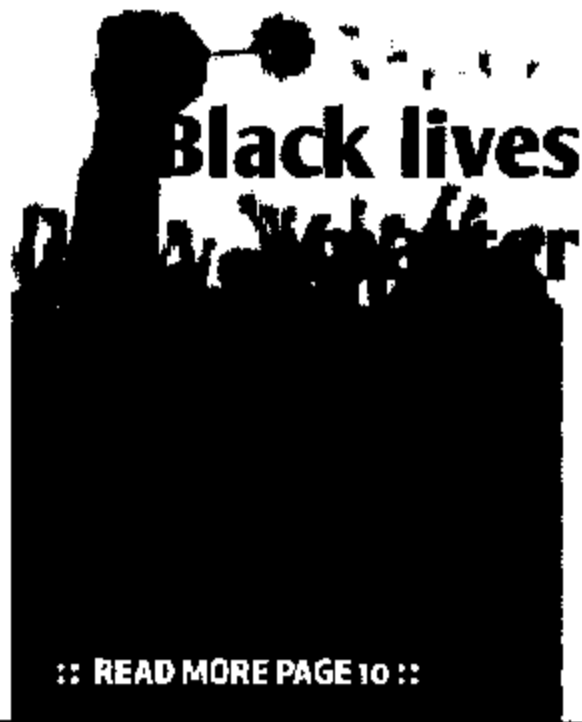


**EU hands
off Greece
Don't pay
the debt**

:: READ MORE PAGE 8 ::



:: READ MORE PAGE 10 ::

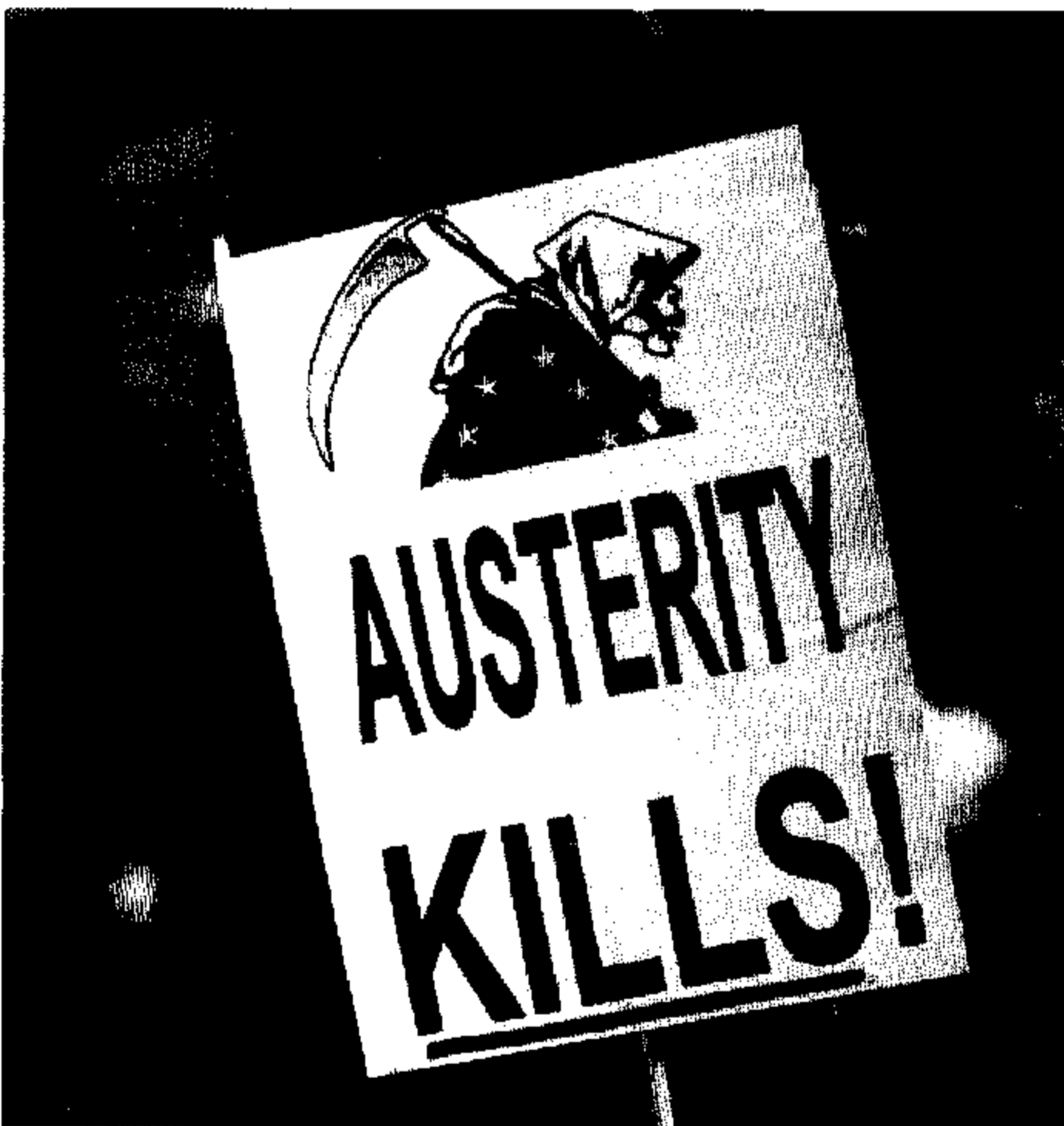
Socialist Voice

Number 19 | February 2015

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE | INTERNATIONAL WORKERS LEAGUE - FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

£1

No Austerity conference



Build on the streets, destroy austerity

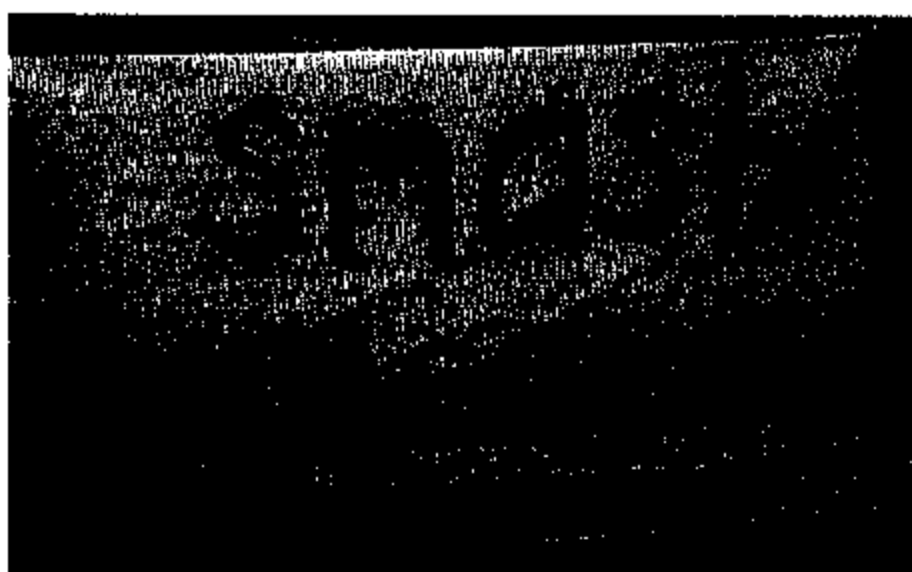
:: READ MORE PAGES 4 & 5 ::

Elections

**For a
workers
and
left
alternative**

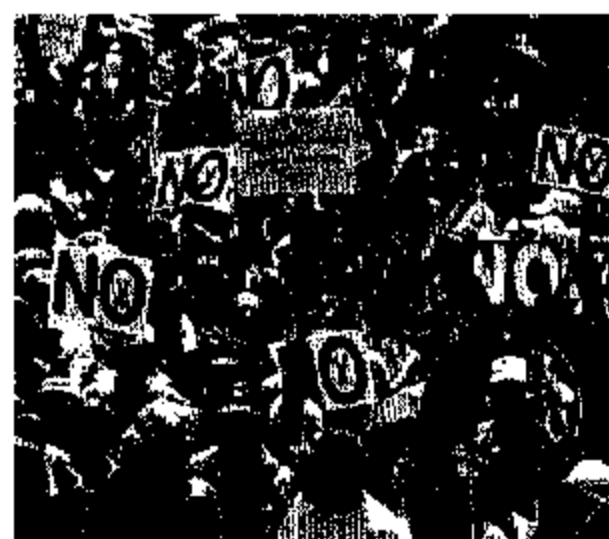
:: READ MORE PAGES 3 ::

End sanctions now



:: PAGE 6 & 7 ::

Fight the EU

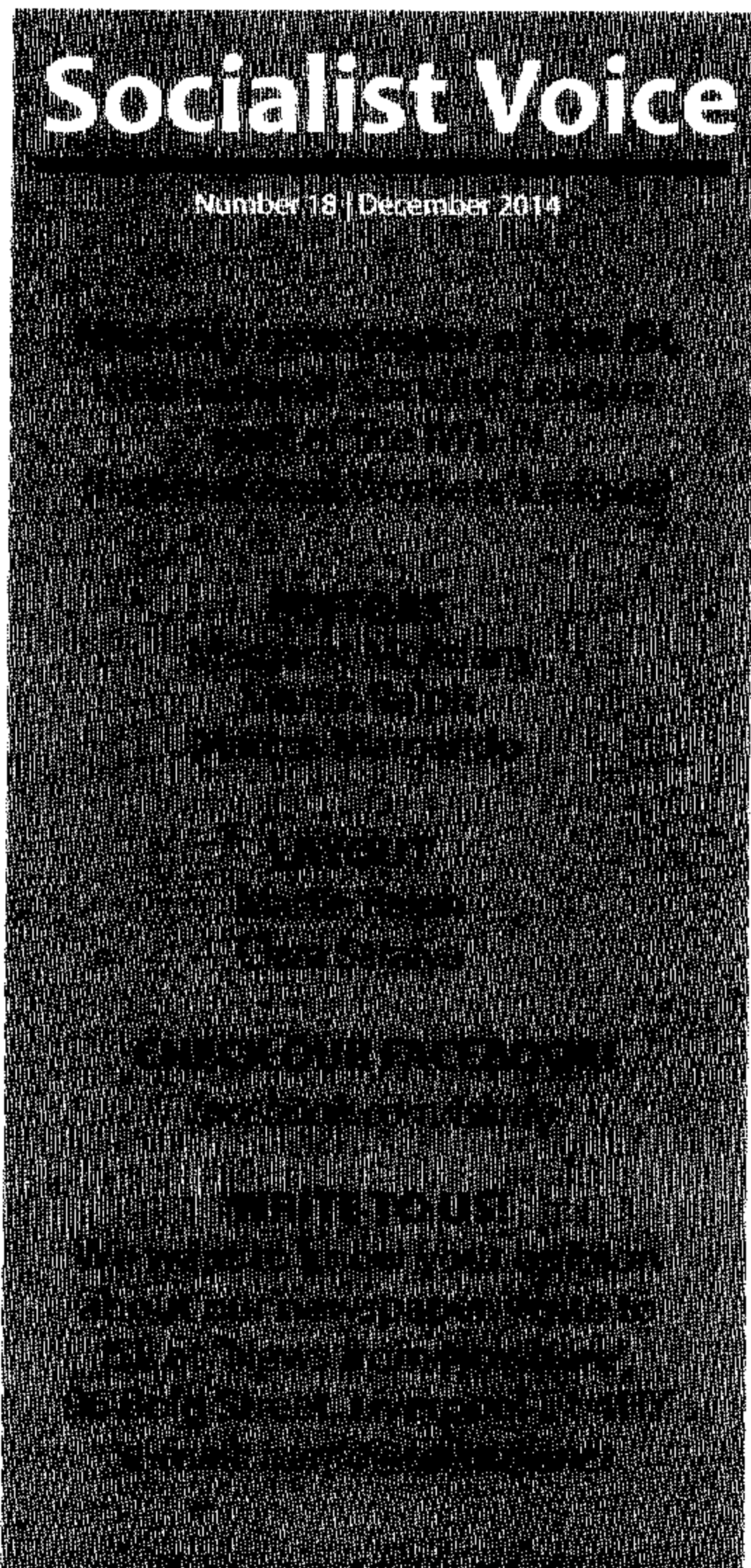


:: PAGE 9 ::

**Bill Hunter
The Communist
Manifesto**



:: PAGE 12 & 11 ::



LIFE OF THE IWL

PdAC, Italian party of the IWL, membership campaign

Four good reasons to join PdAC (Alternative Communist Party) or the Young Communist Revolutionaries (GCR):

1. Because the bourgeois parties, the centre-right or centre-left, do not represent the interests of workers and the youth. Today the Renzi government is unleashing one of the heaviest attacks on workers' rights that post-war history has known: it continues the dismantling and privatisation of public services, education, health and transport; introduces the contract that they hypocritically call "increasing safeguards", but worsens the conditions of the social safety nets.

This attack by the bourgeoisie and its government requires the construction of a mass general strike to the bitter end to stop the government and oust it. But to do this you need a party that organises the fights.

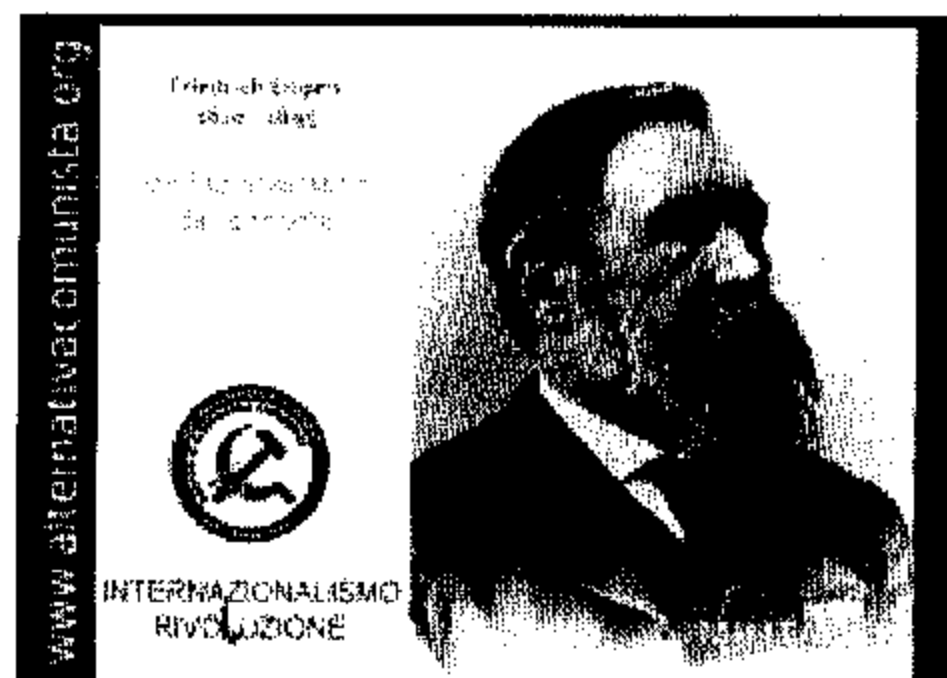
2. Because capitalism has nothing to offer humanity: only crises, wars, poverty and environmental destruction. Dismissals, mass layoffs, unemployment, insecurity, corruption is an integral part of this economic system. The Prime Minister Renzi policies try to solve the economic crisis in favour of industrialists and bankers, leaving us the burden to be carried.

3. Because only the workers can build a different world, based on a different economy, able to guarantee everyone a decent life. Today either capitalism will drag humanity towards destruction or workers take in the economy in their hands. That's why it is necessary and urgent that the workers organise themselves on the basis of a program of class independence from the bourgeoisie and its governments, to build the balance of power in the streets and in workplaces that allow the occupation of factories and the expropriation of the companies under workers'

control; the expropriation of private banks and the creation of a single state bank.

Such a program can only be imposed by a workers' government. A socialist economy that can be imposed only by a revolution. But to do this a revolutionary party is needed.

4. Because the perspective of class independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie and its governments requires the construction of another left, revolutionary, fighting Communist Party, that can enable unity of action in the struggle with other left forces, but being aware of the



subordination to this system of leaders of all the left wing parties and all the "new" parties that are trying to recycle leaders away from the pro-government left that has failed miserably. These new leaders hide behind the word "communist" to actually reconstruct class collaboration parties, either in a direct or indirect way.

A communist party in Italy is not enough: an international revolutionary party is needed. That's why the PdAC, with dozens of other parties on the different continents, builds the International Workers League-Fourth International, the largest and most dynamic revolutionary organisation in the world, at the front line of all the great struggles and revolutions, which is growing in recent years in many countries, from North Africa to Brazil, from Mexico to the Middle East and Europe.

Taken from the website of PdAC

UK Elections

No support for austerity parties For a democratic workers and left alternative

REKAI TOGASHI, INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE

In May Britain will have a general election after five years of Tories in office. Five years in which many things have changed both in the UK and in the rest of Europe.

The effects of the crisis and austerity in the UK have come later and are not yet as deep as in southern Europe and Ireland. But there are some features in common. The establishment faces a loss of popularity. People are moving away from Tories and Labour in higher numbers than ever and according to polls, both parties will be hard pushed to get a majority.

Recent polls show that the NHS, and the UK economy are the highest priority for the majority. The crisis of the NHS is deepening, and the attacks on benefits and education are deepening. Tories are committed to privatising the NHS and UKIP agree. All the main parties will use the race card and immigration and continue their attacks on welfare, and UKIP will talk about the problems of the EU. All will be using populist politics, scapegoating and lies to win votes.

Labour or Tory austerity is the same and will not change

Who takes office will not change the situation of workers. We have had five years of austerity policies led by the Tories, but the Labour party also pledges to continue with austerity, and vicious austerity measures are being implemented in those cities that are governed by Labour councils.

The biggest union leaderships agree. That is why the unions halted the NHS strike as soon as they could. The TUC is even trying to stop campaigning leaflets from any criticism of the Tories, using the gagging legislation as an excuse, and they try also to stop any criticism of the Labour party.

The likely outcome of the elections is that no one party will have overall control and therefore there is a possibility of a coalition. It could be a Tory and UKIP coalition or Labour and the SNP and with other parties joining.

The national question in Scotland is

important. There is a surge towards the Scottish Nationalist Party and they can achieve a very high number of votes, polls are indicating that they could get more than 50 parliamentary seats out of 59 from Scotland. They are predicted to get 48 per cent of the vote against Labour's 23 per cent. The SNP is likely to be the third largest party in Westminster after May.

For the great majority of Scottish voters it will be an anti-austerity vote, with a desire to get rid of the Tories and for a greater control over their interests. The SNP is pretending to be a party to defend the NHS, even though the SNP leadership will carry out various forms of austerity and privatisation. While some Labour leaders deny it, a coalition of Labour and SNP could happen.

Another problem for the Tories and Labour could be the Green Party, its membership has increased to over 50,000 from 15,000 a year ago. The Greens may get six per cent (they got one per cent in the last General Election), which may give them more MPs.

Why the support? Because they, like the SNP, pretend to be anti-austerity. However, in Brighton and elsewhere they want to raise council taxes, which would punish the poorest section of workers, and in Brighton they opposed the strike of refuse collectors. They would apply austerity, but with a different tempo.

It is possible, whatever the party leaders say now, that they could also be part of a Labour coalition. They are not an alternative for the working class and are a middle class party.

UKIP gained a big vote in the last local election but their xenophobia has become more overt. In some cities UKIP posters get pulled down, or written over them racists go home over them.

There are parallels and differences with Greece and Spain, where we can see our future. They are experiencing deep political changes that are driven by the people's rejection, as in the UK, of austerity. But if Syriza continues their policy of paying the debt, they will not carry out the wishes of the Greek

working class and people. The situation in Spain is not much different, with Podemos playing the same role as Syriza.

Fight austerity

Revolutionaries must create our alternative to confront austerity and build the solution to the crisis to the class. This requires the elaboration of an anti-cuts programme that places the election as a tool for the struggle, and not the other way round.

Labour always want the pre-election period as a period of social calm, and trade union leaderships are the same. They want to suffocate any possible fight between now and May, don't let them!

For us elections are a part of the struggle that is made in the streets, we will continue in the streets. We do not ignore the election, but we cannot sub-ordinate the action in the street to voting. Now is the time to mobilise and strike. But if it is to happen it will have to be pushed from below by the rank and file in the unions and communities. Others like TUSC and LU are building a left electoral alternative.

We say, construct local lists of workers that are part of the fights to build the movement, and that will be a voice in parliament and the councils of what is happening in the street. Only in the street can our struggles build the forces to overthrow any government of austerity and create a worker's solution to the crisis.

Our policy is to encourage local class struggle candidates to create a electoral movement from below, with working class democracy, with a no austerity programme decided collectively by the rank and file to continue the fights in the streets before, during and after the election.

So that the working class sectors that are looking for an alternative to Labour and the working class sectors that still believe in Labour can hear, talk of and join a left and fighting alternative, not just for the elections but after it because we know austerity will be deepened whatever the party or coalition is power.

We know it is a beginning it will not change the electoral scenario and the balance of power in Britain, but it could mean the beginning of the building of a real working class alternative to the Labour Party.



No austerity conference

Workers build the struggle on the streets

Fight any government or council austerity

MARTIN RALPH

A conference will be held on 14 February that aims to bring together as many campaigning community and union struggles as possible in Liverpool.

News about the conference has spread around Merseyside, Greater Manchester, London and Europe. The conference is getting support from: health workers, anti-fracking campaigners, FBU fire fighters, students, disabled people against cuts, St Helens homeless campaign, UCU activists, save our libraries Liverpool, Save Our Services Wirral, Black activists from the RMT.

The conference is being organised by Liverpool Against the Cuts, Old Swan Against the Cuts, Reclaim and a committee over 20 people who met regularly. The aim is to build a real class fight against austerity, and against any government or council that supports austerity that means Tory, Lib Dem, Labour or UKIP.

Why is it possible? The attacks on all the services that the working class hold dear is accelerating, while the government talk about recovery the most vulnerable are being the hardest hit.

The anger on the streets and in workplaces is increasing. After years of austerity people are realising that austerity is here to stay unless they do something about it.

We are fighting the attack not only of the government and big business in the UK, but a European and world tendency.

Oxfam reported on 19 January that one per cent of the world's population owns more wealth than the other 99 per cent and that "85 billionaires have the same wealth as the bottom half of the world's population." Since 2010, the total wealth of the poorest half of the world has been decreasing over the same period.

The number of billionaires in the EU with activities and interests in the financial sector increased from 31 to 39, an increase in collective wealth of \$34bn, to \$128bn.

Is the UK any different? Inequality is increasing in Britain, there are now 44 dollar billionaires in Britain compared with eight at the start of the 21st century, while the number of people whose net worth is at least \$50m (£31m) almost quadrupled to 4,660 (Oxfam). Inequality rose under Labour; and under the coalition it is extreme and growing.

Yes there is a recovery, for them, for the financiers, insurance, drug companies and private healthcare providers. Their plan is permanent austerity – to permanently stuff their and their shareholders pockets and mouths with gold.

But this situation is not stable on a world level, in the EU or in Britain. Stagnation threatens and plans are being made for more austerity throughout Europe. But the Greek elections have shown that workers are fighting back.

We can fight and we can win

Many people are fighting austerity every

day and where the struggle is under the control of the rank and file, local union or social movement organisations victories are gained, such as the victory in Liverpool against library closure, the E15 (against eviction and rent increases) and the victory at Lambeth College after beginning an indefinite strike.

But as the conference call says, "Let's unite our struggles for all local and public services and defend the employed and unemployed. We are opposed to the policy of the union leaderships that control the many individual struggles and refuse to call a general strike in order to prevent them uniting into one powerful fight to end the government's austerity policy."

It is time to take back our services, jobs and rights. Workers need to bring the struggles together such as the NHS workers, those fighting the break-up of public education together with all the community struggles.

Unions must break with the Labour party and do more than pay lip service to community struggles. The working class must organise and build from below.

The conference

Thousands of leaflets have been distributed and some union branches and social organisations have advertised the conference.

The morning session will hear many people speaking about their fights in the communities and unions and the conference will celebrate our victories, discuss our experiences, work out our demands and develop our strategy and tactics to fight austerity

Internationalism is an essential part of building our struggles and the conference organisers have written to class struggle organisations internationally. We hope to learn from them and build internationally.

In the afternoon there will be an open discussion on the programme. We need to fight austerity by mobilising on the streets with the understanding that what the working class wins in struggle, every victory, every mobilisation must be



Old Swan Against the cuts will be standing again in the local elections



built on. There is a firm understanding that this can only be done on the basis of working class independence and democracy, where all have an equal right to help develop a fighting programme and class actions.

The International Socialist League members will argue for another step after the conference: to organise a No

Austerity demonstration for early April, at the time of an election period that will end in May.

"Mobilise for local services and jobs. Anti-cuts groups will be standing in the elections in May 2015 to fight the cuts in services and jobs, to oppose the sanctions imposed on unemployed people, to fight all oppression and defend council and

public services. We can work together and assist all groups who want to take a stand against austerity." Conference call.

We want to bring all the fighting groups together. Some draft proposals for the conference include:

- No to austerity
- Oppose all cuts in public services
- No to privatisation
- Fight zero hour and casual contracts - for proper jobs
- For a minimum wage of £10
- For a sustainable and safe energy policy, End fracking
- Restore the benefits safety net, stop sanctions
- Free public transport for children and students
- For free and quality public education and health
- No discrimination against immigrants and ethnic minorities
- Communities and union members unite and fight
- Continue the fights and join on the streets.

National and international support

From CSP-Conlutas, Sao Paulo



The CSP-Conlutas - Trade Unions and Popular Federation greets the participants of the conference "No Austerity" to be held in Liverpool, UK.

We are together in the struggle against the austerity measures imposed by governments around the world, and in defending workers' rights and against the flexibilisation of labour laws.

The conference will be an example of working class democracy for their independence from the government and the bosses, and an important step to organize the fight against these attacks.

Active internationalism, international solidarity among working men and women is an integral part of the CSP-Conlutas programme and a permanent goal to be sought by the Central.

The liberation of the working class from all forms of oppression and exploitation is a task which doesn't fall within the framework of a single country and should be taken at the international level.

In this spirit we greet the participants of the conference "No Austerity" and congratulate your initiative to move forward in our common struggle against austerity plans that attack the working class worldwide.

From Solidaires, Paris

We want to acknowledge ...the initiative of this conference, which brings together community activists struggling against austerity that employers and governments support against the people. We say "the people" in the plural, because the reality of capitalism is common to us, beyond state borders. And struggle should be as common in the tradition internationalism of the labour movement.

With many others, our trade union organization (the Solidarity Trade Union that has approximately 110,000 members in France) helps strengthen unionism struggles for social transformation, particularly through the international trade union solidarity and Network struggles (www.laboursolidarity.org).

Unifying the fighting carried here and there against different forms of austerity, is fully in this strategy.

At European level, we participate in a European network of alternative unions and the base, which has launched a European trade union campaign "capitalist cost us";

Together we can make a difference!

Union branches from FBU, UCU, RMT and Unite have helped build the conference. Greetings have arrived from workers and unions in Belgium, France, and Brazil.

From General Central of the Public Services (C.G.S.P.) Railwaymen - Brussels Region

We are very pleased that through your actions you could keep the Liverpool libraries open! Victories against the austerity plans in Europe are still too few, and they are even more important to make known, in order to give us confidence in our ability to have victories through struggle.

As delegates of the Belgian railway, we resist the dismantling of our public service. This is what the Europe of capital wants to destroy to the sole benefit of shareholders. We also know that together, all workers, employed and unemployed, in Belgium and across borders, we can build a better society.

We cannot be present at your conference No Austerity, but we wish you good debate to strengthen your action. We would also like to be informed of your prospects, so we may consider perhaps collaboration in the future.

End Sanctions Now

MARY KEOGAN

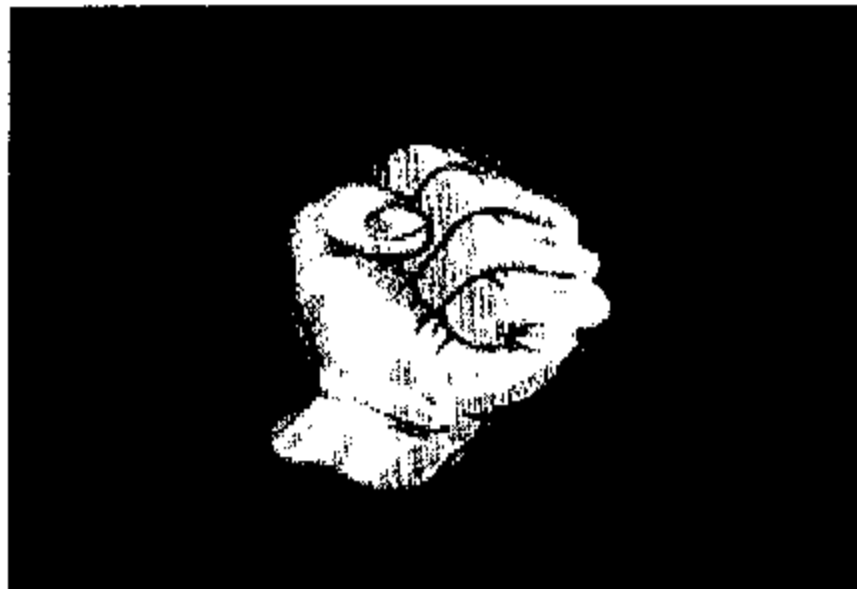
“I was very touched today when a man asked to shake my hand when giving out Stop Sanctions leaflets. He told me he had been sanctioned a week before Christmas and hadn't been able to sleep for over a week because of the worry. He said it had made his day seeing people who care campaigning.”
Activist from Old Swan Against the Cuts, Liverpool

Part of the government's plan to get rid of the Welfare State is the creation of a weapon to attack claimants who are sick, disabled and unemployed. This weapon is “the sanction”.

The DWP (Department of Work and Pensions) sanction regime, which was introduced in October 2012, removes basic support for weeks, months or longer from people who are already extremely vulnerable.

This weapon is creating a climate of fear and dread of anything related to the Jobcentre and DWP, including correspondence and appointments, and is resulting in serious distress and harm to the victims.

In June 2011, government introduced a series of far-reaching welfare reforms, part of which is sanctioning, which is used against those who are considered not to have satisfied the obligations to benefit set by the DWP. This includes being late for or missing an appointment,



or being deemed not to have fulfilled sufficient steps to find work.

Whistle blowers and researchers have stated that some Jobcentre managers have set incentivised targets of achievement.

This has led to situations in which claimants have been intentionally confused and led into a position where they will inevitably fail, such as being obligated to sign daily, thus resulting in a sanction.

Alongside the sanction, this government has introduced many other directives to undermine the Welfare system. They have eliminated Crisis Loans and Community Care Grants, and introduced cuts such as the pernicious Bedroom Tax (affecting Housing Benefit), Universal Credit and a Benefit Cap (set at £25,000 a year with plans already underway to cut this further).

The most vulnerable in our society are being driven to pauperism, reliant

on handouts, food banks and soup kitchens, which are being normalised, as supermarkets and even restaurants encourage us all to feed “those who cannot afford to eat”.

The government has encouraged and created a situation of food and heat poverty but has abdicated responsibility to an act of charity or nothing.

When the sanction regime was introduced the government legitimised this punitive system by suggesting that it would only be imposed as a “last resort”. False.

Statistics from official data, analysed by academics at Oxford University and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, show that up to March 2014, over 1.9 million sanctions were imposed on people receiving Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA).

A last resort?

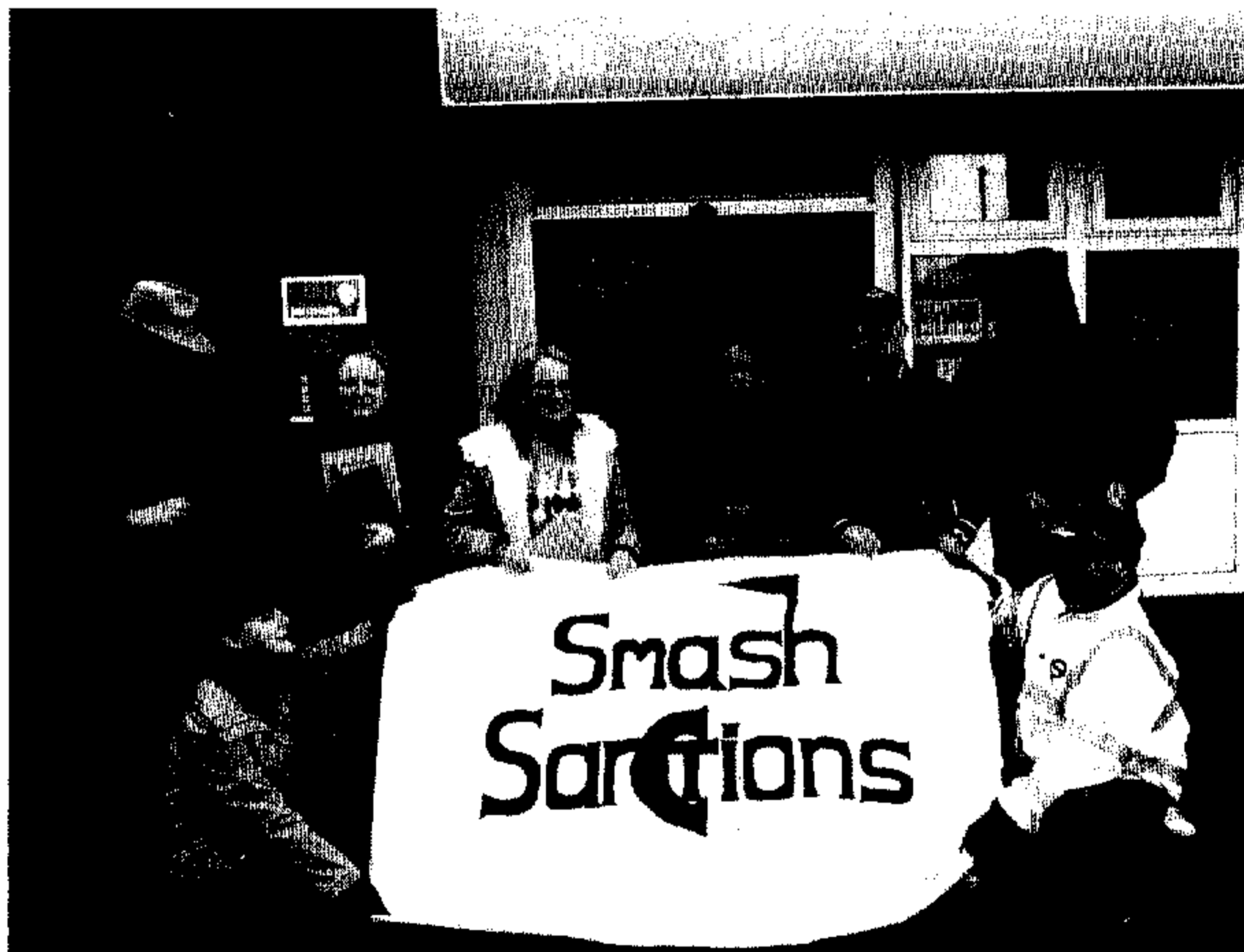
“A woman called Theresa Curtis tells the story of how her 57-year-old brother, suffering from clinical depression after losing a child to cot death and a close friend to suicide, was sanctioned for 16 weeks after he could not cover the cost of the four bus trips needed to get him to a work capability assessment.” From the House of Commons report 23 January 2015, reported in The Guardian.

A last resort? “The Derbyshire Unemployed Workers' Centre said a man from Bolsover who was instructed by his Jobcentre adviser to apply for a job in horticulture that involved “four weeks' classroom-type training” before he would even be considered for an interview.

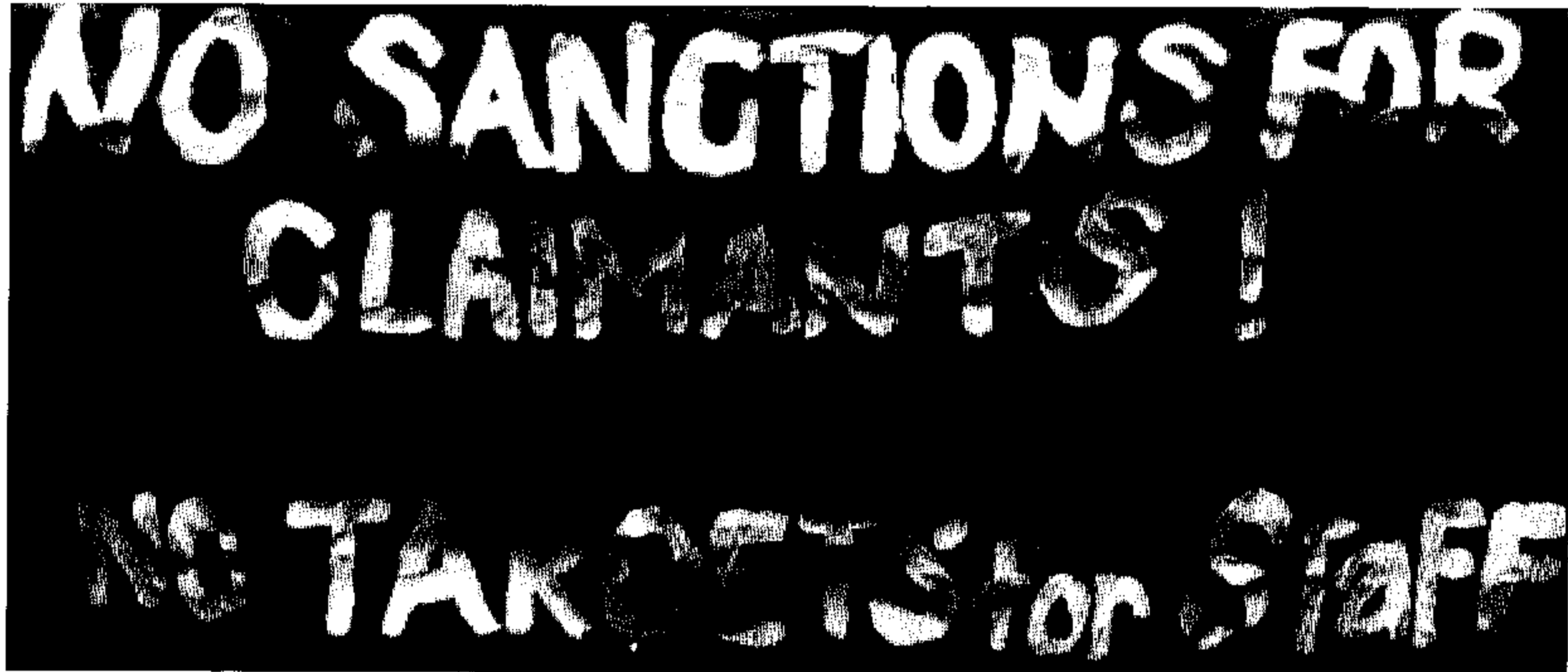
Two weeks in, ‘the man's benefit was suspended, and then [he was] sanctioned for four weeks because he was not actively seeking work whilst undertaking the training.’”

This example proves that sanctions have nothing to do with finding work, but everything to do with grasping money from the poor and giving it to the clutching hand of the government.

There are also many reports in the media about victims who have committed suicide or suffered serious harm after being sanctioned or threatened with a sanction. This is a regime that is normalising and institutionalising organised cruelty and whose aim is to



For a decent welfare system



destroy the welfare system completely.

Attacking the poor and vulnerable is being supported and further normalised by a supine media who criminalise, demonise and reinforce prejudices against anyone in receipt of benefit, single mothers and immigrants.

Described popularly as “benefit porn”, sensationalist media attacks stigmatise and stereotype the poor and vulnerable.

They legitimise austerity and direct the blame for it away from the political leaders, the rich and the financial institutions whose wealthy investors have benefited from state bailouts. It is these same beneficiaries of state handouts who have exerted political power to ensure that austerity is imposed on the poor and middle classes.

Expose the lies

We have to tell the truth and expose the lies, myths and prejudices that abound politically and in the media.

According to opinion polls, people think that about 27 per cent of welfare recipients are falsely claiming benefits when in reality it is just 0.7 per cent. At the same time there is £16bn of benefits unclaimed each year.

It is also perceived that 41 per cent goes to the unemployed, when the reality is just 3 per cent. It is not those on zero hour contracts and low pay employers who gain, it is landlords charging extortionate rents who exploit and extract from our welfare system, as they gain from subsidies paid through tax credits and housing benefit.

Low paid workers continue to struggle on in-work benefits and falling wages,

and it is they who make up a large sector of Britain’s poor. The vast majority of welfare benefit is on pensioners who have paid into a national insurance system throughout their working lives.

Contrast this to the richest individuals and companies who hide trillions of pounds away in a web of tax havens around the world, and wealthy tax dodgers who fraudulently remove £25bn a year from the Exchequer.

A recent report by the Institute for Fiscal Studies claims that since the introduction of the austerity programme Britain’s poorest families have suffered the most, and households in the poorest 10 per cent have lost the most proportionately from tax and benefit changes.

This government insists that it is the wealthiest who are being hit the hardest, and the Tory employment minister Esther McVey argues that she wants to end “the something-for-nothing culture”.

Winnie Byanyima, executive director of Oxfam International, expressed her astonishment at the level of inequality that exists today in the 21st Century.

She pointed out that the elite rich, that is 85 people in the world, own and control as much wealth as the poorest half (3.5 billion of the world’s population).

The wealth of these 85 amounts to £60.88 trillion. Poverty and inequality has exponentially grown because of the greed for wealth and power by these wealthy elites, and their servants who are rigging the system in their favour. The rich are not the hardest hit.

They are the ones “making hay” in a “something for nothing system”.

Equality Trust research has shown that

the combined wealth of the richest one hundred families in Britain in 2008 was increased by at least £15bn, when the average income was increased by £1,233. Britain’s current richest one hundred have the same wealth as 30 per cent of UK households.

A third of the 1,645 billionaires listed by Forbes inherited some or all of their riches, while 20 per cent have interests in the financial and insurance sectors, who saw their wealth increase by 11 per cent in the 12 months to March 2014.

So reality paints a different version than McVey’s, as to who is “making hay” in the “something-for-nothing culture”.

Fight back

We have to fight back and mobilise to restore respect and dignity to the most vulnerable and stop this pernicious war against our welfare system. We have to stand up to the powerful and wealthy and stand up for the poor and voiceless. By uniting workers, claimants and campaigners we can build a movement that can demand the reinstatement and development of a decent welfare support system with a real and effective safety net.

- End Sanctions Now
- Restore the Safety Net Now
- For A Fair and Decent Welfare System
- Unemployed and workers mobilise against benefit cuts

Solidarity with the Greek workers and people EU hands off Greece!

Cancel the debt!

Corriente Roja, International Workers League-Fourth International in the Spanish State

Despite the intention of the Syriza-Anel government to maintain its payment of the Greek public debt and to negotiate the conditions, the European imperialists are not willing to end the plunder and exploitation Greece.

These predators feed their banks on the basis of hunger, evictions of families and the despair of youth. Those who speak of democracy will not tolerate any other outcome, those who proclaim the equality of nations act as if Greece were their colony. The true character of the EU is unveiled: a tool for imperialist plunder.

Acting as Merkel's court jester, Rajoy's Spanish government demands that Greece pay more than €26bn of its debt with Spain and shows the character of this miserable government, their shameful submission to the powerful and their arrogance with the weaker. Why don't they recover the money from the looting made by Bankia, from the Bárcenas' accounts or his banker friends (part of a huge government corruption scandal), and leave the Greek people alone?

Corriente Roja, International Workers League-Fourth International section in Spain, calls for a mobilisation across Europe in defence of the Greek people, their sovereignty and their right to demand food, jobs and housing from the new government.

The fate of the Greek people cannot be left to the EU, and its institutions and treaties, whose sole function is to guarantee profits for their banks and multinationals. European workers



must take the lead against the policy of plunder made by our governments in Greece, which is the same as they do in our countries.

Solidarity begins with the demand on our governments for the immediate cancellation of the Greek debt. Hands off Greece!

Immediate cancellation of debt payments is the only way to fight for national sovereignty

In his first major speech to parliament Prime Minister Tsipras said, that "We are not negotiating our national sovereignty,"... "The Greek people gave a strong and clear mandate to immediately end austerity and change policies."

However, it is approaching the time when the Syriza leader's option, to oppose the EU debt memorandum while remaining in the euro zone at all costs will not be agreed by German and French imperialism.

Not even a partial cancellation of the debt, which would not change the situation of the Greek people, is acceptable to German imperialism.

The proposal submitted by Tsipras to extend the redemption period of the debt while continuing the negotiations represents the first backward step of his programme. Imperialism requires

the maintenance of privatisations and the measures of plunder.

We give our unconditional solidarity to the Greek people that took to the streets last Thursday to say they are not a German colony and we assert that there is no way to break the spiral of benefit cuts, wage cuts, labour and pension reforms, and unemployment without questioning the deepest needs of EU imperialist capital and the Greek bourgeoisie, the EU's partner in the plunder of the country. And this requires an ending of the subordination to treaties that are looting the country, and the nationalisation of the banks.

- Syriza's government should order the suspension of debt payments, the only way to guarantee food, housing, jobs and sovereignty!
- For the immediate cancellation of the Greek debt with Spain



Tsipras. Syriza leader, forms government with Kamenos, leader of an extreme right xenophobic party.



Playing by their rules: Yanis Varoufakis, Syriza's government finance minister and George Osborne

Fight the European Union

Unite the European working class to destroy it

Marcos Margarido

Syriza's victory in Greece is allowing the European working class to draw many conclusions. The most important is that it's necessary to fight, and possible to defeat austerity. Not just in the electoral arena, but mainly in the streets, where the Greek people have staged countless scenes of heroism, with dozens of general strikes, hundreds of local strikes, demonstrations and an increasing organization.

Another very clear conclusion is the character of the European Union. Their institutions and the rulers of their main member states, such as Germany, France and Britain, don't wish to make any kind of concession to Greece, so that it can breathe and improve the living conditions of its people.

After Tsipras's speech in the parliament, he faced a battery of threats from those institutions and governments.

Greece's creditors, the so-called Troika — the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund — are forcing the new government to extend the country's bailout of €240bn and receive the latest instalment, a loan of €7 billion.

At the same time, the European Central Bank said it will no longer accept Greek bonds as collateral for liquidity, which means it will not approve the issuing of treasury bills. Treasury bills would be repaid in more favourable conditions than an EU loan.

All of this means that the main European imperialist institution, the EU, prefers to see the Greek people starve to death rather than help Greece find a way out of its crisis.

It's no different with the other member states. A tour of European capitals by Tsipras and Finance Minister Yanis Varoufakis failed to win firm support for Greek ambitions to write down the €320bn debt burden and to revoke some of the most severe cutbacks.

The European Union of the capital must be destroyed

For revolutionaries there is no other option. If we really want to help the Greek people, demonstrations of solidarity are necessary, but are not enough. We must build a united front of every fighting

Hundreds of thousands protest on 11 February in cities across Greece and Europe to demand an end to EU austerity policy that for years has subjected millions of people to deepening crisis



group in Europe to face the EU and call for its defeat. Mainly in its core, the main imperialist countries: Germany, France and Britain.

This policy has nothing to do with the Ukip policy who just want to leave the EU (in words, but not in deeds), and continue to deal with it under "better conditions" for Britain. Ukip pursue the reactionary dream of "Great Britain." It's a nationalist and chauvinist policy. They are enemies of the European working class and want to maintain capitalist exploitation over us.

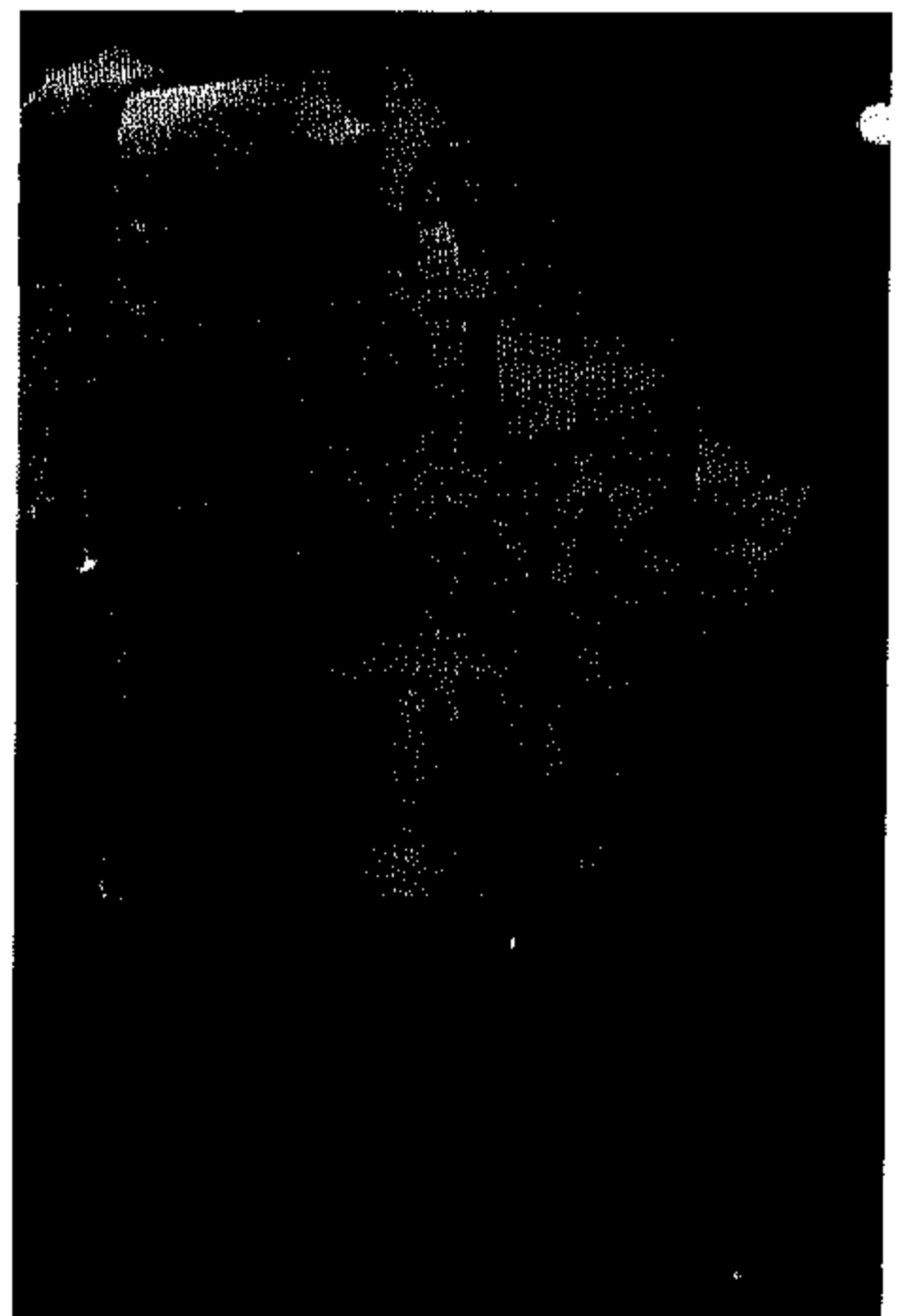
The policy we defend is the opposite: a union of the European working class and its peoples to fight our exploiters, including Ukip, and our rulers. The struggle against the EU is not aimed at leaving Europe, but — united with all the workers of the continent — to destroy the EU and build a new Union, a European Union of workers and peoples.

Those on the left who refrain from seeking this policy are helping imperialism to smash Greece and all the indebted countries (Portugal, Spanish State, Ireland); because the main tool to do this with is the European Union and its institutions.

Some in the left, members of the Party of the European Left (PEL) defend the "re-foundation" of the EU aimed at its "democratisation." This policy doesn't change the imperialist character of the EU, it just tries to make it more acceptable

for the working class. It is, objectively, a pro-imperialist policy because it accepts the EU rules, its institutions and its capitalist limits.

We call on all the British left to unite around the only way to put an end to the plundering and the exploitation of the Southern European countries and the whole European working class: the destruction of the EU to build the Socialist United States of Europe, an EU of the workers and the peoples.



Manchester, Black lives matter UK tour

MARY KEOGAN



Patrisse Cullors, Black Lives Matter with the three youth who spoke at the meeting

The US movement to fight anti-Black racism continues to grow on a global scale. Co-founder of the Black Lives Matter movement Patrisse Cullors spoke in Manchester as part of a 10-day speaking tour across the United Kingdom and Ireland, organised by Defend the Right to Protest.



Janet Alder and Caroline Duggan

The Manchester meeting was hosted by the Hideaway Youth Project in Moss Side on 29 January. It was very lively and powerful.

Three Black youth from Manchester opened the meeting aged 14, 15 and 16 and spoke of the police harassment they have been subject to but having been on a human rights course were able to stand up more effectively and confidently. Speakers Caroline Duggan and Janet Alder also spoke of their tireless fight for their family members who had been killed by the police. Akemia Minott youth worker at the Hideaway Project said "they're just an inspiration to anybody"

Patrisse Cullors described the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, US and explained the relevance it has in Manchester and the UK as a whole.

She said: "In the UK you have a Black presence that is part of a colonial past and comprised of immigrants, in contrast to the blatant slave history in the US. But you still have systemic oppression, and

state sanctioned violence plays a role in each of our contexts.

"In the US a Black person is killed every 28 hours.

"We are in a historical moment where we can make great shifts inside and outside US borders to ensure that Black lives matter around the world.

"After the murder of Mike Brown, the protests continued. They were peaceful but police responded with tear gas and rubber bullets. Three weeks later over 600 people came to Ferguson from about 18 cities. A Black person is killed every 28 hours in the USA. Killing Black people is a national epidemic.

"You need to know how much direct action has happened. The entire country of the US is on fire right now.

"We decided to do a week long action in 18 cities and each day we shut something down. We shut freeways (motorways) down in October and thousands came to Ferguson in October and there was one of the largest marches ever.

"Occupations of police departments started popping up across the country. The Los Angeles chapter of Black lives matter decided to demand a meeting with the chief of police. Because another Black man had been killed and we decided to occupy in order to demand a meeting with the police department until we had that meeting to discuss the killing. We occupied for 18 days."



Patrisse concluded, "They are well connected, we must be well connected."

After the meeting Patrisse spoke at a rally in Derry, Ireland to commemorate civilians who were shot and killed by the British Army during a peaceful protest against internment in 1972.

From our International Workers League section, Workers Voice/La Voz in the USA:

"In 2013, there were 10,000 more arrest warrants given out in Ferguson than there were actual people living there. For a town of roughly 20,000, this meant on average that there were 1.5 arrest warrants out for every single person in Ferguson. The payment of court fees and fines, as a result of these warrants,



allowed the local government to collect \$2.6 million in revenue – making it the 2nd largest source of revenue for the city.

"In New York City, where Eric Garner is from nearly 5 million people have been stopped by the police in a program known as Stop and Frisk since 2002. 9 out of 10 of these people who are stopped are found to be innocent by the NYPD's standards. Over half of the people stopped have been Black people. And this is a city whose Black population makes up roughly a quarter, 25%, of its total population. Therefore, roughly 2.5 million Black people have been stopped and frisked by the police, in a city whose Black population is about 2 million."

The International Socialist League would like to conclude by expressing our solidarity with the family and friends of Michael Brown, Caroline Duggan, Janet Alder, and all families here and in the US who have become victims of police and racial attack. The ISL sends unconditional support to the demonstrations, occupations and all the struggles against racism and the killing of Black people in the USA and UK.

**Black lives matter! No more Racism!
Stop all Police Brutality now!**

The Communist Manifesto: Reformist leaders betrayed its principles

out of a scientific uncovering of the real processes but expressed the interests of a privileged middle class layer of leaders who had become separate from the working class and sought to preserve the privileges and power they had acquired through the workers' organisations.

Revisionist trend

Bernstein found support in the German Social Democratic Party which, after a period of hard struggle, state repression and persecution, had built a powerful party and had begun to embrace every aspect of workers' lives. This revisionist trend included officials in the party who had found a certain stability, had 'settled down' and wanted to avoid the turbulence, struggle and hardships of the past.

Later, these tendencies also operated in the bureaucratic degeneration and Stalinist revisionism in the Soviet Union in the 1920s.

Bernstein was impressed that for almost twenty years there had been an expansion of the German economy. From this he had drawn the conclusion that the general decline of capitalism was increasingly improbable and that the capacity of capitalism to adapt itself was manifested in the disappearance of general crises.

The great revolutionary leader Rosa Luxemburg challenged Bernstein and waged a battle against his revisionism. In her pamphlet *Reform or Revolution* in the section where she deals with the role of credit she poses the question:

"But if the credit system, cartels, and the rest do not suppress the anarchy of capitalism why have we not had a major economic crisis for two decades since 1873? Is not this a sign that contrary to Marxist analysis the capitalist mode of production has adapted itself, at least in a general way, to the needs of society?"

She answers: "Hardly had Bernstein rejected in 1898 the Marxist theory of crisis, when a profound general crisis broke out in 1900; while seven years later a new crisis beginning in the United States hit the world market. Facts proved the theory of adaptation to be false. They showed at the same time that the people who abandoned Marx's theory of crisis only because no crisis occurred within a certain space of time, merely confused



Without Marxism and a revolutionary party there would have not been the October Revolution

the essence of this theory with one of its secondary exterior aspects – the 10 year cycle."

Reformist arguments

Bernstein's platform in the German Social Democratic Party provided the Labour reformist arguments which have been repeated at various times since.

His premise was that the various contradictions in capitalism were being overcome by the development of capitalism itself. From this he drew the conclusion that the central task of a Social Democratic Party was not the preparation of the working class for the necessary social revolution, but the development of a party which assisted progress inside the capitalist system.

In Britain, France, Germany and Russia, other tendencies had criticised "dogmatic" Marxism.

Lenin, for his part, identified two trends which had arisen in international socialism. In his pamphlet, *What Is To Be Done?*, that was written against the Economists in Russia who sought to confine the working class to economic struggles he declared they were part of an international trend.

This trend, he said, was influenced by the politics of the liberal bourgeoisie. It included the Possibilists in France who advocated confining the activities of the working class to what was "possible" under capitalism, and the Ministerialists who supported the entry of the "socialist" Millerand into a reactionary capitalist French government.

The full and historical meaning of this division in the Second International was displayed at the outbreak of the First World War, when the national, ideological and political pressure of capitalism upon the workers' leaderships brought a split in the International.

All the major parties of the Second International however, betrayed the class interests of the exploited, backed and even joined capitalist governments and recruited workers for the slaughter. There were only the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party, the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, Leibnecht, Bebel and Luxemburg in Germany, together with small groups of socialists in other countries who upheld the banner of internationalism.

The Second International thus collapsed politically.

Capitulated

In 1914, in a struggle against those who had capitulated to imperialism and whom he called Social Chauvinists, Lenin set about uncovering the reasons for the collapse of the International and indefatigably re-creating the foundation of a new International.

The necessity now, he declared, was a new Third International based on the traditions and principles of the struggles of Marx. It was not Lenin who split the Second International. It was the leaders who capitulated.

It was a crisis of revolutionary leadership.

Bill Hunter's Archives

The Communist Manifesto

Reformist leaders betrayed its principles

In 1999 the International Socialist League published a pamphlet by Bill Hunter that was called *150 years of the Communist Manifesto*. These pamphlets examined how Marxism developed in theory and in practice.

We are publishing here the third and final part. Bill's pamphlet was meant as an introduction to the famous work of Marx and Engels. If any reader is interested in attending our courses on Marxism please contact us.

Some readers might be surprised to know that the Labour Party published an edition of *The Communist Manifesto* to celebrate the centenary in 1948, of this, the most widely read pamphlet in history.

The edition had a sub-title: "A Socialist Landmark and an introduction by Harold Laski which takes up far more space than the text by Marx and Engels.

Harold Laski was at that time Chairman of the Labour Party. As a professor at the London School of Economics, he dabbled in Marxism.

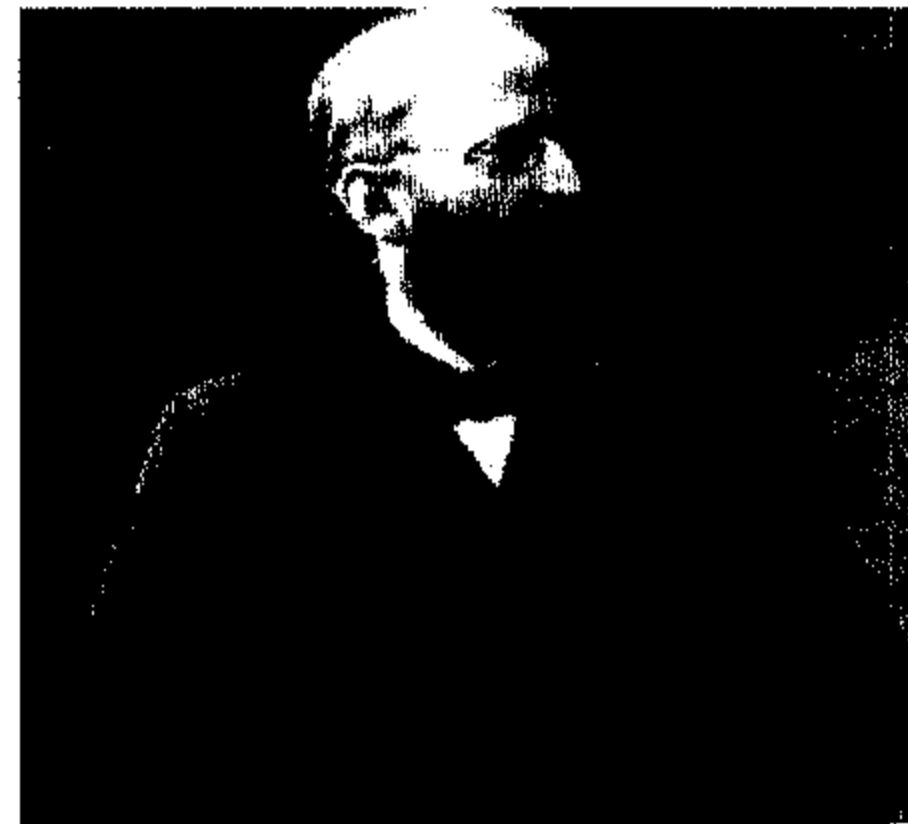
During the 1945 election campaign, Winston Churchill, finding that the British population was moving towards the Labour Party and not to him, the war leader, described Laski as a dangerous red who could become the controller of a Labour Government.

But in all essentials Laski was a reformist. His introduction to *The Communist Manifesto* was, in effect, written to take the revolutionary heart out.

It was an attempt to use Marx against Lenin and show how Lenin had broken from basic ideas which were expressed in the manifesto.

It was an attack upon Lenin for allegedly splitting the Socialist International movement and setting up a separate Communist international organisation. Laski did what many others have done, and are doing today. He quoted Marx out of context and historical development.

Marx, he wrote, declared that Communists do not form a party



Reform
Eduard Bernstein



or Revolution
Rose Luxemburg

separate from other workers' parties. However, it can be proved very clearly by their practical politics as well as in their writings that Marx and Engels not only saw the need for Communists to organise separately in a party, but also that they were building a Communist organisation.

In fact *The Communist Manifesto*, was written by them to assist a leadership in what they saw as a coming revolution and was a "...programme of a party of Communists".

The Communist Manifesto was an advance from the utopian and humanist viewpoint of the League of the Just and it marked its transformation into the Communist League.

The last decades of the nineteenth century saw the growth of powerful working class organisations. As capitalism went into its 'imperialist' stage the crisis of leadership sharpened. The world had been divided up among the great powers: capitalism had become a system that was characterised by the domination of enormous conglomerations of banking and industrial capital and by monopolisation.

The epoch of imperialism, dominated by finance-capital organising increasingly powerful monopolies, and the strengthening of the state, all increased the pressures of capitalist ideology upon the working class, particularly the leaders of its organisations.

Bureaucratic leaders

Bureaucratic leaders developed in

the most powerful Marxist workers party, the German Social Democratic Party. A layer of leaders separated the minimum struggle for reforms from the maximum programme of socialism and concentrated their activity on the former.

As capitalism began to pass into its imperialist stage there emerged the first big attempt to revise Marxism on the basis that the changes capitalism was going through had made invalid or outdated, some of the Marxist principles and prognoses.

Some leaders advanced the conceptions that capitalism was adapting itself and that the capitalist tiger was shedding its claws.

The theory of these leaders was expressed by Eduard Bernstein who, for a few years in London, had been close to Engels. However, while in England he had also been influenced by the Fabian Society, which advocated a brand of 'state socialism'.

They became the theoretical fount for the right wing of the Labour Party, to which they affiliated; although they had originally opposed its foundation.

Bernstein saw capitalism evolving steadily into a more and more peaceful and beneficial system of economic relations. Inherent in his theories was an attack on the Marxist thesis that socialism comes out of working class struggle and conscious leadership. It was all a justification, a rationalisation, for turning away from the working class.

It was not theory at all but part of ideology. That is to say, it did not come