reformist Workers World Party hails Democrat Barron and his Freedom Party.**



politicians but must be smashed and replaced with a workers state. As Lenin wrote in this seminal work, "Those who recognise *only* the class struggle are not yet Marxists.... A Marxist is solely someone who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

During the discussion round, Maupin argued that the main difference between WWP and the Spartacist League/SYC was the question of "unity." He accused us of being ultraleft sectarians, claiming our "goal is to be an isolated sect." He claimed that WWP follows the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky to build a mass movement "united against a common enemy," while the Spartacists simply "go into that movement and say 'you suck, you suck, you suck, let's tear it apart'."

Our answers were given in the spirit of Lenin, who said: "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism" ("Unity," 12 April 1914). An SYC member exposed what WWP means when it calls for unity, describing rallies he had attended that were organized by WWP's front group ANSWER before 2004: "Those rallies were for building support for the Democratic Party!" ANSWER's line, he said, was: "Let's get Bush out of office. Let's get some people in there who are going to end this war and bring our boys back home."

In contrast, our intervention into those protests aimed to break workers and youth disgusted with war from their support to the Democrats—the party that just a few years later would take the helm of the

forward in the struggle against racism and national oppression in the U.S." (14 November 2008). The second, by WWP leader Larry Holmes, enthused: "The feeling on the streets of cities large and small across the U.S. on election night was that now, anything is possible, and it is" (6 November 2008).

Maupin defended WWP's post-election euphoria for America's next top war criminal, saying, "That was the feeling on the streets." So of course WWP had to join in the celebration. Our comrades emphasized that WWP baits us as sectarian for refusing to adapt our program to the prevailing "feeling on the streets" but instead struggling to raise the consciousness of the working class.

Now that Obama's hands are thoroughly drenched in blood, from the "surge" in Afghanistan to the brand-new murderous imperialist adventure in Libya, now that working people are increasingly bitter over the capitalist economic crisis and anti-union attacks, WWP tries in vain to pressure Obama to act in the interests of the workers and oppressed who voted for him. On March 28, WWP's International Action Center issued a call for an emergency demo the next day to protest Obama in Harlem, asking, "How do we hold him accountable? Mass protest is our most viable option." But Obama is very accountable...to the Wall Street bankers and other capitalists whose interests he swore to protect. Promise made, promise kept.

The WWP has a history of supporting Democrats, especially black ones, that spans nearly half a century. Back in 1965, a leaflet by the Spartacist League exposed WWP's support to black Democrat Jesse Gray in his campaign for New York City

Barron as a left-talking Democrat, Maupin rushed to his defense:

"Charles Barron is a Marxist. His politics are not perfect, but I, for one, see a former Black Panther leaving the Democratic Party, calling for socialist revolution and having meetings with various Marxist parties around the world as a positive force."

If this WWP activist saw Charles Barron leaving the Democratic Party, it must have been in a dream because Barron is still a registered Democrat! When he was called out on this point, Maupin admitted it was true. Apparently WWP's definition of a Marxist includes card-carrying capitalist politicians.

Charles Barron serves a useful role for his capitalist masters in the Democratic Party as the in-house oppositionist. He presents himself as a fighter for the oppressed who calls for "revolutionary change." But Barron's real role is to bring all those who might be disaffected with the racist capitalist system back into the fold of the Democratic Party.

In the early morning of 25 November 2006, NYPD cops gunned down 23-year-old Sean Bell in a storm of 50 bullets just hours before his wedding. In the wake of this atrocity, Barron was right out in front at protests. His demands were for cleaning up the image of the capitalist state, calling for indictments against the cops and the resignation of Police Commissioner Kelly. As the ghettos continued to seethe, Barron stood shoulder to shoulder with billionaire mayor Michael Bloomberg when he appealed for "dialogue" in response to Bell's killing. Barron said, "If we don't get an indictment, there is going to be an explosion" (WNYC News, 22 Decem-

### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

#### NEW YORK CITY

**Saturday, July 30, 1 p.m.**  
**Reform or Revolution:  
The Fight to Build a  
Revolutionary Workers Party**

299 Broadway, Suite 318  
(Between Reade and Duane Sts.  
Take any train to Chambers St.)  
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025  
nysl@tiac.net

Visit the ICL Web Site:  
**www.icl-fi.org**

The Obama administration has been leading the charge in a bipartisan nationwide assault on public education and teachers unions, attacking “failing” schools in black and immigrant communities and threatening teachers with layoffs (see: “Obama’s War on Public Education,” WV No. 967, 22 October 2010). Meanwhile, some of the country’s biggest billionaires and Democratic Party hacks are waging a rabid media campaign to blame teachers and their unions for the disastrous conditions of the public schools, while deceptively showcasing a select few carefully manicured charter schools as the future of education. Charter schools are an attack on the basic democratic right to public education. They further increase segregation in the schools, and for the majority of black and minority youth, offer nothing but a holding pen, while lining the pockets of the owners with public funds.

Printed below is a letter from a supporter of the Spartacus Youth Clubs who is a teacher at a charter school.

\* \* \*

I am forced to take on more than the average teacher and get paid less than the average teacher. I get paid thirteen thousand dollars less than a teacher with my experience at a public school in my area. I have to do a bunch of extracurricular activities that in a public school would be optional. I have to supervise four after-school activities a week. This adds an extra four hours to my workweek. In a public school a teacher would get paid extra for this. In the school where I work, I do not get paid anything for this. To be honest, I do not have it as bad as some of the other teachers in the school. I recently heard from two teachers at my school that they have to stay until 6 p.m. one day a week to supervise an after-school activity and they do not get paid anything for it. I must note that our contract states that we must be at the school until 3:45 p.m. I also have to substitute during my preparation period if there is another teacher absent. This happens at least once a week. The reason why we have to do this so often is that the school does not usually get a sub if there is a teacher absent. We do not get paid extra for covering for other teachers. Subs cost money, and why pay for a sub when you can just get the teachers to do it for free? I hear that public school teachers get paid around \$30 to \$60 for every period that they cover.

Of course we cannot complain about any of this, since we do not have a union to defend us. We also do not get tenure. Our contract is up for renewal every year. I have not been at this school long, but I hear that the charter school company that I work for does not usually give raises to teachers. I do not know what happens if a teacher asks for a raise, but I’m pretty sure that any teacher that insists on a raise

# Letter from a Teacher: Charter School Hell



Pan-African News Wire

Philadelphia, June 2: Students protest against their school becoming a charter school.

is not rehired. If a teacher wants to quit, they have to give two-week notice, but the charter school company can fire a teacher for any vague reason, like “inefficiency” or “immorality.” Unlike a union shop, where a contract covers an entire workgroup, each teacher has an individual contract with the company, which leads to unequal compensation, benefits, etc. It is usually the case that when we show up at our weekly staff meetings we are told by the administration that we will have to do extra work, like supervising outside before the beginning of school or in the halls during passing periods, etc. Of course we cannot say no. They are not asking us if we can do it, they are telling us we should do it.

Charter schools are notorious for not providing enough funding for programs for students with disabilities, even though they get money from the state for such programs. This is also the case at my school. For example, I have a teenage student who cannot read or write above a first-grade level. This is a problem since a lot of reading and writing is involved in my class. I have other students with learning disabilities in my class, and I do adapt my instruction and assignments to fit their needs. These students are able to comprehend most of the material presented, although they need extra help. There are no adaptations that I can make to my assignments which will fit the needs of a student who struggles to read at a first-grade level. This student should be in a special education class where his needs will be

better met. At the very least, this student should be provided with an aide to help him in the class. The reason that he is not in such a class is that we do not have one in our school. The charter company would have to spend some extra money to set up such a class. This is also the reason why he was not provided with an aide. The company is not willing to spend money on aides. There is a teacher at our school who works with students with disabilities, but her time is limited since she teaches general education classes. This is despite the fact that federal law says that even charter schools must provide special education to students with disabilities.

The school facilities are also not up to

the same standard as your average public school. Our school is located in a commercial building. The charter school company rents out half of this building from some company. This does not seem that bad at first, but you might change your mind about this when you find out that the classrooms that we are in are also shared with other people who have nothing to do with the school or the people who own the building. The result of this is that things always get moved around or end up missing. I’ve found ways to deal with this but it frustrates me, since I know that I would not have these problems were I in a public school. Moreover, the building is not built well and things are always breaking. Door handles come off, faucets break and the ceiling begins to leak every time it rains. This is also the case with other charter schools that I’ve been to. One charter school was a warehouse, which had been used to store produce, and another used to be a car garage.

This charter company sees itself more as a business than a public educational organization. For example, we have a CEO instead of a superintendent. That is his actual title, CEO. It’s clear that the people in charge are in it for the money. And they are using that money to fatten their pockets and buy themselves eighty-thousand-dollar cars. I know that they have these types of cars because I see them parked in our parking lot whenever someone from the main office comes to observe our school! We don’t get paid on time, get raises, get subs, or get materials for our class because of the “current financial crisis” and yet these people buy Porsches and Land Rovers. But that’s how education works under capitalism.

All of the teachers at my school are tired and really want things to change. Recently I had a discussion with some of them about how we need to organize and how things would be so much better if we had a union. Just so you know, teachers at charter schools are overworked, underpaid, and furious!■



Bob Daemmrich

Students forced to share desks in overcrowded classroom, San Antonio.

by Lowndes County, and soon spread to other cities nationwide. The FBI unleashed a campaign of terror, resulting in 38 Panthers murdered and hundreds more imprisoned, some of whom continue to rot in prison to this day. But many Panther spokesmen and other would-be black radicals were co-opted into the Democratic Party.

At the time, the Spartacist League raised the slogan for a Freedom-Labor Party, warning that “the slogan ‘black power’ must be clearly defined in *class*, not racial terms, for otherwise the ‘black power’ movement may become the black wing of the Democratic Party” (“Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom,” *Spartacist* supplement, May-June 1967). As the trajectory of Barron and many others vividly demonstrates, this is exactly what happened. By supporting this wing of the Democratic Party, WWP joins those who perpetuate the lie that black equality can be achieved within the confines of the capitalist system. In contrast, we raise the banner of revolutionary integrationism: as

we fight against every manifestation of racist discrimination, we make clear to the working class that genuine freedom for black people in America is impossible short of socialist revolution, the historical task of the multiracial working class.

If the MFDP’s futile attempt in 1964 to reform the Democratic Party was tragic, Barron’s attempted reincarnation of the MFDP is simply a farce. The MFDP braved racist Klan terror and police repression in their courageous effort to beat back the brutal Jim Crow system, while Barron was simply disappointed by union-busting governor Cuomo’s failure to put more black faces on his slate. He is cynically maneuvering to expand his influence in the Democratic Party.

At the SYC class, in order to justify WWP’s reformist, class-collaborationist politics, Maupin made a clumsy attempt to falsify the history of the Russian Revolution, slandering Lenin: “If your goal is to lead the workers to overthrow the system you need slogans like ‘peace, land

and bread,’ not slogans like ‘Kerensky sucks, for a true ideologically pure party,’ you know what I mean?” Kerensky was the leader of the capitalist provisional government in Russia in the wake of the February 1917 Revolution that ousted the tsar. Maupin sought to disappear the fact that it was only because Lenin fought for an ideologically steered party *in opposition to Kerensky’s government and against all the reformists who supported it* that the October Revolution took place at all.

Now, Lenin never raised the slogan “Kerensky sucks,” but as a student at our class pointed out: “My understanding of Lenin’s *April Theses* was that he said, ‘No support to the provisional government.’” He added that Lenin “denounced almost every single party that was there at the time. You can call that sectarianism, but I think it’s revolutionary. That’s really taking leadership into your own hands, and I think that is really what a revolutionary party has to do.”

So we do know what Workers World

“means”: If they had been around at the time of the Russian Revolution, they would have been on the opposite side of the barricades, “uniting” with Kerensky and so-called progressives against Lenin and the Bolsheviks who were fighting to smash capitalism and bring the workers to power. They probably would have sent representatives into Bolshevik meetings to say “Kerensky is a fighter,” and while Kerensky was doing his duty to his capitalist masters, they would have held rallies to “hold Kerensky accountable.”

In contrast, the SYC stands for the program of Lenin and Trotsky against all types of reformists, fake Marxists and apologists for capitalist politicians. Only a Bolshevik leadership can truly unite the working class and all the oppressed in a fight against capitalism. It is the reformists who divide the working class, following the lines of division fostered by the capitalists, in competition for a bigger “share” of the crumbs from the capitalists’ table.■



# Germany

# Greens' Anti-Nuclear Hysteria

# Amnesties Capitalism

The following excerpted article is translated from *Spartakist* No. 188 (May 2011), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). Almost four months after the March 11 earthquake and tsunami in northern Japan, some 2,500 workers and engineers are still struggling to stabilize three crippled reactors at the Fukushima Daiichi plant. Although the full extent of the damage remains unknown, Tokyo for the first time early last month acknowledged that fuel rods in three reactors had probably melted through their inner containment vessels. According to state officials, the amount of radiation released in the first week was more than twice the original estimate.

With the crisis still unresolved, the Japanese government has abandoned plans to expand its nuclear power industry and may forego it altogether. Several European countries are following suit. On June 30, the Bundestag (German parliament) voted to close all of the country's nuclear power plants by 2022, making it the first major nation with a nuclear industry to completely renounce the technology in years.

As in Germany and elsewhere following the disaster in Japan, much of the reformist left in the U.S. echoed petty-bourgeois environmental groups in beating the drums of opposition to nuclear power. In a *Socialist Worker* article titled "The Nightmare That Could Happen Here" (31 March), the International Socialist Organization opined, "The potential exists to build a new vibrant anti-nuclear movement here in the U.S." For their part, the fake Trotskyists of Socialist Action headlined their March 18 article on the Japan crisis "No More Nukes!" The pretensions of these organizations to socialism are once again shown to be so much hot air. Playing to the antitechnology prejudices of the "green" milieu, they hope to conjure up another "movement" premised on the continuation of the capitalist profit system, which sacrifices safety for the bottom line and blocks the rational, full development of technology.

\* \* \*

Millions of people around the world are gazing anxiously toward Fukushima, where power plant workers are risking



Michael Wassenberg

March 26 Hamburg protest against nuclear power.

their lives in a struggle to prevent further explosions that would release yet more radioactive material from the nuclear facility. Many people are concerned over the safety of nuclear power plants in their own countries. Workers experience daily in their own workplaces how speedup is intensified and on-the-job safety undermined by the drive for profits. It's not hard for them to imagine that the capitalists run their nuclear power plants much the same way. While power companies and capitalist governments claim that nuclear plants are safe, and they may even institute a few safety controls in the hope of calming people down, environmental organizations are beating the drum against nuclear technology and praising "alternative energy sources" such as wind turbines as a replacement for nuclear power.

Some of the most virulent reaction is to be found in Germany. As soon as the catastrophe in Japan became known, nationwide "warning vigils" were organized against nuclear power. On March 12, more than 50,000 people formed a 27-mile-long human chain from the Neckar-Westheim nuclear plant to Stuttgart to protest the extension of operating licenses granted last fall to the seven oldest nuclear reactors by the CDU/FDP [Christian Democrat/Free Democrat] coalition

government led by Angela Merkel. A three-month moratorium on license extensions for nuclear power plants was intended to provide a little breathing space for the government and the energy bosses, until fear in Germany—which in some places had risen to hysteria—receded. In the March 27 elections to state parliaments in Baden-Württemberg and Rheinland-Pfalz, the Greens doubled their voting totals.

The petty-bourgeois anti-nuclear movement, with the reformist left in its wake, is channeling rage away from the capitalists, blaming nuclear power itself and, beyond that, modern large-scale industry. In this way, the reformists assist in solidifying capitalist rule, ultimately increasing the danger they claim to be fighting. At the same time, the nuclear weapons arsenals in the hands of the major imperialist powers could extinguish life on earth many times over—this is the main threat to the existence of mankind. Fukushima is a nuclear accident caused by the capitalists' drive for profits, their corruption and irresponsibility. The atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the calculated mass murder of hundreds of thousands of people, carried out by "democratic" U.S. imperialism.

While the environmental movement may at times rightly protest against crimes of capitalism, nonetheless there is nothing inherently leftist or progressive about environmentalism. In Germany today, it stretches from anti-racist groups like Ökolinx through the bourgeois Greens right into the fascist National Democratic Party (NPD), which also calls for abandoning nuclear power. The Green Party itself was constructed in the late 1970s by demoralized ex-leftists who had turned away from the working class and sought their political fortunes in the petty-bourgeois environmental protests. The ideology of the ecology movement sees modern industry and technology as the root of all evil. It looks to the past and is hostile to science. The Green milieu is permeated by and overlaps with esoteric cultism, practitioners of "alternative medicine" and other such backward nonsense. An example is

the Greens' Renate Künast, who as Federal Minister [for Consumer Protection, Food and Agriculture] advocated using homeopathic sugar globules in farming.

Our Marxist perspective is diametrically opposed to this. It is capitalist property relations that are the problem. Capitalist competition means that any efforts in the direction of "sustainability" and "friendliness to the environment" that result in additional costs bring with them the threat of bankruptcy. Factories do not produce goods according to need but in quantities that can be sold at a profit. It is necessary to overthrow capitalism through socialist revolution, in which the working class seizes power and expropriates the capitalist class. Only when the productive forces are placed in the service of all humanity will it be possible to develop those forces through science and technology to the point where hunger and poverty become a thing of the past; this improved technology will of course also alleviate the destruction of the environment.

## Anti-Nuclear Power: The Left Signs Up

Sections of the SPD [Social Democrats], which was originally a strong advocate of nuclear power plant construction during the chancellorships of Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, are now calling for Germany to abandon nuclear power. The Left Party [composed mainly of ex-Stalinists and former SPDers] is attempting to portray itself as the most determined opponent of atomic power. It is fishing among the rank and file of the environmental movements, many of whom are quite disillusioned with the Greens themselves, implicitly accusing the Greens of opportunism for not having pushed through the abandonment of nuclear power in 1998-2005, when they were governing the country in coalition with the SPD.

This criticism is *not* from the left. The supposed opportunism of the Greens is an expression of the fact that their "back to nature" program is a reactionary utopia. Without industry, the majority of mankind would simply starve to death. It is reactionary to reproach the Greens for not having actually made their program a reality. Here the Left Party casts a lustful eye at the next federal elections, offering its services to the Greens as a potential coalition partner in an SPD/Green/Left Party government after 2013.

Some 250,000 people attended the March 26 mobilizations held in Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne and Munich under the slogan "Shut down all nuclear power plants!" They were organized through a trans-class popular front consisting of environmental organizations and the Greens as well as the Left Party along with parts of the SPD and the DGB trade-union federation. The aim was to channel the justifiable anger away from the capitalist state and the profit-driven corporations and direct it onto a parliamentary course.

A more leftist example of spreading illusions is the Workers Power Group (Gruppe Arbeitermacht, GAM), German section of the League for a Fifth Interna-



dapd

Police attack demonstrators protesting transport of spent nuclear fuel from France to Germany earlier this year.

tional. In the April issue of its journal *Neue Internationale* the GAM observes that radioactive contamination from the nuclear incident at Fukushima was a true tragedy “because it was preventable, not simply a natural catastrophe, but rather must be placed fully at the door of capitalism.” Simultaneously, the GAM capitulates to the Greens and the Left Party, asserting that the problem was technology itself: “The events surrounding Fukushima show that atomic power presents an insurmountable risk.” This is only to conclude: “Fukushima demonstrates that the modern productive forces, that development can benefit all human society only if the rule of capital and its state is broken. The alternative to nuclear power is not just wind and sun, but socialism!”

The GAM’s gyrations become much more comprehensible when you take a look at the front page of the April *Neue Internationale*: “Switch Off Black-Yellow!” [referring to the CDU/Christian Social Union (CSU) and the Free Democrats]. In the state elections the GAM had warned that “not voting helps Mappus” [CDU premier of Baden-Württemberg] and called to “vote for the Left Party—but organize struggle!” (*Neue Internationale*, March 2011). This makes clear how the GAM intends to institute “workers’ control over the energy industry”: via a “left” parliamentary, i.e., capitalist, SPD/Green government, preferably with the participation of the Left Party.

Such leftists have adapted to and deepened the massive retrogression of political consciousness stemming from the destruction of the Soviet Union. They stand opposed even to Marxism’s elemen-



juralibertaire.over-blog.com

**November 2010: Trade unionists block access to nuclear power plant in Cruas-Meysses, France, to protest pension cutbacks.**

to Ukraine in the winter of 2006 after Ukraine refused to pay the higher natural gas prices imposed by Russia in retaliation for Ukraine’s tilting to the West. It was in this context that Hermann Scheer, the SPD’s spokesman on energy questions and winner of the “Alternative Nobel Prize,” articulated an encapsulation of bourgeois “alternative” energy strategies in a 9 January 2007 interview on German radio:

“In 1950 in Germany, 5 percent of our energy consumption depended on imports. Today, this figure is around 75 percent and it is much the same for other countries. This is related to the fact that

“then frequently working for a company that he had previously regulated as a civil servant.” TEPCO [Tokyo Electric Power Company, owner of the Fukushima Daiichi plant] knew how to make “optimal” use of such connections to maximize profit. In the ’80s and ’90s TEPCO repeatedly falsified data from inspections, including the number of cracks in reactor containment vessels. [For more information see “Japan Tsunami Disaster and Capitalist Criminality” (WV No. 978, 15 April)].

Germany (or the U.S., etc.) is no different. The nuclear incident in Block A of [utility giant] RWE’s Biblis power plant in 1987 demonstrates the same intertwining of regulatory authority and the nuclear industry in Germany. When the reactor was powered up on 16 December 1987, a cooling system ventilator, which had been opened during the three-day shutdown to discharge the remaining heat, failed to close. It took over 15 hours for the problem to be noticed. Even then the reactor was not shut down immediately, as the situation demanded, since this would have meant writing off at least a day of production at full power. In addition, there was the possibility of the authorities getting riled up. Instead, an attempt was made to shut the valve while the reactor was running, causing 300°C [572°F] radioactive water from the primary cooling system to spurt at high pressure outside the reactor containment vessel. It was extremely fortunate that a second safety valve didn’t seize up like the first one and closed after seven seconds.

The [Hessian Environmental] Ministry and government investigators kept the matter secret for nearly a year. Only thanks to research by the U.S. technical journal *Nucleonics Week* was the fact exposed that Biblis had risked a leak of a type that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in a 1975 study had determined would cause the system to fail, “initiating a core meltdown and the escape of radioactivity outside the containment.”

The 2007 Greenpeace report “Black Book on Obstacles to Climate Protection—The Intertwining of Politics and the Energy Industry” names ten members of the Bundestag with seats on either the advisory or the supervisory board of the five largest German energy companies, among them the SPD and CDU/CSU spokesmen for energy questions. Twenty-eight former politicians or top governmental regulators are currently working for the large energy companies.

## Reformist Illusions in the Bourgeois State

The intertwining of state and business is not peculiar to Japan or Germany, nor is it limited to energy companies. Rather it is an expression of the class character of the bourgeois state. In *The State and Revolution* (1917) Lenin explains the teachings of Marx and Engels regarding the state:

“The ancient and feudal states were organs for the exploitation of the slaves and serfs; likewise, ‘the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by capital.’ ...

“In a democratic republic, Engels continues, ‘wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely,’ first, by means of the ‘direct corruption of officials’ (America); secondly, by means of an ‘alliance of the government and the Stock Exchange’ (France and America).”

First, capitalist governments shifted the costs of the ongoing financial crisis caused by the banks onto the shoulders of working people. The lust for profits of concerns like TEPCO as well as state corruption then endangered the existence of millions of Japanese. Faced with such a state of affairs, the Left Party sees a “danger” that workers’ and leftists’ illusions in bourgeois democracy might suffer some “erosion.” Left Party leader Gregor Gysi opined in a speech in the Bundestag (March 17):

“In the past year, during the financial crisis, everyone could see how the speculators and heads of the banks were dominating events and politics.... Only if politics can acquire the courage and the power to breach the dominance of these speculators, bank heads, nuclear power and other industry lobbyists and secure the primacy of democratic institutions will we be acting for our population, will we save our democracy and live up to our function as representatives of the people in the Bundestag!”

Well, the state governments in which the Left Party participates, as in Berlin and Brandenburg, are no less servile to capitalism. These capitalist governments guarantee the “dominance” of the banks and industry. In Berlin, the SPD/Left Party [city] Senate bailed out the Berlin Bankgesellschaft bank, which cronyism and speculation had driven into bankruptcy, at the expense of the working people, ripping up contracts, slashing wages and eliminating public services.

And when there’s resistance, then the core of the state—the “special armed bodies,” i.e., the police, army and prisons—are employed. This is seen in attacks on picket lines, as occurred recently in France in the oil refinery strikes that were protesting the assault on pensions, or the bludgeoning of leftist demonstrators to clear the way for a Nazi mobilization, as happened repeatedly in Berlin under the SPD/Left Party Senate.

## Profits at the Expense of Safety

At Fukushima Daiichi 450 workers, mostly unskilled and hired through subcontractors, are risking their lives to fight a catastrophe for which the TEPCO bosses are responsible. As of April 1, 21 workers had been subjected to excessive radiation with more to follow, since, according to the government, it will take months before the power plant is sealed off. For decades, nuclear firms have employed low-wage contract workers. This has been spurred on by privatization and, in Europe, the intensified competition deriving from the liberalization of the European Union energy market. *Die Zeit* (31 March) wrote that hundreds of temporary workers died of radiation sickness in the ’70s in Japan.

In Germany, there are 23,000 contract workers employed in this field. In 1985, in his well-known book *Ganz unten* [Rock

*continued on page 8*



Australasian Spartacist

**September 2007: Spartacist League of Australia calls to defend Chinese, North Korean nuclear capabilities at Sydney protest against Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit.**

tary vision of progress: the worldwide elimination of hunger and poverty through the all-sided development of the productive forces.

In the face of this farce we reaffirm what we wrote in “Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement” (*Kommunistische Korrespondenz* No. 18, May 1977, the predecessor to *Spartakist* [also printed in WV No. 146, 25 February 1977]):

“As Marxists we generally strongly support the introduction of new technology, including the development, construction and operation of nuclear fission reactors. Certainly proponents of a socialist society based on material abundance have a vastly different viewpoint on this subject than ecological crackpots who in effect seek a return to pre-industrial society. At the same time we point out that the economic advisability of nuclear fission power can only be judged within the framework of an internationally planned socialist economy. “There are very real problems of safety connected with nuclear reactors. As throughout industry, we demand union control of working conditions and, where there are specific hazards, action to shut down dangerous facilities. But beyond this we have no particular interest in determining how the bourgeoisie meets its energy needs. Those who assume that ‘wide public discussion’ within the framework of capitalist rule will satisfactorily resolve this question are guilty of sowing the worst utopian/reactionary/pacifist illusions.”

## Raw Materials and Self-Sufficiency

There was turmoil in Germany when Russia turned off the spigot of natural gas

there simply aren’t that many countries where petroleum, natural gas, coal or uranium can be extracted, while the need for energy is universal. The logical conclusion is that one can escape this trap of energy dependence only through a comprehensively devised mobilization of renewable energies, so as to replace fossil fuels and nuclear energy.”

This explains why the SPD/Green government decided to abandon nuclear energy in 2002 as it pursued a more independent course vis-à-vis U.S. imperialism (for example, its rejection of the 2003 Iraq war).

The capitalist great powers strive to increase their self-sufficiency so as to be less subject to blackmail and to maintain a stronger position in the world market and in the struggle for resources. The heyday of nuclear power plant construction was the 1970s, in the wake of the oil crisis of late 1973, when the capitalists aimed to decrease dependence on imported oil. In addition, domestic German coal extraction became less and less profitable and oil reserves were declining in the U.S., while Japan and France possessed hardly any domestic resources from which to generate energy.

## How the Bourgeois State Serves the Capitalists

In “Corruption, Cronyism, Fukushima” (31 March), *Spiegel* online gives examples of how the state and businesses are intertwined. There are 20,000 instances documented by the Japanese government of a civil servant shifting over to the private sector following retirement and



## Publication of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands

**\$10** for one-year subscription includes *Spartakist* (German edition)

**Make checks payable/mail to:**  
Spartacist Publishing Co.  
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



# Germany...

(continued from page 7)

Bottom], Günter Wallraff, who had disguised himself as a Turkish “guest worker,” described his experiences as Ali Levant Sigirioglu. As we wrote in “Turkish Workers in the German Fourth Reich” (WV No. 399, 14 March 1986):

“The final act in Wallraff’s career as Ali came when friends of his made entrepreneur Vogel [an SPD member] a fake offer to see just how far he would go. Six Turks were supposedly needed to repair equipment in a power plant poisoned by escaping radioactive fumes. To avoid a scandal only Turks who would soon be returning to Turkey could be chosen so they would not die in West Germany. Vogel had no qualms accepting this deal, demonstrating that West German capitalists would *kill* foreign workers in order to make a profit.”

Wallraff accused the nuclear concerns of sending mostly ethnic Turkish contract workers “into radiation” where they were “consumed like fuel.” A report by former nuclear workers in the *Berliner Zeitung* (8 January 1999) confirms that this is common practice.

Training specialists is costly, and the trained specialists are themselves expensive. Thus, as few specialists as possible are hired, with barely trained and unskilled laborers left to do the dangerous hands-on work. All of these are employed by subsidiaries. Even under “normal” operating conditions, this is often fatal for the workers, but it generates a fountain of profits. If, however, there is a breakdown in the highly complex nuclear plants, as now in Fukushima, it paves the way for catastrophes. There is no competent, well-rehearsed team, one that knows what has to be done, with sufficient numbers to reduce the radiation health risk by frequently rotating workers.

Far from being an “anomaly,” these conditions make evident the regular workings of capitalism. In Volume One of *Capital*, Karl Marx explains:

“Après moi le déluge! [After me, the deluge!] is the watchword of every capitalist and of every capitalist nation. Hence Capital is reckless of the health or length of life of the labourer, unless under compulsion from society. To the outcry as to the physical and mental degradation, the premature death, the torture of overwork, it answers: Ought these to trouble us since they increase our profits? But looking at things as a whole, all this does not, indeed, depend on the good or ill will of the individual capitalist. Free competition brings out the inherent laws of capitalist production, in the shape of external coercive laws having power over every individual capitalist.”

Since this was written in 1867, free competition led to the forming of monopolies, to monopoly capitalism. As analyzed by Lenin, domestic monopolies intensify competition on the world market, i.e., they reproduce and intensify the contradictions of capitalism.

Despite not being all that numerous, energy workers possess enormous social power. The trade unions must lead a struggle for the companies to make contract workers regular employees and for their appropriate training and remuneration as well as lifelong health care. The dangerous lack of specialists and the reduction in regular fixed staff must be fought through class struggle. Such a struggle would generate strong support in the working class, which has the greatest interest in the safety of power plants, especially nuclear plants. But the trade-union tops at BCE [Mining, Chemistry, Energy Industrial Union] and ver.di [public employees union], in which nuclear workers are organized, instead pursue a policy of class collaboration. Again and again, BCE has issued statements jointly with capitalist associations calling for maintaining “competitiveness” and “Production-Site Germany.”

The union misleaders limit the workers’ demands to what is “acceptable” to declining, rotting capitalism. The fight for basic needs must be linked to the struggle for expropriation of the energy concerns without compensation. This must be part of the fight for a socialist revolution to establish an internationally planned economy under the control of workers



DPA

**As foreign minister, Green Party leader Joschka Fischer, shown above in military vehicle belonging to NATO’s Kosovo occupation force, oversaw German imperialism’s participation in 1999 war against Serbia. Right: Passenger train in Serbia destroyed by U.S./NATO bombing.**



Reuters

councils. Only then, based on an international division of labor, will it be possible to consider whether it is really necessary to construct nuclear power plants in thickly settled earthquake zones like Japan.

## Pacifism Disarms the Workers, Not the Capitalists

In his March 17 response in the Bundestag to Chancellor Merkel’s governmental statement on the conclusions to be drawn from the events in Japan, Gregor Gysi stated: “Anyone having at his disposal the technology for the peaceful use of atomic energy and the ability to produce electric current from nuclear plants is also potentially capable of producing nuclear weapons.... The examples of Iran and North Korea demonstrate that these dangers have not been eliminated. Consistent initial steps must be taken toward finally destroying all the nuclear weapons in the world. Only then will the international community have the right to ban the production of new nuclear weapons worldwide.”

We’ve been hearing such disarmament appeals since the “peace” movement of the 1980s. As against the appeals of the pacifists for the Soviet Union to carry out nuclear self-disarmament, we were damn glad that the Soviet Union had developed, produced and had at the ready the atom bomb. Otherwise, U.S. imperialism would certainly have made a horrific reality of its atomic first-strike scenarios—that was the message of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Hatred for the Soviet Union sprang from its class character as a workers state that continued to embody the gains of the 1917 October Revolution despite the degeneration it underwent under Stalin starting in late 1923. This is equally true of China and North Korea today, which escaped nuclear incineration in the 1950s, as called for at the time by U.S. generals, only thanks to the existence of the Soviet nuclear shield. The destruction of the Soviet Union by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 has made the world a much *more dangerous* place for the oppressed. The imperialists can now tromp around on the neocolonial oppressed peoples of the world unhindered by the Soviet military counterweight. Having starved Iraq since 1991, bombed it flat and finally bloodily occupied it in 2003, the imperialists now have Iran in their crosshairs for supposedly intending to develop nuclear weapons. The example of Iraq, which could be leveled because it possessed no weapons of mass destruction, is instructive: Iran *needs* nuclear weapons to ward off invasion by the imperialists.

The fundamental basis of pacifism is support to capitalism. It disarms only the working class and the oppressed, never the capitalist class. In fact, it actually contributes to the preparation for war, through spreading the illusion that capitalism can be made peaceable. This is also shown by the example of the Greens, who like to put on a show as saviors of mankind and the environment. In their coalition government with the SPD in 1999, they pushed through German participation in the NATO

war against Serbia, followed in 2001 by participation in the occupation of Afghanistan. Incidentally, among the weapons raining death and destruction down on the Serbian population were shells made of depleted uranium. Today, the Greens are some of the most vehement warmongers against Libya, advocating sending in the Bundeswehr [German army].

## Anti-Communist Hysteria Over Chernobyl

Even today, in the reactions to Fukushima one can discern reflections of the anti-Communist arrogance toward the [1986] Chernobyl nuclear accident, which was dismissed essentially as the result of the incapacity of the “backward Soviets” and their planned economy, which had built an unsafe type of reactor. Federal chancellor Merkel remarked in her March 17 statement that the situation had changed because “the seemingly impossible had become possible in such a highly developed country as Japan.”

Basically the imperialist powers believed their own fairy tale that Western reactors were much safer and that something of this sort was impossible in the highly developed nuclear power plants of the West. At the time of Chernobyl, they deliberately overlooked the fact that this was not the first major accident in a nuclear power plant. On 28 March 1979 there was a partial core meltdown in a “highly developed country,” the U.S., at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Whereas opponents of nuclear power let the March 28 anniversary pass by, major mobilizations are being planned for the 25th anniversary of the Chernobyl reactor disaster.

After Fukushima, Iouli Andreev, who was for years responsible for the decontamination work around the stricken Chernobyl reactor, made the obvious point that nuclear plant operators have intentionally ignored the lessons from Chernobyl in their hunt for profits and that the government encouraged them. In “Ten Years of Chernobyl,” he wrote:

“Both ‘Western’ and ‘Eastern’ [Soviet] reactor technology demonstrate strengths and weaknesses: The strength of the Eastern technology lies in the fact that both material-intensive construction and highly trained staff were inexpensive. The result is robust technical facilities with a low degree of automation. This must be viewed positively, as highly trained people are always preferable to robots, as exemplified in air travel, where even today planes are still being flown by pilots. Lack of quality control must be seen as the weak side of Eastern technology. Compared to this, Western reactor technology has developed under the limiting framework of economic competition, with high costs for both personnel and technical components. The result is less robust facilities with a higher degree of automation and fewer skilled personnel.”

But lack of quality control was the direct expression of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet regime. Only a regime of workers democracy can ensure the necessary safety and work morale. The reaction to the catastrophe testified both to the possibilities of a planned econ-

omy and also to its bureaucratic deformation. Over 600,000 engineers, scientists and soldiers were marshaled to deal with the radioactive pollution around the sealed reactor. But Andreev is probably right that the large number of deaths could have been avoided had the other three reactor blocks at the facility not been restarted and if technically well-prepared cleanup work had been carried out after more time had passed.

One of the arguments of Western “experts” was always that reactors like Chernobyl had no secondary reactor safety vessel. But New York physicist Michio Kaku remarked in a talk on Chernobyl (reprinted in WV No. 405, 6 June 1986): “Well, the Shoreham Nuclear Power Plant in Long Island has a containment structure which is weaker than the containment structure at Chernobyl. The reactor there has a containment—not the four-foot concrete dome characteristic in U.S. plants, it has a structure which can contain 57 pounds per square inch overpressure.” The Long Island reactor, he said, could withstand only 30 pounds.

So-called third-generation reactors have been in operation since the 1990s in Japan. In contrast to second-generation reactors like that in Fukushima and most other commercial nuclear power plants, they depend on so-called passive safety devices based on physical principles (gravity, convection, resistance to high temperatures), not on technological safety controls that depend on electrical power or operator intervention to avoid a catastrophe in the event of a malfunction. They possess, for example, the capability of a controlled burn-off of accumulated hydrogen, thereby averting explosions like those in Fukushima. Additionally, in the light of the rescue operations after Chernobyl, so-called core-catchers were developed that, in the event of a core meltdown, catch the hot material and cool it down. In Chernobyl, such a core-catcher was constructed beneath the devastated reactor using an underground tunnel. Fortunately, it proved unnecessary.

As of now, there exists only a single nuclear power plant equipped with such a core-catcher, and it is in China. China is now being subjected to an anti-Communist attack for having decided to massively expand its nuclear capacity in mid March as part of its five-year plan; at the same time, it is disparaged as the world’s largest producer of carbon dioxide.

In the case of China, and previously the Soviet Union and East Germany (DDR), the Greens’ and the environmentalists’ anti-Communism and hostility to large industry and centralism come together on the basis of their glorification of bourgeois democracy. Every five-year plan that expanded these countries’ industrial capacity filled these types with horror. This is why they cooperated in fueling the Chernobyl hysteria in 1986. Following German reunification, as a spearhead of the witchhunt against the Stasi [secret service], the Greens assisted in the smashing of DDR industry by the Treuhand [privatization agency]. This led to massive unemployment in East Germany and the emigration of over a million people.

*continued on page 11*

**WORKERS VANGUARD** 50c  
No. 965 24 September 2010

**Production for Profit: Anarchy and Plunder**

**Capitalism and Global Warming**

**Two-Part Series**

**WV No. 965 (24 September 2010)**  
**WV No. 966 (8 October 2010)**  
**\$1**  
**Order from:**  
**Spartacist Publishing Co.**  
**Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116**



# MUNI...

(continued from page 12)

It wasn't just the business unionists but so-called militants like Bridges, who had boasted that he "came in during a general strike, and it looks like I may be going out with one," who were responsible for this defeat.

The 1934 San Francisco general strike which led to the founding of the ILWU three years later, established the city as the most militant "labor town" in the country. But this began to change with the introduction of containerized shipping. Longshore work overwhelmingly moved to the Port of Oakland, which had the storage space and rail terminal for transshipping. As blue-collar jobs moved out, corporate, real estate and financial ventures drew in a stream of largely white petty-bourgeois professionals. Working-class families who had once populated entire city neighborhoods could no longer afford to live in San Francisco. The black population had already been devastated by "urban renewal" beginning in the 1950s. Today, black people are less than 6 percent of the city's population, half of them living in increasingly decrepit public housing.

The MUNI drivers union, with its dem-



WV Photo

**Pickets at San Francisco MUNI transit barn during 1976 strike. MUNI workers stayed out for over a month in solidarity with striking city craft workers.**

onstrated power, is crucial not only to a fight by all city workers unions but also to the defense of the besieged ghetto and immigrant populations. Reflecting the anger and combativity of the ranks, a series of union oppositions have appeared in TWU Local 250-A over the years.

In this round, a statement announcing a meeting of the "Strike Education

Committee" of TWU Local 250-A rightly called for a "no" vote and for strike action against the slave-labor contract. After the ranks voted it down, a subsequent statement by these oppositionists offered its own solution to the budget deficit, arguing for "the proper collection and expansion of the Transit Impact Development Fee" from corpora-

# Canada...

(continued from page 3)

more and more temporary, contract and casual workers with poor benefits and job security, while thousands of non-union, low-wage workers now staff postal franchises across the country. What was once an enviable job among public sector unionists is now synonymous with low wages and brutal rates of injury. Strained joints from grinding repetition on the shop floor, phone calls at home from harassing supervisors and insurance companies, poverty, hip replacements—that is the lot of workers at the "Modern Post."

One consequence of trying to appease the bosses was starkly demonstrated in the fall 2008 strike of 2,100 members of the Union of Postal Communications Employees (UPCE), who are mainly office and technical workers. The leaderships of both postal unions signed a rotten scabbing pact that ordered CUPW members to work behind UPCE picket lines. Isolated, the strike went down in defeat and management succeeded in shafting the UPCE with the same kind of short-term disability plan that it threatens CUPW with today. In the past, there were many instances of solidarity—including workers refusing to scab on one another's strikes—between CUPW members and those in the former Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), which merged with CUPW in 1989. However, mutual scabbing deals have more and more become the norm, contributing to an erosion of the workers' consciousness.

Today, the CUPW leadership offers advice on how "another post office is possible," including mooted "partnerships" with private banks ("The Future of Canada Post," October 2010). But the bosses of this crown corporation care only about the bottom line, and no amount of "responsible" business advice from the union leadership can change that. Playing by the bosses' rules will only bring defeat.

## The Legacy of 1965

Beating back the assault on CUPW will require a mobilization of labour's social power. The very right to form a union was once illegal. Labour's victories were wrested from the capitalists by defying bourgeois "law and order" and using the methods of the class struggle: strikes, mass picket lines, factory occupations and hot-cargoing (refusing to handle) struck goods. Hard-fought strikes can galvanize the rest of the labour movement and, when victorious, tear up the bosses' anti-strike laws and injunctions.

That is what happened in the "illegal" postal strike of 1965. Just as the auto strikes of the late 1930s and 40s and the Stelco

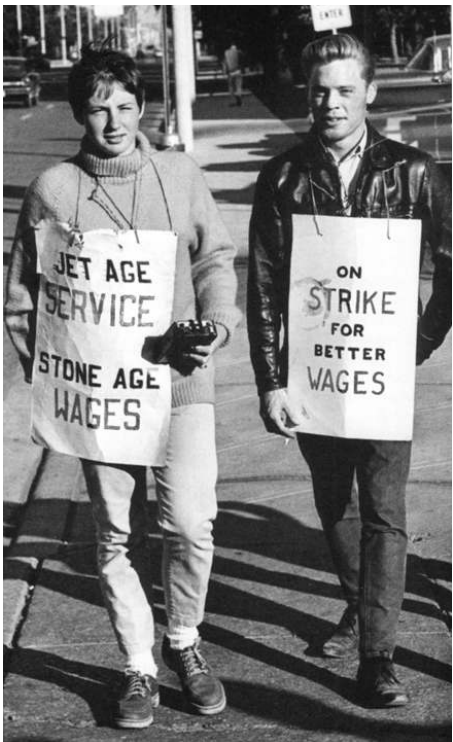
steel strike of 1946 were crucial to forging strong industrial unions in Canada, the 1965 postal strike was key in winning public sector workers the right to strike and form unions. Previously, a government job meant low pay and arbitrary work rules. Paternalism and patronage were rampant and unions were proscribed. As Quebec premier Jean Lesage put it in 1964, "the Queen does not negotiate with her subjects."

By 1965, postal workers in Montreal had had enough. They formed rank-and-file strike committees in defiance of their housebroken "professional association," and picket lines soon spread to post offices across the country. In the face of threatened government injunctions and mass firings, the pickets held firm. After more than two weeks, the government was forced to concede wage increases and rewrite some of its labour laws. CUPW and LCUC were formed soon after. In 1967 the government enacted the Public Service Staff Relations Act, and in spite of its severe restrictions some 260,000 government workers won the right to unionize and strike.

It was not accidental that the 1965 postal strike began in Quebec, where opposition to national oppression was fueling an increase in class struggle. Instead of solidarity, the struggles of Québécois workers in this period often met with chauvinism from the NDP and the Canadian Labour Congress misleaders. This in turn pushed Québécois workers into the arms of their own class enemies, represented by the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois. We advocate independence for Quebec in order to fight Anglo chauvinism and lay the basis for making clear to the workers of both English Canada and Quebec that their enemies are their own respective capitalists, not each other.

## For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

Any serious struggle by the working class must confront the fact that the Canadian state is the bosses' state. It is not neutral. Consisting at its core of the cops, courts, army and prisons, the capitalist state enforces the rule of private property and the deepening misery of the workers. State repression has been repeatedly wielded against the postal unions. Over the decades there has been one strikebreaking injunction after another. Cops have busted up picket lines and raided union offices. CUPW was targeted and disrupted by the CSIS secret police. In 1980 CUPW president Jean-Claude Parrot spent two months in prison for defying the anti-labour government of Pierre Trudeau. Over a decade later the Ontario NDP government of Bob Rae jailed the president of CUPW's Toronto local, Andre Kolompar, and other



Toronto Telegram

**Striking Ontario postal workers, 1968.**

union members for defending their picket lines during a 1991 postal strike.

With the proliferation of electronic communication and private couriers, CUPW faces an objectively more difficult situation today than in the days when Canada Post had a virtual monopoly of mail distribution. However, a powerful country-wide postal strike that chokes off the flow of mail would still have a major impact from coast to coast. It could not only win the demands postal workers need, but could also inspire the rest of the labour movement to take on the capitalist offensive. A class-struggle strike leadership would appeal in the first instance for active solidarity from the UPCE workers and the Teamster-organized Purolator couriers. Organize the non-union postal franchises! Picket lines mean don't cross! A joint struggle against the postal bosses would also lay the basis for the merger of all postal workers into one industrial union.

The fight against growing unemployment and impoverishment poses sharply the demand for full employment through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Under capitalism, technological advances such as those wielded by Canada Post are always used to beef up profits through speed-up and job cuts. In a rational society, such advances would be put in the service of the working people. But that requires a struggle to sweep away the supremely irrational capitalist system, replacing it with a society where those who labour rule.

As the revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the founding program of the Fourth International, the Transitional Pro-

grams and real estate developers.

The banks, corporations and other capitalist enterprises are sitting on mountains of cash, the ill-gotten gains of a system based on the exploitation of labor for the profits of the few. But the workers aren't going to get their hands on this money by appealing to a government whose purpose is to defend and increase the profitability of American capitalism. Rather than preparing the workers for struggle against the capitalist class and its state, the promotion of such illusions, which are amply peddled by the trade-union bureaucracy, has prostrated the unions in the face of the one-sided class war against them.

To wage the battles necessary for their own defense and in the interests of all the oppressed, the unions must be mobilized in opposition to the capitalist state and its political parties—Democrats and Republicans alike. This requires a new leadership, not some "militant" talkers but leaders rooted in the elementary understanding that the workers have no interests in common with their exploiters. We need to build a workers party whose aim is the revolutionary overturn of the capitalist system, and the racial oppression that is built into it, and the establishment of a workers government, where those who labor rule. ■


gram (1938), "Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slops of a crumbling society. *The right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation." He continued:

"If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

It is in the interests of the entire working class that CUPW beat back the bosses' onslaught. If the union movement is to wage the battles necessary for defense of the workers and all the oppressed, a political struggle is necessary to get rid of the sellouts atop the labour movement who strangle the workers' fighting spirit. It is in the crucible of the class struggle that a new leadership of the unions can be forged. This is not simply a question of militancy but of political program. What is needed is a leadership that will arm the workers with an understanding both of their social power and their historic interests to free humanity from the exploitation, all-sided misery and war inherent to a system based on production for profit. Forging such a leadership is in turn an integral part of the fight for a multiracial, binational revolutionary workers party whose aim is no less than doing away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery through socialist revolution. ■

**SPARTACIST**  
CANADA  
No. 169  
Summer 2011  
300 pages

## Imperialist War and War on the Workers



**Workers, Minorities Need a Revolutionary Party!**

The struggle for the four main areas of capitalist oppression—racism, sexism, homophobia, and classism—must be fought on the basis of the struggle for the abolition of capitalism. The struggle for the abolition of capitalism is the only way to end all oppression. The struggle for the abolition of capitalism is the only way to end all oppression. The struggle for the abolition of capitalism is the only way to end all oppression.

**NDP "Surge": Dead End For Workers**  
page 3

**Subscription: 4 Issues C\$3, US\$5**

**Order from/pay to:**  
Spartacist Canada Publishing  
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X6  
Spartacist Publishing Co.  
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



Left: Germany's Merkel and France's Sarkozy lay out draconian bailout conditions to Greek prime minister Papandreu, February 4. Right: With virulent nationalism rising, June 12 protest by "Indignados" in Athens' Syntagma Square is awash in Greek flags.



## Greece...

(continued from page 1)

there is a huge disparity between the objective needs of the Greek working class and oppressed on one side and the political program of their leadership on the other. The repeated strikes and protests are designed to dissipate the anger of workers, whose militancy is clearly not the issue. The problem is that the working class is hamstrung by a leadership that accepts the need for the working class to bear some degree of austerity to "bail out" capitalism, while objecting that the terms and conditions dictated by the IMF and the European Central Bank (ECB) are too severe.

The program of the labor bureaucracy—defined by what is "practical" under capitalism—has led to disaster for the working class. To overcome the gulf between the workers' present consciousness and the necessity for a workers government based on organs of proletarian power, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party would put forward a series of transitional demands, starting from the felt needs of the masses and pointing the way toward the seizure of state power by the working class and the expropriation of the rapacious capitalist class.

To combat mass unemployment, it is necessary to demand the sharing of available work, with no loss of pay, and a massive program of public works. To protect even their current living standards—already among the lowest in Europe—workers must demand that wages be indexed to inflation. To unmask the exploitation, robbery and fraud of the industrialists and bankers, workers should demand that the capitalists open their (real) books. With the imperialists demanding the dismantling of state enterprises, the proletariat must fight for the expropriation of the productive property of the capitalist class as a whole and the establishment of a planned economy under workers rule, where production would be based on social need, not profit.

### Combat National Chauvinism!

Throughout Europe, the capitalist press and politicians have been whipping up a chauvinist frenzy against Greeks, who are

portrayed as lazy, ungrateful scroungers. Last year the right-wing German *Bild* (27 October 2010) screamed: "Sell your islands, you bankrupt Greeks...and the Acropolis too!" A recent London *Financial Times* (9 May) editorial demanded: "Athens must be put under the gun." For all the talk of bailing out Greece, the only "bailout" that is taking place is that of Europe's banks. Columnist Martin Wolf noted in the *Financial Times* (21 June): "It is far less embarrassing to state that one is helping Greece when one is in fact helping one's own banks."

With chauvinist arrogance, the European imperialists, led by Germany, are seeking to impose on Greece, an EU member state, the kind of diktat they are accustomed to issuing to neocolonial countries in the Third World. The *Finan-*

gain an airport or some other utility."

The imperialists' dismissive attitude to Greece's sovereignty has in turn fueled national chauvinism in Greece. Right-wing opponents of the EU/IMF's bailout include New Democracy, Greece's main opposition party. ND represents Greek business interests that have no intention of paying the imperialists' extortion themselves and fear, as BBC economics editor Paul Mason put it, "a tax bill the like of which they have never dreamed, nor indeed paid." However, ND and PASOK are united in the determination that Greek working people pay for the country's economic crisis.

Recent months have seen the explosive growth of a new movement, the so-called "indignant citizens" movement. The "Indignados" placed themselves at the head of the mass mobilizations outside par-

the nationalist fervor whipped up by the Indignados, Golden Dawn and other fascist outfits have been seen at the protests.

There has been an ominous rise in racist attacks, as desperately impoverished immigrants are used as scapegoats for the economic devastation. Earlier this year, fascist thugs rampaged through a heavily immigrant area of Athens, killing one person and wounding many more. Golden Dawn got over 5 percent of the vote in municipal elections in Athens late last year. According to the London-based Institute of Race Relations, Golden Dawn's Nikos Michaloliakos, accompanied by eight apparently armed bodyguards, gave a Nazi salute at a council meeting in Athens in January.

The fascists are emboldened by the racist policies of the government. Greece's



Left: July-August 1945 Potsdam Conference with Churchill, Truman and Stalin, who agreed to preserve capitalist rule in postwar West Europe. Right: Communist-led anti-Nazi partisans in Piraeus, December 1944. Greek Stalinists went on to disarm workers, enter capitalist government.



Bettmann photos

*cial Times* (17 June) reports that officials of the "troika"—the IMF, European Central Bank and European Commission—are demanding that "outsiders" be brought in "to make Greece's privatization program happen," adding that "because Greece seemed incapable of collecting taxes, international experts would come in to do that, too." The article further reports that Finnish officials were insisting that "Athens assets should be securitized so they could be used as collateral. If Greece defaulted, lenders would

liament, where Greek flags proliferated, the Greek national anthem was sung and anti-American and anti-German sentiment was rife. Protesters have waved EU flags with a swastika at the center—equating "German" with "Nazi" and invoking the spectre of World War II, when Greece was occupied by German imperialism (followed by rampaging British troops).

In Spain, the Indignados movement arose in response to the austerity measures that were being enforced by the social-democratic Spanish Socialist Party government before its huge defeat in the last elections. In Greece, the petty-bourgeois Indignados emerged in the context of the abject failure of the trade-union bureaucracy to present any way forward for the struggles of the working masses. The two main trade-union federations, the GSEE and ADEDY, representing the private and public sectors respectively, are controlled by PASOK, which is imposing the austerity measures. Despite the "socialist" reference in its name, and the credentials given to it by opportunist left groups, PASOK is a capitalist party.

Broad layers of the middle class that could be rallied behind an insurgent proletariat struggling for power are instead being drawn into virulently chauvinist, anti-immigrant and anti-working-class movements. Displaying overt hostility to the organizations of the working class and the left, the Indignados present themselves as a "pro-democracy" movement of all classes. As in Spain, all leftist political parties and trade unions, as well as red flags and banners, were banned from the Greek protests at first. Not surprisingly, given

border with Turkey is one of the front lines of "Fortress Europe," with EU border patrols employed to keep immigrants out. The Greek government has announced plans to build a razor-wire fence, equipped with sonar systems and thermal sensors, along the border. The workers movement must fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and to unionize foreign workers. **For union/minority mobilizations to stop fascist provocations! For integrated workers defense guards to protect immigrant neighborhoods!**

### Communist Party: Left Face of Greek Nationalism

The Stalinist KKE adopts a posture of militant opposition to the PASOK government and promotes PAME as a class-struggle alternative to what it calls the "government- and employer-led" trade unions. But the Greek Stalinists present no fundamental alternative to the betrayals of the GSEE/ADEDY union misleaders. Despite its occasional verbal radicalism, the KKE is hostile to the program of workers revolution to overthrow Greek capitalism.

The KKE's political bankruptcy is evident in regard to the Indignados. In an article in *Rizospastis* (5 June), the KKE correctly noted that "the 'anonymous' leaders of the 'movement of the squares,' the 'non-partisan,' 'spontaneous,' 'non-politicized' citizens, appear to be politicized, declaring themselves 'anti-left'." The article adds that with their slogans "Out with the left," "Parties out" and "Trade unions out," the Indignados are "not that democratic, or, to be more accu-

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 62 ENGLISH EDITION SPRING 2011

ICL Holds Sixth International Conference

Fighting for Programmatic Integrity in a Reactionary Period

PAGE 2

Preface to ICL Declaration of Principles.....10

Edmund Samarakkody and the Legacy of the Ceylonese LSSP

The Fight for Trotskyism in South Asia

PAGE 12

M.N. Roy: Nationalist Menshevik.....32

In Defense of Dialectical Materialism

Lenin as Philosopher, by Peter Fryer.....36

Women and Revolution

Communist International Theses on Work Among Women

PAGE 64

AUSTRALIA...\$1.50

BRITAIN...£1

CANADA...C\$1.50

IRELAND...£1.50

SOUTH AFRICA...R3

USA...US\$1.50

**Spartacist**  
(English edition)

**No. 62**  
**Spring 2011**  
(64 pages)  
**\$1.50**

*Spartacist* is sent  
to all WV subscribers.

**Make checks payable/mail to:**  
**Spartacist Publishing Co.**  
**Box 1377 GPO**  
**New York, NY 10116**



# Germany...

(continued from page 8)

Now they're in the vanguard in the anti-Communist witchhunting of China.

## The Question of Final Storage

A further prevalent argument against nuclear power plants is the question of nuclear waste and its final disposal. In this question of ultimate storage, profit and irrationality distort what is basically a geological/technical question. Such distrust of capitalist governments and companies is rightly indicated by the more than 40-year-old "trial repository" in the former salt mine Asse II near Wolfenbüttel in Lower Saxony. Following a report in the *Braunschweiger Zeitung* (11 June 2008) of brine contaminated with radioactivity in Asse, a status report by the then-Federal environmental minister Sigmar Gabriel (SPD) revealed that it had been known, even before the first nuclear waste was deposited in the former mine, that it was not watertight. Nonetheless, from 1967 to 1978 126,000 barrels were deposited, some of them damaged in loading and others rusted through. Since at least 1988, water has been gushing into the mineshafts, and since about 1994 radioactive brine has been collecting there, which ultimately the facility's operator secretly pumped out underground. There is a threat of collapse, and no one can say whether some of this brine might at some time reach the outside.

This has fueled ongoing protests since

plans were revealed in 1977 for a new final repository in Gorleben in Lower Saxony. Since 1995 there have been regular protests against the Castor [casks of radioactive material] transports from the French spent fuel treatment plant La Hague to the temporary Gorleben repository, whose suitability as a final repository is still being investigated. As many as 30,000 police were mobilized to escort the transports and bludgeon nuclear power opponents and residents of neighbor-

ing localities who had blocked the way in protest. The workers movement must, of course, defend the protesters against state terror. But even a planned economy would in all probability require ultimate storage facilities, if only to store already existing wastes. These could, however, in the absence of corruption and the demand for profitability, be set up in a way that took into account the interests and opinions of the local population.

In Germany, compared to the 123,000

cubic meters of radioactive nuclear waste generated so far, 500,000 cubic meters of toxic chemical waste are produced *per year*, which has to be deposited in final repositories. In contrast to radioactive waste, the potential danger of toxic chemical waste does not decrease with time. Whether or not it's radioactive, the capitalists don't give a damn what happens to their waste.

Opponents of nuclear power cite Greenpeace to the effect that there's only enough uranium for 60 years of production. But even if this were true, using fast breeder reactors it is possible to split uranium 238, the majority of which is now being discarded unused. Thorium, which exists in much larger deposits than uranium, could be employed for the production of nuclear energy. Fast breeders also produce noticeably less nuclear waste than second- and third-generation reactors. Finally, the technological realization of nuclear fusion, such as occurs in the sun, is also being researched. Fusion holds the promise of an abundant source of power whose by-product is helium, a harmless noble gas.

Nuclear energy—whether generated by fission or fusion—has, alongside its very real risks, a gigantic potential for propelling forward the development of humankind, and thereby its social liberation. But for this the rule of capitalism must be overthrown and a socialist society established. We fight for the construction of a revolutionary multiethnic workers party as part of a reformed Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution. ■



Former salt mine Asse II in Lower Saxony is used as "trial repository" for 126,000 canisters of nuclear waste despite government's knowledge of corrosive water seepage.

rate, they are undemocratic." What the KKE cannot challenge, though, is the virulent nationalism of the Indignados, which the KKE itself shares.

Indeed, the KKE has made defense of "national sovereignty" its own calling card, and is particularly virulent in espousing Greek nationalism in relation to Turkey, the traditional enemy of its "own" bourgeoisie. For example, in a speech last year, KKE general secretary Aleka Papariga complained that the EU was not taking account of "our national sovereignty rights" when considering Turkey's bid for membership. She went on to chastise Papandreou for "trying to cover up the issue by dividing the Aegean, something that will have an adverse effect on the islands' defense." Nationalism within the workers movement is the chief obstacle to constructing a genuine revolutionary workers party in Greece.

It is a travesty that the KKE retains a reputation as militant fighters against capitalism based on the Resistance against the Nazi occupation and the subsequent Greek Civil War of 1946-49. In pursuit of its program of class collaboration with the Greek bourgeoisie, the KKE handed power back to the bourgeoisie following World War II. The working class, backed by the peasantry, was the decisive force in the anti-Nazi Resistance, mounting massive strikes and demonstrations from late 1942 until the withdrawal of German troops in 1944. The working class, arms in hand, had state power in its grasp. But its leaders, the treacherous KKE, actually welcomed the arrival of British troops into Greece, enabling the imperialists to stabilize the situation, bring back the hated monarchy and massacre the workers.

The Greek Stalinists lived up to the terms of the secret Tehran agreement, whereby Stalin granted the imperialists the "right" to preserve capitalist rule in West Europe and Greece. Politically disarming the proletariat, the Stalinists went so far as to join a "national" government of the bourgeoisie. In February 1945, they signed the Varkiza agreement, which physically disarmed the KKE-led Resistance forces as British troops and the Greek National Guard were preparing to unleash a full-scale wave of terror against the masses. Only in February 1946 did the KKE finally abandon its suicidal policy and take up the "armed struggle" again. In October 1949, after ferocious repression, the Civil War was ended. The KKE ranks had fought heroically. But

needless to say, the KKE learned nothing from the tragic consequences of its treachery and continues to pursue its bankrupt program of subordination to the Greek bourgeoisie.

What the Trotskyists wrote at the end of World War II holds true for the role of the Stalinists throughout the Civil War:

"The Greek masses were burning with revolutionary determination and wished to prepare the overthrow of all their oppressors—Nazi and Greek. Instead of providing the mass movement with a revolutionary program, similar to the Bolshevik program of 1917, and preparing the masses for the seizure of power, the Stalinists steered the movement into the blind alley of People's Frontism. The Stalinists, who enjoyed virtual hegemony of the mass movement, joined with a lot of petty bourgeois politicians, lawyers, professors, who had neither mass following nor influence, and artificially worked to limit the struggle to the fight for capitalist democracy."

—"Civil War in Greece," *Fourth International*, February 1945

The social-democratic reformists in Greece—such as the Socialist Workers Party (SEK), which is affiliated to the British group of the same name, and Xekinima, the Greek affiliate of the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI)—stand to the right of the KKE in their enthusiasm for the anti-Communist, anti-working-class Indignados. For example, Xekinima calls to "Extend the movement to all work places, workers' neighbourhoods, and the youth" (socialistworld.net, 27 June). The notion of classless "democracy" that these groups promote has long been an anti-Communist code word that actually means support to bourgeois class rule. Thus, both the SEK and Xekinima supported capitalist restoration in the former Soviet Union in 1991-92 and hailed counterrevolutionary forces such as Polish Solidarność and Boris Yeltsin's Russian "democrats."

## For Workers Revolution!

The Trotskyist Group of Greece fights to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party capable of leading the working class to power. Above all, this means breaking the workers from nationalism and winning them to a revolutionary internationalist perspective. During Round One of the present crisis, the TGG issued a 28 April 2010 leaflet that opposed the widespread Greek nationalism as "poisonous to class consciousness." Any effective struggle against the bosses' attacks must begin with the understanding that the workers have no

country, until they seize the one they're in. Our comrades insisted: "What is needed is international workers solidarity across the EU against capital" (see "Down With PASOK Government's 'Stability Program'!" WV No. 959, 21 May 2010).

The Greek financial crisis has increased the seething national antagonisms in Europe, as seen in the diplomatic spats between France and Germany. German chancellor Angela Merkel, unpopular at home and with a shrinking majority in the Bundestag (parliament), has clashed with French officials and with the ECB over whether the bankers have to accept some losses. Following pressure from the IMF, Merkel agreed to a new bailout package while the French banks have offered to roll over Greek debts for 30 years. Whatever divisions there may be within bourgeois circles over how to deal with the catastrophic financial situation, in Germany, France, Britain and Europe as a whole, each government is determined to make the working masses pay for a crisis that is caused by the capitalist system itself.

The EU is an imperialist trade bloc, centered on a pact between the French and German capitalist rulers to ratchet up the exploitation of the working classes at home while trying to gain advantage over their imperialist rivals as well as the smaller European states. At the same time, the EU is an unstable formation that intensifies national antagonisms and fuels chauvinism.

We Marxists oppose the EU from the perspective of proletarian internationalism. The comrades of our German section,

the Spartakist Workers Party, last year published an article titled "Solidarity with the Greek Workers! For Class Struggle Against the German Capitalists!" (*Spartakist* No. 183, May 2010), which noted:

"The chauvinist campaign against Greece is being set in motion so as to prevent the German working class from hitting on the idea of placing blame for the crisis at the feet of the capitalist system and its own rulers. The workers movement in Germany must mobilize in solidarity with Greek workers and all the other victims of the EU imperialists—after all, they'll be confronted with similar attacks in the immediate future. The witchhunt against Greece also serves to split and weaken the multiethnic working class in Germany."

Today, despite the relentless bleeding of the Greek working people, the country remains mired in deep recession. The bankrupt capitalist class manifestly does not have any crumbs that it is willing to throw to dampen workers' anger. Short of a struggle for working-class power, the workers' struggles will continue to be frustrated. The perspective for Greek workers must be that of common class struggle with their class brothers and sisters—from Turkey to Germany and elsewhere around the world.

As the TGG wrote in its leaflet: "**What's needed is a socialist revolution to overthrow the capitalist state and replace it with a workers state that will lay the basis for building a socialist society.** For that, you need to build a revolutionary workers party—a party like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks—which will fight for a workers government. The TGG, Greek sympathizing section of the ICL, seeks to build such a party" (our emphasis). ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- ☐ \$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*) international rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail
- ☐ \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- ☐ \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
- ☐ I would like to contribute \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Apt. # \_\_\_\_\_

Phone (\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_ E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

983

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

## Defiant S.F. MUNI Workers Betrayed by TWU Misleaders

Three times in the last year and a half, the ranks of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 250-A, whose more than 2,000 members drive the buses at San Francisco's MUNI transit agency, defiantly voted down give-back deals negotiated by their union misleaders. Enraged that these workers, who are heavily black and include many women, refused to sacrifice jobs, wages and working conditions to bail out the city budget, a cabal of high-rolling corporate interests and Democratic Party politicians cooked up an electoral initiative, Proposition G, aimed at forcing their dictates on the union.

Passed in November 2010, the proposition eliminated a City Charter provision guaranteeing that MUNI drivers' wages be set as the second highest in the country (a provision which itself had been enacted to preserve "labor peace"). But Prop. G's real aim was to enforce the unchallenged domination of the MUNI bosses, including by mandating that any contract dispute be settled by binding arbitration. On July 1, a contract that the membership had voted down over two-to-one in early June was imposed by an arbitrator. Under its conditions, wages will be frozen for three years. Full-time jobs will be cut, with up to 8,000 hours of work per week assigned to part-time workers. Such say as the union had in regard to working conditions, scheduling and health and safety is gutted.

Drivers are already pushed beyond endurance, forced to scramble to meet impossible schedules, often with no breaks, and disciplined even for being ahead of schedule. Seventy percent of the equipment they operate has been cited for safety violations. Now, the enforced contract gives management a total whip hand to discipline and fire drivers. Investigations of accidents will be reduced to kangaroo-court proceedings run by the bosses, while the right to grieve their rulings is virtually obliterated. In short, the contract is a declaration of open season against the drivers by a management determined to get rid of anyone who doesn't bow to its command.

In the first part of this year, physical assaults on drivers, a regular occurrence, increased, fueled by an orchestrated union-hating media barrage. "Greedy" MUNI workers were blamed for skyrocketing fares and service cuts by the capitalists' hired pens, who wept crocodile tears for the plight of the poor, the aged and the disabled. Indeed, those most in need of public transportation have suffered, at the hands not of drivers but of the same forces going after the union in the name of "balancing the budget" of the capitalist state on the backs of the working people and poor.

In the face of an economic crisis brought on by the banks and corporate magnates, across the country Democrats and Republicans alike have been whipping up an outcry against public workers unions. Having bilked the public purse of billions for the "recovery" of their profits, the rulers cry that public workers are living high off the hog at taxpayers' expense. MUNI drivers have long been on the receiving end of the class hatred and racist contempt of the petty-bourgeois professionals employed in the city's financial, commercial and high-tech enterprises. These yup-

### Arbitrator Enforces Union Busting Contract

pies, many of whose stock options doubtless took a bath in the market crash, are enraged that MUNI workers, whom they despise as menials, continue to make anything approximating a decent wage.

Unionized city jobs, at MUNI in particular, are among the few that black people can get which pay relatively decent wages. The TWU's ranks also include Asians and increasing numbers of Latinos. The union's composition provides a vital link to the majority of MUNI riders, who are working people, heavily Latinos,

workers in June, one rightly denounced the TWU leadership for having "sided with the city against us." But the TWU tops hardly stood alone on this one.

An article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (9 June) condemning TWU Local 250-A as "the only public employees union in San Francisco that has spurned the city's requests for givebacks, wage freezes and other measures to help close gaping budget deficits" positively cited S.F. Labor Council head Tim Paulson boasting, "I am mightily proud of every

don't need to. Unlike the Republicans, who revel in union-busting, the Democrats rely on the able assistance of their allies in the trade-union bureaucracy, who are themselves major players in the party, to peddle the snake oil of "shared sacrifice" in order to savage hard-won union gains.

The same game is being played by Oakland's Democratic mayor Jean Quan, who recently negotiated a 9 percent cut in wages and benefits with the leaders of that city's public unions. Contrasting her administration to that of Wisconsin governor Scott Walker, whose legislation stripped collective bargaining rights from public workers, Quan had earlier declared: "We will have layoffs but they will come as part of collective bargaining."

The vendetta against the MUNI drivers, waged by successive Democratic Party administrations, goes back to the mass labor actions by S.F. city workers in defense of their unions in the 1970s. In 1974, a strike that began with SEIU city workers spread to hospitals and closed the city sewage treatment plant. At the height of these strike actions, MUNI, AC Transit and BART workers shut down all public transit in and to the city. U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, who at the time was head of the S.F. Board of Supervisors, responded with a ballot proposition aimed at banning all strikes by city workers.

In 1976, MUNI workers again shut down the buses for over a month in solidarity with a strike by city craft workers. These actions led to the brink of a city-wide general strike, which was betrayed by the city's union tops. In the aftermath, the Democratic Party administration under Mayor George Moscone, a much-adulated "progressive," unleashed a barrage of anti-union propositions. The business forces backing and bankrolling these initiatives, from the San Francisco Planning and Urban Research Association to the Committee on Jobs, have been at it ever since. Most recently, they were among those funding the 2010 referendum targeting TWU Local 250-A.

### Fight for a Class-Struggle Leadership!

The 1974-76 strikes showed both the power of labor and the treachery of the union bureaucracy. From the city unions to MUNI drivers to longshore, workers understood that their strength lay in their numbers, solidarity and collective organization. Their determination and militancy was such that the Central Labor Council voted to prepare for a general strike. Militants in International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10, who were supported by *Workers Vanguard*, put forward a motion calling on the union to join the city workers picket lines. Their motion called to make good on ILWU president Harry Bridges' pledge of support to city workers by shutting down all port operations and demanded an emergency mass meeting of all city labor to launch an immediate general strike. But this motion was sabotaged by the Local leadership.

The Moscone administration called the bureaucrats' bluff and they folded, preferring defeat to unleashing the unions in an all-out battle against the city's rulers.

*continued on page 9*



Bill Hackwell

MUNI workers at March 2010 rally in downtown San Francisco to protest threatened budget cuts, layoffs.

Asians and blacks. To bring these forces into a fight on the side of the union, the TWU must take up the demand for free mass transit for all. With services being slashed for everyone other than the downtown business sector, the union would find plenty of allies if it fought to put more buses on the streets and expand transit service—not at the price of piling more work on the already beleaguered workforce, but by fighting to open more jobs for full-time drivers at full union pay and benefits. But to wage such a struggle means a leadership that will take on the bosses and their political parties, not bow before them to help bail the capitalist masters out of the economic disaster created by their profit system.

### The "Partnership" of Labor and Capital Is a Lie!

The contract imposed on MUNI workers is a savage indictment of the trade-union bureaucracy, which promotes deadly illusions in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state, an apparatus of repression directed *against* the working class. It also provides a stark snapshot of the role the union tops play as labor lieutenants of the capitalist rulers in enforcing class peace. At a press conference of angry MUNI

union in San Francisco that has engaged in that effort." Paulson went on to moan that the MUNI drivers had not supported their leadership in its similar endeavors.

The "effort" Paulson was referring to is a deal cut by leaders of most city workers unions agreeing to a ballot initiative that would make their members shell out millions in pension and health care payments. In a May 30 message on his blog, Paulson promoted this deal as proof of the benefits of the bureaucrats' partnership with the bosses and their Democratic Party representatives:

"While governors and mayors in Wisconsin, San Jose, New Jersey, Costa Mesa, and Ohio, unilaterally decide to demonize the workers who maintain our streets, clinics, firehouses and public safety—here in San Francisco the entire fabric of government, unions, and business found a way to craft a solution to the financial hole we have found ourselves in because of the very avoidable missteps on Wall Street."

The city of San Francisco has long been a stage for the playing out of one of the great shell games of American capitalist rule, the notion that the Democratic Party is the "friend" of working people. If the Democrats may not openly "demonize" workers, it's because they