



**EUROPE**

After the crash of 2008...

Brutal attack to the proletariat and the exploited from Portugal to the Russian Steppes

The working class fights back

## Catalonia - Spanish State

***Against the coup d'état of the Monarchy and Rajoy to Catalonia...***

***So that the catalonian people can have their right to decide...***

Down with the monarchy and the regime of the Constitution of 78!

Revolutionary general strike!



For the right to independence of Catalonia!  
For a Free Federation of Socialist Republics of the Iberian Peninsula!

Down with the imperialist Maastricht! For the Socialist United States of Europe!

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## Catalonia - Spanish State

September 22nd, 2017

The majority of the *Parlament* of Catalonia had announced months ago the announcement for a referendum of self-determination, for the next October 1, where the question would be "Do you want Catalonia to be an independent state in the form of a republic?". The monarchy of the Bourbons and Rajoy have responded to this with a true coup d'etat in Catalonia. The Civil Guard searched the Departments of Economy, Governance, *Treball*, Foreign Affairs, Social Affairs, other organisms of the *Generalitat* and private companies. They arrested 13 people linked to the government of the *Generalitat* and the owner of a printing press where the ballot papers for the referendum were supposed to have been printed. To this day there are more than 4,000 civil guards sent to Catalonia to "stop the referendum". Dozens of them attempted to enter the central premises of the CUP, but protesters prevented it. The government also froze the accounts of the *Generalitat* and intervened the Information Technology Center, arresting its director, since the purpose of this institution was to count the result of the referendum. The monarchy, Rajoy and all his lackeys after the attack on August 17 on the *Ramblas*, had tried to agree a national unity, with which they even tried to subdue the Catalan independence feeling, but during the national unity march of August 26 it was proved that the Catalans would not lower their arms. The attack and

that supposed national unity failed to stop the referendum so they now take action against the Catalonian people through repression.

**The Bourbons and Rajoy, with the direct support of the PSOE and Ciudadanos, have carried out a true coup d'etat in Catalonia.** Just a week ago the government even banned an activity in Madrid that supported the right to decide of the Catalonian people. While in Catalonia propaganda material on the referendum was confiscated, they closed websites and entered in the media and printing presses with the police, seizing more than 10 million ballots for the elections. The reformist left of Podemos and the PCE-IU, in their own way, have also boycotted the Referendum with the excuse of not supporting it because it was unilateral and not agreed with the government and the monarchy. As if a referendum for independence could be agreed under the regime of the Constitution of 78! The parasites of the Bourbon monarchy, heads of the financial and imperialist capital of the Spanish State, will never allow even the right of the Catalonian people to decide their future, as they have already shown. Together with the government of the PP and the support of the employers' parties, they will defend the regime of the Constitution of the 78 and the Pacts of the Moncloa with everything at their reach. As Trotsky put it in the summer of 1934, "It cannot be forgotten for a moment that Spain as a whole and Catalonia, as a constituent part of that country, are now governed, not by

Catalonian national democrats, but by the Spanish imperialist bourgeoisie, allied with the great landowners, the old bureaucrats and the generals, with the support of the national socialists. All this association intends to maintain, on the one hand, the servitude of the Spanish colonies, and, on the other hand, to assure the maximum of bureaucratic centralization of the metropolis; that is to say, it wants the crushing of the Basques, the Catalans and of the other nationalities by the Spanish bourgeoisie." The struggle for the right to self-determination of the Catalonian people must be a struggle of the working class throughout the Spanish state to break up with the regime of 78 and the infamous Pacts of the Moncloa. If the workers do not defeat the monarchy, there will never be a right to self-determination for the Catalonian people, neither bread, nor labour, nor freedom for the rest of the working class of the Spanish state. **Get out the hands of the parasitic monarchy and the government of Rajoy from Catalonia! For the unconditional right of the Catalonian people to self-determination, including independence, if they choose so! Revolutionary general strike throughout the Spanish state!**

**IN CATALONIA, IN ORDER TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO DECIDE: FOR A NATIONAL CONSTITUENT CATALONIAN ASSEMBLY ON THE RUINS OF THE REGIME OF '78 AND THE BOURBON MONARCHY**

The Catalonian national bourgeoisie, while proclaiming the right to a referendum for the people of Catalonia, did not take a single serious step to carry it out. They did not go beyond the Disconnection Law voted in the *Parlament* and it could not be otherwise. The cowardly Catalonian national bourgeoisie, linked by thousands of business ties and interests to the Spanish financial capital, can bargain for its business with the



**Mariano Rajoy and the King Felipe VI**



### Catalonia: repression of the National Police

Spanish bourgeoisie, even using for this the struggle for self-determination as cannon fodder and bargaining chip, but they are incapable of bringing the national struggle to the end, since, as an exploiting class, they fear as a plague the proletarian revolution which attacks not only the property of the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nation, but also its own.

The workers of Catalonia along with those of the Spanish state, leading the fight in alliance with the poor middle classes, are the only ones who have the strength to face the Monarchy and the parasites of Spanish and Catalan financial capital. This was shown by the dockworkers of Barcelona, they have the strength to stop and not to serve the cruise services where the PP hosts the Civil Guard. **The working class that has no business that ties it to the bourgeoisie, only chains to be broken,** is the only one that can expropriate all the banks, like the Caixa, BBVA, Santander, Sabadell, etc, without payment and put them to work under workers' control. **The working class is the one who can call his brother soldiers who are in the NATO army and set up committees of workers and soldiers.** **The working class of the whole of the Spanish state is the only one that, with its methods, can guarantee the right of Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia to their self-determination.**

There is no possibility that the Catalan, Basque or Galician people, have their right to self-determination if it does not end with the parasitic monarchy. The working class of the whole of the Spanish state is the only one who can guarantee, for example, from the union of graphic workers, the printing of the ballot papers for the referendum; the workers of the trucks could transport them to Catalonia and the teachers and custodians of the Spanish state, together with those of Catalonia, could guarantee to open the schools so that the Catalan people can vote. In order to have the right to decide, the Catalan people need to organize self-defense committees together with workers from the rest of the state to take care of ballot boxes and ballot papers. It is shown that, for the Catalan bourgeoisie, independence means doing better business and they use the referendum to bargain a better slice of them from the bourgeoisie of the Spanish state. On the other hand, for the working class and the Catalan people, independence means getting rid of the parasitic monarchy and the entire financial oligarchy and having a job and a decent life.

In order for the Catalan people to have the right to decide, a truly free and sovereign Catalan National Constituent Assembly is needed, which is really representative with the election

of one deputy per 1,000 inhabitants, which legislate and execute and impart justice, with a single chamber, with officials who can be revoked at any time and earn the salary of a worker. A Catalan National Constituent Assembly whose first task is the expropriation of the banks without payment and under workers' control and the return of their homes to the thousands of evicted workers. A National Assembly that imposes progressive taxes on large fortunes, which allocates hours of work between employed and unemployed with a salary equal to the family basket. However, this Catalan National Constituent Assembly would have no real power if it does not disarm the bourgeoisie and settle in the armament of the people, since if it took a single measure that would put at risk the property and interests of imperialism and the bourgeoisie, as the only way to conquer the just demands of the exploited, the armed forces of the Spanish state and NATO, would dissolve it with gunfire. **For that reason, only a workers' and people's government based on self-determination, armament and direct democracy will be the only one that can completely guarantee a democratic Catalan National Assembly.**

That is why we, Marxist revolutionaries, affirm that a workers' republic is a million times more

democratic than the most democratic of the bourgeois republics. Because only the proletariat, which is the only truly national class, which has no interest attaching to imperialism and imperialist Maastricht Europe, rising as the vanguard of the oppressed nation, can conquer the rupture with imperialism and expropriate the banks, the factories, the lands and all the property of the transnational corporations and the imperialist and native bourgeoisie. And it can ensure that there is bread, work, housing, health, education and a decent life for all exploited.

Only the triumph of the proletarian revolution can fully and effectively solve the democratic-revolutionary tasks that the decadent bourgeoisie can no longer fulfill in this imperialist age, such as national liberation. **In the same way, only the working class in power can effectively grant the full right to national self-determination - including the right to separation - to oppressed nationalities that did not become a nation state before the advent of imperialism.** The national question was, is and will be, then, a fundamental motor of the international proletarian revolution. The resolution of this national question through the right of the Catalonians to their independence, if they wish, is a necessary requirement for the Free Federation of Socialist Republics of the Iberian Peninsula that will only have a future on the ruins of the Maastricht European Union with the European working class that builds the Socialist United States of Europe.

***THE FIGHT OF THE CATALONIAN PEOPLE IS THE FIGHT OF THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WHOLE SPANISH AND EUROPEAN STATE***

We insist that in order for the Catalonian people to have the right to decide, the parasite monarchy of the Bourbons, the government of Rajoy and the regime of the constitution of 78, inherited from the Franco regime, must be thrown down. Unfortunately, the leaderships of the working class, the bureaucratic unions and the parties of the reformist left

have expropriated the heroic struggle of the Spanish people as a whole that has shaken the monarchy with its "Republic of the Indignant". The bureaucracy of CCOO and UGT tied the hands of the working class to fight, while the Spanish imperialist financial capital made them pay the crisis, stealing their jobs, their wages and their houses. They refused at that moment to carry out a revolutionary general strike to sweep the monarchy. While in all those years, Podemos and the PCE-IU, the left of the Crown, told the masses that with the self-reformed monarchy one could eat, have work and freedom. Today, unfortunately the working class of the Spanish state is divided. The monarchy is strong and robs the Catalonian people to the minimum right to decide their future. We cannot afford this. Throughout the Spanish state we follow the example of the dockworkers of Barcelona who refuse to render services to the ships where the Civil Guard is housed. Different labour organizations and trade unions, such as CGT-Catalunya or the Catalonian Intersindical Alternative of Catalonia (IAC) speak of organizing a general strike in Catalonia, we need to extend this struggle to the whole Spanish state: For a revolutionary general strike!

This fight we need to give it together with our class brothers from all over Europe from whom the different imperialist rulers have taken their conquests, their jobs, their wages and bread for their children.

The leaderships of the European proletariat, from the social democracy and Stalinism of the Communist Parties to the renegades of Trotskyism, many of themselves named as "anti-capitalists", proclaimed their struggle for a more social European Union, as if it were possible to socialize the Maastricht of the European powers and their imperialist gangs, while imperialism made the workers pay for the crisis. **May the European working class breakthrough, there are the forces to face the parasitic monarchy of the Bourbons and all the imperialist governments of the European Union!** Let us destroy the

imperialist Europe of Maastricht to its foundations and build the Socialist United States of Europe on its ruins!

***Throughout Spain:***

***Revolutionary General Strike!***

**Dissolution of the Civil Guard and all the repressive forces! Committees of soldiers of trade unions and workers' organizations to disarm the monarchy and its killer caste of NATO officers! We must defeat the collaborationist bureaucracies that want to tie our hands! Freedom now to all the political prisoners for fighting from Catalonia and of all the Spanish state! Free Alfon, Bódalo and the more than 400 Basque prisoners! Down with the regime of the Spanish monarchy sustained in the Pacts of the Moncloa, oppressor of the Basque, Galician and Catalonian peoples! For the right to self-determination of Catalonia and all peoples oppressed by the crown! For the right to independence of Catalonia! Down with the monarchy! May the Republic of the Indignant breakthrough! For a FEDERATION OF FREE SOCIALIST REPUBLICS OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA! Off with the NATO!**

**Down with the utopian and reactionary "European unity" of Maastricht!**

**For the triumph of the socialist revolution which institutes the dictatorship of the proletariat in France, Germany, England, Italy and other imperialist powers, and which restores it under revolutionary forms in the former workers' states of the former USSR and in Russia, to conquer the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE from the British Isles to East Siberia, the only way to end up with exploitation, wars, massacres, genocide and national oppression in the old continent!**

**Democracia Obrera – FLTI-CI**

# United Kingdom

July 13, 2016

## BREXIT Referendum

### **SWP, defender of AN "INDEPENDENT" IMPERIALIST GREAT BRITAIN ...Paying lip service to Socialism and in fact embracing chauvinism**

Yes to Brexit, No to Brexit... It is heard on the streets of London, Edinburgh and throughout Europe. All across Europe left currents also discussed at the same time than the bourgeoisie if England should or shouldn't leave the EU, carrying the UK exploited right to the trap of the referendum. Both "stay" in and "exit" from the European Union, are two policies of imperialist bands; at the end of the day the workers always pay for the costs of the crisis.

While the different capitalist bands in the British Empire divided between the "Stay" or the "Leave", discussing over how best their transnational could be located in their disputes against the other imperialist powers in the EU, the New Left currents entered the trap of the referendum and wanted to make the masses believe that they had two options ahead for improving their life conditions going behind either band of the imperialism, be it Cameron or the other Tories or the Labour Party.

Neither the SWP-in an electoral front with the British Communist Party-, and the RMT (Transport Workers Union) -that called to leave the EU-, nor the other British left currents linked to the bureaucracy of the TUC, or the British party linked to the French NPA, that called the working class to vote stay in the EU, in a "Maastricht United", have shown the workers any working class alternative. None of these currents declared war against the trap of the referendum, against the deception it meant for the workers. Not a word was said about the breakthrough from the hardship suffered by the UK workers being a fight like and alongside the French youth and workers following the steps of French May, of the Paris Commune, who had gone to the streets with their factory and action committees in their thousands facing the labor precarization and the slashing of their conquests that the Government of Hollande wanted to impose. French workers and youth showed the way, taking the solution of their problems in their own hands.

So today all these social imperialist currents have placed themselves as conveyors of what the bourgeoisie need for being more aggressive and disputing their areas of influence in the world: to have a social base -broad sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy -. I.e. social base



that support "British" bourgeois policies so that Britain can go to the world to dispute against the other imperialist powers with which it is in a trade war. What is to come will not be more health and education for the British people and immigrants as the SWP says, but more exploitation, plundering and misery in the colonies and semi-colonies, and worse life and work conditions for the British working class.

English SWP, fervent advocate of imperialist Britain, told the masses of the world that the best policy for Britain was voting in the referendum for leaving the EU with this rationale: being against "the EU that supports the TTIP (Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership)", and "the austerity programs imposed to Greece and other countries under the Troika", among other arguments. The SWP wants the British and global working class to forget that the policy of 'their' British bourgeoisie, which with his Queen and all of their transnationals, super exploit the world workers and plunder entire Nations in Africa and all over the Pacific, is part of NATO, and has one of its military bases in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, that is a territory in the Argentina occupied by British imperialism.

To give just one example, when the heroic miners in Marikana in South Africa rose in 2012 and 2014, the SWP and its sister parties throughout southern Africa, did not raise that the Anglo American should be expropriated at "home" in London, and that pulling down the Queen of England the oppressed peoples would be liberated. The only thing they did was sending blankets and food to Marikana, such as any NGO.



**Theresa May, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom**

It is not surprising that today these same currents have called workers to vote for “leave” the EU. They seek a more independent imperialist Britain... What does this mean? We are not speaking about a colonial or semi-colonial country, but of an imperialist power that plunders and exploits other Nations.

Both those who called to stay in the EU and those that called to vote to leave the EU are encouraging British nationalism and saying that the breakthrough for the British is within Great Britain lining up with a sector of the bourgeoisie. This leads to permeate the movement worker with social-chauvinism: “During the war (the 1WW) most of the worker parties of the advanced capitalist countries turned to the side of their respective bourgeoisies.” Lenin called this trend social-chauvinism: socialism in the words and chauvinism in the facts. ... “The ideological-political content of opportunism and social-chauvinism are identical: class-collaboration rather than class struggle; support for its ‘own’ government when it is in dire straits instead of using those difficulties in favor of the revolution.” (L. Trotsky: “Lenin and the imperialist war”, 1938).

The bourgeoisie does not defend the homeland, but markets, the foreign concessions, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. The bourgeoisie never defend the homeland for the sake of the homeland. Capital does not acknowledge borders. When its profits and its businesses are threatened, it is defeatist in its own nation. UK capitalists defend their business with the EU and Wall Street... not the working class of the United Kingdom, as the SWP would have us believe. That is the emergence of the capitalism about in its imperialist phase: greater decomposition and misery for the majority of the people.

“Imperialism hides its peculiar objectives - the conquest of colonies, markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence- covering them with ideas such as... ‘defense of the homeland’, ‘defense of democracy’, etc. These ideas are utterly false... Whereas none of the imperialist sides wages the war in defense of the homeland or democracy but to re - divide the world and enslave the colonies, a Socialist is not entitled to prefer some bandits against the others. .. Combating Philistine and bourgeois chauvinism and ‘patriotism’ in all countries should be relentless.” (Idem) This is the big lie that the British SWP wants to impose on

the labor movement: that a bourgeois fraction “defends the homeland, the nation”. But this is small surprise: its policy is continuity of the policy of the Trade Unions, which according to the Labour Party, said “British jobs for the British workers” and left the immigrants and their children, who fought in 2011 for work and better living conditions -to their fate blaming them for the crisis the capitalists have created.

The New Left endorsed the referendum; they were part of this trap, silencing that the imperialists may unify and divorce will in order to exploit us best, so we continue paying for the cost of the crisis. So did the German social Democracy that on 4 August 1914 voted for the German government war budget, carrying workers to that carnage, the 1WW, that is, to kill each other for “their” imperialist governments’ business.

Thus, today, the British imperialist bourgeoisie has scored a reactionary triumph because it began to develop a social-chauvinist movement against Germany, France and other imperialist powers, which they are facing in a trade war, i.e., leaning on the upper layers of the working class, well-to-do middle-class managed to gain support for British imperialism with the deception of “defense of the homeland”. Once again, as Lenin used to say: “the economic basis of social-chauvinism and opportunism is the same: the interests of a tiny layer of privileged workers and the petty bourgeoisie, who defend their exceptional situation and their “right” to receive a few crumbs of the benefits ‘their’ national bourgeoisie gets from the looting of other Nations, the advantages that gives it its Great Power status” “, etc.” (Idem) A real class-war by the workers and exploited across Europe is due against imperialist governments and regimes. The “new left” has raised the opposite, and thus it has isolated the British working class -and some time ago the Greek or Spanish State working class-, from their class brothers and sisters of France, Germany and the rest of Europe, when it is precisely there where the attack on the Greek and European working class can be stopped. Any revolutionary policy must rise clearly: “The enemy is at home!” So also is it for the German, French, Greek and British working class. This is the only way to conquer the unity of European workers.

British SWP and the Communist Party end up as spokesmen of the Anglo-American and the Queen that plunder Africa and world minerals, over-exploiting the working class and killing as in Marikana... That’s why UK is in the NATO, and fills the world with military bases, as in the Malvinas (Falkland for UK) Islands, which is sort of a “land aircraft -carrier” aiming at Latin America. Meanwhile, the NPA acts as spokesman of the imperialist French employers that are for “Maastricht’s union”... The New Left is living its “4 of August”...

FROM BACK COVER...

## WHITHER GREECE?

We Trotskyists of the FLTI were right. The plebiscite on July 5 was “a new trap against the Greek workers and suffering masses of exploited” (Declaration of the FLTI on July 3). There we said: “both the YES and the NO vote mean that the Greek and European workers will have to pay for the crisis of the bankers and the MNCs”.

In that same declaration we affirmed: “The plebiscite is an anti-democratic deception, because this is not about the confrontation of a “working class program” against the “capitalists’ program”. The NO vote of Syriza and the YES vote of Merkel are two politics by the capitalist bandits for the working class to pay for the crisis...” We also posed: “The plebiscite is totally antidemocratic and Bonapartist.

The workers are given to choose between the flames of Syriza or the hellholes of the EU.

What did the FLTI/Committee for the Re-foundation of the Fourth International? For a reckless fight against the trap and the deception to which the Greek working class has been pushed against! Our position was: “Down with the trap of the plebiscite of Syriza, Merkel and the IMF!” Let’s the power of the working class stand up, as it is real, because it comes long giving battle with 32 general strikes!

Life has just given its verdict. The plebiscite was a trap for taking the masses out of the revolutionary struggles in the streets and preparing worse attacks over their gains.

### THE PLEBISCITE: A TRUE ANTIDEMOCRATIC FRAUD

Before the plebiscite, the Greek government had proposed cuts for 8 billion euros as a point of departure for negotiating a new rescue to its debt. Then it doubled the bet. It called to a plebiscite that showed to be a true fraud. When the last vote for the NO was still counted, in his meetings with the EU, Merkel and Hollande, Tsipras sat down to “improve his position in the negotiation”.

In his new proposal after the plebiscite Tsipras offered immediately that the cuts be for 13 billion euros. His government proposed reforming the pension system –what allows it to save a 0,5% of the GNP and 1% starting in 2016-; letting the age for retirement go up gradually up to 67 year; slashing the subsidies to the lower pensions; increasing the VAT percentage... Well, Syriza declared it was going to turn “combative” and so it thought about increasing a 2% the taxes on the capitalists... It was a very bad joke, because the Greek ship-owners and their bankers in the HSBC collect their money outside Greece and keep their assets abroad

As we can read in the last news, this plan makes sense if Greece, as a debtor, puts all the state enterprises as collaterals, that is, if it makes a huge mortgage of the whole country. Tsipras would elaborate that it was “the best negotiation we could get”.

Speaking clearly, the plebiscite was an antidemocratic fraud and an ultimatum at the same time. Greeks were obliged to vote either for “YES” or “NO”, that is, for

Merkel’s plan or for Syriza’s proposal. That’s the truth. The illusions of the masses about defeating the Troika and Merkel with the “NO” without defeating the pro imperialist bourgeois government of Syriza was a trap armed by Tsipras and the entire world reformist left.

A plebiscite in the bourgeois regime is totally dictatorial



Greece: demonstration against the government in Athens

and Bonapartist. It has not even a slight piece of formal bourgeois democracy that could be used to its favor by the workers.

If in the plebiscite people would have had to choose clearly between Merkel’s program and the real Syriza’s proposition with all the measures it implied... would the workers have voted for the latter? Certainly not! The plebiscite, as we insisted in our declaration on July 3, was obliging the workers to opt between the hot embers and the boiling oil. Just for that, the plebiscite worked as a trap.

And that was the plebiscite about: preventing the masses from resuming their fighting for the recovery of their gains, preventing them from declaring war to their oppressors, and taking them to deposit all their illusions in that voting for NO they could stop the merciless attack of the capitalists, Merkel, the EU, the IMF... and of the Tsipras Government, a representative of the imperialist bankers in Greece.

The working class can utilize the bourgeois parliaments as a stage for denouncing the enemy and preparing its own battles. Or, as is the case of the freedom of expression, for organizing unions, etc.; but the Bonapartist institutions for domination of the bourgeoisie, as is the justice, the police forces, and in this case, the referenda or plebiscites, cannot be utilized by the workers, because they are antidemocratic, Bonapartist measures or tools (that is, intrinsically repressive to the service of the bourgeoisie, NT) even from the point of view of bourgeois formal democracy. The plebiscite was

intimation to the masses, blackmail for them to commit self-murdering.

The whole discussion between “voting YES” or “voting NO” was a fraud. Tsipras always made clear that the belonging of Greece to the UE was not into question. Today Syriza can say that his proposal was “the maximum he could get in the negotiation”. We insist. All those that collaborated with this trap by Syriza against the masses ought to explain the fraud that they supported.

The Greek Parliament is just beginning to meet, the fraud of the YES and the NO will soon be exposed. Right wing New Democracy Party and Syriza will vote for the deal between Tsipras and Merkel. If there are too much abstentions or votes against, there will be a new election, a new Parliamentary distraction to channel the indignation of the masses. If not, the officers' caste of the Greek Army, a member of the NATO, will be coming to put order, if the working class does not prevent them from.

## THE PLEBISCITE, WITH THE FALSE CHOICE BETWEEN YES AND NO WAS A TRAP FOR PREVENTING THE REVOLUTIONARY UPRISING OF THE MASSES WHEN GREECE WAS ENTERING DEFAULT AND THE POWERS WERE NEGOTIATING THE RESCUE OF THE NATIONAL DEBT

We must start saying that Syriza called for a plebiscite for strengthening and legitimizing all the institutions of dominion of the exploiting class in Greece, whatever the results between the YES and the NO vote.

The government of Tsipras –coming from repaying 7,5 billion euros of the debt in a common memorandum with Merkel- did not call a plebiscite against itself. Syriza did not call for a plebiscite to be defeated and make its own government fall down. It never intended to weep in case the YES vote was the winner. If that had been the result the politics applied would have been exactly the same to that Tsipras is now applying, which shows that the negotiations in the back room among the capitalist gangs in Europe have never stopped.

With both options, both YES or NO, the bourgeois

institutions of domination would be equally legitimized, and this is what they needed amidst the tremendous political crisis that exists in Greece. Moreover, the Parliament is just going to meet to give the deal a final blessing in the form of a law, which will show the fraud committed by the bourgeoisie. Maybe the “left” and “nationalist” wings break with Syriza, voting against it, but there will be an absolute majority of the YES and the NO, imposing the worst sufferings to the masses.

Whoever does not start by saying this is a vulgar charlatan that long ago has stopped to confront the bourgeois state and its institutions.

The plebiscite was called at the last moment by Syriza for preventing a colossal political crisis and a new revolutionary uprising of the masses in the midst of a possible economic burst. On 30 June the rescue of the Greek debt was due. Greece was in the brink of defaulting, which would amount to a huge crisis for Europe, its banks and its hedge funds, and also for the very same Greek bankers and their transnationals, which are entitled to claim 128 billion euros from bankrupt Greece.

In this situation the way was open for the Greek masses for stopping the attack and interrupting again with their battles by confronting directly the Greek big bankers and parasites.



Greece: demonstration in Athens



This would have amounted to go to an inevitable clash with the government of Syriza, which comes applying the same plans of attacking the masses that were applied yesterday by Karamanlis and Papandreou.

Some people want to paint the Greek bourgeoisie as opposite to the vassal treaties proposed by Maastricht's Europe. Though as it has been demonstrated all these 8 years, all the bourgeois fractions and all their governments closed ranks with the Troika –of which they are part-against the workers. **CAPITALISTS DEFEND THEIR POCKETS, NOT GREECE.** They are who broke Greece and sacked its workers and poor people.

The plebiscite was for distracting through a vile lie and

a deception, the perspective of fighting of the exploited against their executioners, the Greek capitalists and their government that submit with treble chains the Greek working class and the ruined petty bourgeoisie to imperialist Maastricht.

The world reformist left tried to use this plebiscite against the Troika. Though, to be sure, the only one that used the plebiscite was the Troika itself for gaining time, with Syriza, and be able to attack violently the masses, as it is happening now. The members of the Troika defended their businesses and the social imperialist left was kind enough not to defend the interests of the working class. It's because that is not their *métier*.

## THE PLANS OF GERMANY AND USA IN THE BACKROOM, IN FRONT OF GREECE, WHICH HAS LONG DEFAULTED

Greece is a small imperialist country in bankruptcy and decadency. No slightly serious Marxist may hide that Greece was the front detachment in the borders with Eastern Europe and the former USSR, a minor imperialism closely associated to Wall Street and, military speaking, to NATO. This petty imperialist country, when East Europe fell, took the Balkans together with the US imperialists.

Anyway, they want to make us believe that a bourgeois government “defends the fatherland, the (Greek) nation”. This is a lie. Long ago, from early Twentieth Century, the bourgeois states, their nations have turned into an absolute obstacle for the development of the productive forces. That is what the emergence of imperialism, phase of decay of capitalism is about.

The bourgeoisie does not defend the fatherland, but the markets, the foreign concessions, the sources of raw materials and its spheres of influence. The bourgeoisie never defends the fatherland for the sale of the fatherland in itself. Capital has no borders. When its profits and its businesses are threatened, it is even defeatist against its own nation.

This is what has just happened in Greece with Syriza and the government of its bankers and big ship-owners. They have defended their businesses with the EU and Wall Street... and not Greece.

World leftists, in all their shades, only devoted themselves to embellish the attitudes of a class that is in decay and bankruptcy, which is the bourgeoisie, and the rotten capitalist system. The “socialists” were who went to “defend the Greek Fatherland”. The bourgeois sectors that

“defend Greece” are up to now marginal sectors that long for getting out of the euro, but not to go to the Drachma; they want to go TO THE DOLLAR instead, as golden Down or the partners of Syriza in the government, Independent Greeks, and also a wing inside Syriza.



Greek National Police

During the whole discussion previous to the plebiscite, one point was crystal clear: the Greek debt is not and cannot be collectable unless the working class is deprived of the 100% of its gains and the petty bourgeois layers are completely expropriated. This amounts to a true civil war headed by Merkel and the imperialist Greek bourgeoisie not “against Greece” but against the Greek working class and exploited.

Starting on June 30, the Greek debt should be rescued or re financed. In both cases, it would be done through an awful trimming against the masses.

The plan of the IMF, which acts as a true usurer, is imposing a vassal imperialist country as is Greece, the plant they imposed to a semicolony, as is Argentina, in 2005 with

the Kirchners. In those years they turned an un-collectable debt in a collectable one, with juicy interests, which have been already collected and put into their pockets. That was a variant being discussed at the board of secret negotiations among the imperialist gang. Ultimately that would have been a “sweeter” plan for Greece than the present one.

That is the politics of USA, which through the Morgan Bank and Goldman Sachs has secured the collection of its credits in Greece on the basis of a percentage of the export and import taxes and the games-tax. USA seeks that Germany does the “dirty work” against Greece, so that, by means of future crises, the US government may attract the beaten country under its “protective” wings. Meanwhile, it seats on its hands, just waiting.

Though, the plan imposed and the actual negotiation that came out was that proposed openly by the EU, with Germany at its head.

Germany has his Central Bank (the Bundesbank) full of junk bonds of the Greek debt. That's why the German proposal and urging starts saying “this is not the moment to make concessions”. Even if the Greeks had filled up the ballot boxes with 100% NO votes, Germany as the “lender”, would have all the same wanted to take all the assets of its debtor.

Thus act the capitalists as lenders before their borrowers: either the debt is refinanced so the lender earns more money as usurer, and is able to collect the debt however in a longer lapse, or the lender takes the absolute control of the enterprise to guarantee the repayment. This is what the proposal of Europe –main lender to Greece- and Germany in particular, is about. As we have said, the Bundesbank is full of Greek junk bonds for a total value of 50 billion euros. It has to revalue those papers; if not, the German state will be obliged to put fresh euros in the coffers of its bank, something it does not want to do.

That's the reason why the proposal by Syriza after the plebiscite of making trimmings for 13 billion euros, increasing the age threshold for retirement, the percentage for VAT, reducing the amount for pensions, etc. This does not suffice Germany to give new value to the junk bonds. Germany demands the suspension of the stability for all the state employees so that they can be laid off if the interests cannot be paid, and that all the Greek state enterprises are

put as collateral of the debt; Germany also wants to get a big portion (25%) of all the funds put by the EU to rescue the debt.

Any one that follows today in the media the impositions of Merkel and the servility of Tsipras will see that the German impositions are thought to re value the papers of the Greek external debt and its junk bonds that are in the Bundesbank coffers.

Though, the Greek bankers want also a little of the cake as a prize for getting Greece to kneel beneath the UE impositions. These bandits have proposed Germany and the EU the following business in exchange for the 80 billion that will rescue the Greek debt: 25% of the money lent by Europe and Germany is for the repayment of the debt. I.e.... it goes to the Bundesbank. Another 25% should go for the “productive investment” of the European transnationals that will make business in Greece and all across Europe. And the rest (50%) will be earmarked to recapitalize the Greek and European banks so that they can relive the “corralito”. So the Greek bankers also take a bit of the rescue packet, after having broken with their crisis the finances of the state. Tsipras agrees.

The whole crisis will be paid for by the masses

The masses will pay for the crisis all the way through. Will allow the former to pass this plan of the imperialist gang of Maastricht and the Greek bourgeoisie parasites? That remains to be seen.

The true divisions and political crisis in the Europe of Maastricht and Greek capitalist gang is about how much the latter are able to maintain, a share –even a smaller one- of its business before the bankruptcy, as they together measure up to where they can make the masses pay for this crisis; whether this plan agreed between the Merkel and Tsipras can be imposed without becoming the midwife of the Greek revolution; up to what point the deception of the plebiscite disorganized and demobilized the masses; whether the exploited are taking the revolutionary lessons of this hard attack and deception from their oppressors.

The last word is not said. This will be defined in the streets, in the class struggle... not at the ballot box or in the secret negotiations among the imperialist bankers.

The reader could find more statements of the class struggle on Greece and world wide  
in our website: [www.flti-ci.org](http://www.flti-ci.org)



## THE CREDITORS OF GREECE ARE ACTING NORMALLY, AS ANY CAPITALIST CREDITOR WITH HIS DEBTOR.

IN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, FOR BOTH CREDITORS AND THE CAPITALISTS IN BANKRUPTCY, ALWAYS THE WORKERS ARE WHO MUST PAY FOR THE CRISIS.

### THAT IS WHAT THE MERKEL-TSIPRAS PACT IS ABOUT

Let's talk about clear. Germany behaves to Greece, on a large scale with the essence of the mechanics of relationships that capitalists set when their competition goes bankrupt or melts.

When a company goes bust, employers do not pay for the crisis; neither the creditors nor the debtors. The latter also keep money in their pocket. Bosses cheat each other. Those who pay for the crisis are the workers suffering dismissals, hunger, factory closures... or with the loss of all their conquests. Thus runs the capitalist system, which is not a charity.

The Government of Syriza is as the directory of a lesser company (Greece) that is broken. There is a directory. This directory has a President – something everybody is trying to hide – which is New Democracy, a Greek “right-wing” party. This President was voted by all the representatives in the House, starting with Syriza. In that directory there are Ministers of the Independent Greeks Party, a rupture by right of the New Democracy party.

To lure workers, in that bourgeois directory there is Syriza. In this broken Greece, and with its workers uprising for years, the directory put as “Executive Manager” of the company a “Manager of left” (Tsipras) to mislead the workers so that they do not expropriate the factory, as the Greek working class threatened to do with its revolutionary struggle.

What does the bourgeois directory for a company - or a bourgeois Government - name a CEO of left for? To make the workers believe that their company directory is their ally against the creditor. In this case, Syriza would be “great ally of the masses against the Troika”. Alternatively, if the workers are mobilized, they may be convinced that their “friend”, the leftist CEO, can thus press best the creditor not to liquidate the conquests of the workers.

This is a brutal hoax. It is what the “new left” want the working class to believe in Greece and around the world. The capitalist system does not work in such a way. The biggest enemy of a directory is always the workers, either that the company is in bankruptcy or in expansion. Whoever does not say this clearly lies to the masses, as it has been doing all the left worldwide with Syriza, the left leg of the Greek bourgeois Government.

The broken company will only come out of its crisis by attacking all the conquests of the working class, either shutting its doors, paying the creditors, or by having the State to pay them; while they keep their money in their pockets. This is what is happening today in Greece.



Tsipras with Merkel

In short, the Greek Government, as any directory on a broken company, does not mean about the workers. It intervenes to defend the bosses' profits and their future at the expense of workers. His ally is the creditor, although this may have taken up the rope to his neck. His enemy is the workers, who must pay for the company's crisis or be dismissed when the capitalist auctions his property, not just because it is in crisis, but to go to a quiet place to rest.

Any sensible worker can understand this. The role of the reformist left, which promotes a policy of class collaboration, is to blur the boundaries of class and pass the enemies of the Greek workers - as Syriza - as allies. Theirs is a complete lie. That is what is happening in acute form in Greece.

We will not tire of insisting. Tsipras is acting for what it is, a bourgeois Government filled with parasitic bankers and ship-owners who are partners to Goldman Sachs, but with its business rooted in Europe under the industrial and commercial control of Germany.

Tsipras isn't a madman, or a pancake that has turned upside down, or a man out of control. He is not “betraying” his class, namely the capitalists. He is loyal to them, because he is one of their kind. He is acting as a broken company director discussing with creditors how best wrench his workers and collect himself and his bosses and creditors all that remains of the value of the broken capital. He defends their business, their market, their place in the division of labor in which Greece is located today in the Europe of the Maastricht Treaty.

That Tsipras and Merkel do, and very well. Each one defends their mutual interests. Those who cannot defend their interests due to the leadership they have at their head, are the workers.

## THE PLAN IMPOSED TO GREECE BY GERMANY AND THE REST OF IMPERIALIST EUROPE IS THE PLAN SO THAT ALL EUROPEAN AND GERMAN WORKING-CLASS PAID IN PARTICULAR, THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

Germany knows and understands the conditions of the economy and world politics perfectly and why keep uncompromising against Greece, as it did. It seeks to punish, but not “Greece” but the Greek, European and German labor movement in particular. Leftists’ patriotic zealotry and pro bourgeois policy cover, ultimately, the real imperialist policy against European workers.

Bankrupt Europe needs, so that the immense heaps of junk bonds and capital that banks go again to the production process, a labor movement in the imperialist countries under the same conditions that Merkel and Tsipras want to impose to the Greek working class.

If Germany and Tsipras manage to impose this plan, all the European capitalists and their imperialist powers will stand up and cheer. A Greek labor movement without retirement, hospitals or public schools, with unemployed starving to death on the streets as a cheap industrial army of reserve, without social security, with depressed wages, with hundreds of thousands of laid-off State workers, is their golden dream. Towards there they are seeking to take the Greek...German, French, English and Spanish working class.

What will Germany and the Government of the new “Iron Lady” - Merkel – say to their working class? “Lower your salary, I reduce your pensions, your health and free education are gone for good... and if you rise up, I’m going to invest my capital in Greece, where the workforce is the cheapest”. For the German working-class it is a question of life and death to stop this attack on its class brothers and

sisters in Greece. The plan imposed to Greece by Germany and imperialist Europe is the plan for all European (and German in particular) workers to pay for the crisis of the financial capital.

There is no “rescue plan” for Greece here. What’s here is a plan of attack to the Greek working class, to impose those conditions throughout the European -and particularly German- working class.



Germany needs to defeat its own working class because the European crisis and crash are already here to stay, and also the huge competition with America, which fights to enter Eastern Europe and challenge Germany for the control of the sources of raw materials and the Russian military apparatus. USA imperialism, with NATO, has already set foot in Ukraine. It has started to lock up Germany. Merkel cannot make concessions. She prepares to redouble the attack on the German working class...

**SYRIZA AND ITS BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENT HAVE “NOT BETRAYED” THEIR CLASS... INDEED, THEY HAVE BEEN LOYAL TO THEIR CLASS: THE BOURGEOISIE, THE CAPITALISTS AND THEIR BANKERS, WHO TOGETHER WITH THE TROIKA ARE CREDITORS TO THE GREEK DEBT PAID BY THE WORKERS.**

**THE ONE WHO CAPITULATED WAS THE REFORMIST LEFT CALLING TO RELY ON THE FRAUD OF THE PLEBISCITE**

“Syriza betrayed”, “it capitulated”, “it has disappointed the people”, the left now says tearing their garments, such as a deceived person. In any case, they let themselves be deceived. And they helped Syriza to fool the people.

“But Syriza betrayed”, they are still screaming, when the next day of the plebiscite Syriza presented the EU with

a vassalage agreement as a starting point for negotiating an even greater attack against the Greek workers. They already speak of “coup d’état”. It is because, as we have seen, Germany requires new collaterals for the 80 billion euros of rescue to the Greek debt: all State-owned enterprises in Greece. These would be mortgaged and untouchable if the creditor, in this case Germany and the EU do not authorize

to sell or rent them.

This is what a creditor would do with a broken company that is its debtor. If it makes the latter a loan for it to continue working, the creditor would require it to put machines, titles and property as pledge or mortgage in the name of the creditor for the money received. That is what Germany has been imposing even after the plebiscite. The creditors want to be repaid their money. But also the directory of the company in bankruptcy wants to collect what they put into the company. It puts everything as part of the debt package. Makes mortgages on the machines and puts the workers to produce. The conquests, the holidays, the eight hour day, all of that is over... The directory says goodbye to half the personnel and to the rest..."to produce!". This is what Syriza is doing.

Thus runs the capitalist system on a large scale. In this case, under imperialist powers, the PIGS in the South of Europe lost hundreds of millions of dollars with their bankers on Wall Street crisis. States saved the bankers' money. The broken company directory has money in the pocket. The States are which go bankrupt now. And today they have to starve the people to pay for a bad debt.

We will not tire of repeating it. Syriza has not "betrayed" the class it represents, which governs and manages the interests of all the Greek bourgeois and the European imperialism. He was loyal to the bourgeoisie and the EU, of which the Greek capital is a part. Among them they of course have disputes; they fight for business... sometimes they have to shoot shots. But all of them have it clear that the workers are their true enemy. Stronger imperialist gangs



Tsipras with Merkel and Hollande

whack the smallest ones, put them on their knees, and submit them. They will take their spheres of influence and looting. Greece wouldn't do anything else if Germany was the debtor.

What's more, that was made to Germany after the two world wars. In the first Germany was imposed the Treaty of Versailles, according to which it had to pay all military expenditures of the victors: England and France. The latter, in the mid-1920s, came with his army and took all the railroads and railways to Germany to rebuild France (and once when Germany could not pay, France invaded its Saar iron and coal mines, NT). Capitalists don't lose time beating around the bush. The loser pays. Precisely that Treaty of Versailles was what opened the way to fascism in the 1930s to lift the great Germany that had been cruelly humiliated.

## THE GREEK CRACK AND THE CRISIS OF THE CHINESE STOCK EXCHANGE ANNOUNCE A NEW RUPTURE OF THE BALANCE OF THE WORLD ECONOMY.

### THE "NEW LEFT", A REFORMISM WITHOUT REFORMS

Despite what reformism without reforms thinks, there is no possible harmony among the imperialist powers in this agonizing period of capital. Some powers are doing well if others go the wrong way. In this case, USA, Germany and to a lesser extent France are doing well at the expense of the crisis and the meltdown of the others. There is no place for everyone in the looting of the world, when the market has narrowed and the crack is here.

The US has thrown its entire crisis to the world and with its burst, Wall Street left across Europe into bankruptcy. We insist, there is no harmonic development of the capitalist system in the imperialist epoch, as everybody in the reformist left paints it. The working class can much less improve their standard of living within this system by pressing the bourgeois parliaments or putting on the political standing

of class collaboration with "progressive" and "democratic" bosses. The entire crisis lies with the working class. And that 1% of the planet has grabbed the 50% of the assets of human civilization. This story speaks of Greece.

The Greek crisis this time is connected with the outbreak of the Chinese stock market, which preannounces that the stagnation of its economy is the product of a new relocation of transnationals to parts of the world where labor is cheaper. It is the indication that the capital is coming out of the production process, where the rate of profit has dropped. Uncontrolled banks parallel to the official banking have given credits to 90 million savers to invest on the stock exchange in a housing bubble, which already does not find buyers.

The banks have had to put more assets as collaterals as the stock of the transnational companies are devalued. Thus the banks borrow and the Chinese State has begun to squander its reserves.

Dog's biting its tail. Parasitism takes place at very high speed in this "booming economy". The "Chinese locomotive" will have to play the role assigned to it by USA, the dominant imperialism in the Pacific: no more an exporting machine but a super-buyer of the overproduction by transnational corporations. The plan of semi-colonization of China has begun.

But every nightmare can worsen. The European crisis further limited the capacity of China's export. The apologists of capitalism already took it for overcome the crisis of 2008. However it was an illusion; the leaderships of the proletariat had given Capital a short respite strangling the wave of revolutionary offensives of the masses.

The imperialist States helped its broken banks. Only the strongest were able to absorb the world capitals, as did U.S. to cover its huge deficit, or hold itself, as well as the powerful German economy. The majority of the imperialist States went bankrupt. They pulled their entire crisis to the masses and to the world, or else were filled with junk bonds, which they "re valued" as in Greece, transforming the country into vassal or by multiplying the looting of the semi-colonial world.

But again the reality knocks on the door. Capitalism did not destroy enough to recover from the crash of 2008. Greek bankruptcy and subsequent default and the outbreak of the Chinese stock market announce a new slump in the

world economy, which will make the dominant imperialism show the claws not to allow this crisis to touch them.

But what is even more serious, the bourgeoisie knows perfectly well - and Merkel knows what it is about - to collect from Greece, its debtor, and to bring this back to grow as to pay the debt it will not suffice to make it a "remove". Her plan is to finish getting all conquests off the Greek working class, to turn Greece into a maquila, where investing would be a great temptation and big business.

Think that the reformist left told the masses that they could put pressure on imperialism, in a state of crisis and crack, through a referendum and voting for 'NO'!

But here the issue is that the Greek capitalists and bankers are not broken. By breaking the Greek State, they have already recovered all their 2008 losses, and have become associated - although to a thousand times smaller extent - with German and American financial capital. From now on, only the people will pay for the crack. Without proletarian revolution there is no breakthrough for the Greek working class and people. Everything else is a vulgar lie.

The "new left" is nothing more than a reformism without reform. The secret charm of Syriza did not last even 4 months for the masses. The "new left" will have to look in this mirror. Their bosses, the imperialist bankers, will make them play its role by quickly clashing with the world working class. The global capitalist system into bankruptcy will not give reformism peace or tranquility.



The fight of the Greek people

## WHAT THE REFORMIST "NEW LEFT" DOES NOT SAY IS THAT GREECE HAS NO SOLUTION FOR WORKERS IF THEY DO NOT TAKE POWER

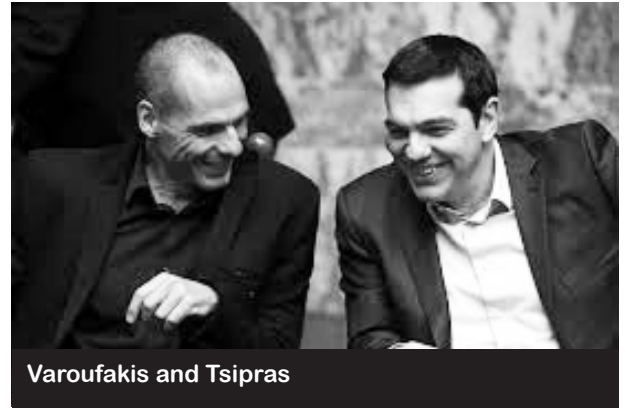
About all this discussion on the Greek question there are already written rivers of ink. But what reformism never says is that Greece has no solution for workers if they do not take power. That is the immediate task posed since 8 years now, before the crack and bankruptcy. Or what are the workers going to do? General strikes are impossible for getting pay rises and defending their pension, when there are millions of laid-off workers, 25% unemployment, closures of schools (over 1000 will be closed) and hospitals (of which 54 high complexities were already closed).

The political struggle of the masses for defeating the infamous regime of the Troika which governs Greece already has shown that is the only possible way of combat of the exploited. The economic struggle has no immediate solution if it not rises to political struggle and the masses don't defeat and pull down the regime and the Government of the ruling classes. Conditions for socialist revolution in Greece are much more than mature, they are rotting and decomposing openly.

Modern "leftists", which are nothing more than cooks revitalizing a concoction of old recipes of the old left, have written rivers of ink on the analogy with the Argentina's 2001, on the "economic implications of rupture of Greece with the EU", on "the difference between Greece and Argentina because the latter has enormous supplies of raw materials for export"... There are high heaps of stupidity of the left following the bourgeois charlatan politicians and journalists.

But everyone wants to hide under seven keys the real issue of Argentina in 2001, i.e. the masses' battle cry: "Que se vayan todos, que no quede ni uno solo!" (That every one of them goes away, not even one of them should remain). In Argentina revolution had started and President De la Rúa had to go by helicopter off the Government House before the harsh fighting in the streets and the embryonic emergence of bodies of self-determination of masses, which threw down five Presidents in one week.

Thousand and one times Greek exploited tried to take this road. They even raised the cry of "que se vayan todos, not even a single one must remain", crashing to the bourgeois Parliament and the then Government of Papandreou, whom they said "you will be another De la Rúa". These huge fights were thousand and one times betrayed by the bureaucracy of trade unions led by the Greek CP, and by the "new left" of Syriza, sustained by the debris of Trotskyism.



Varoufakis and Tsipras

It has been extremely clear that the only way to put a limit to this brutal attack is with a revolutionary uprising of the masses and by defeating in the streets the Government and Parliament of the parasitic bankers and ship-owners of Greece. Let the revolution begin! Open the way to the Councils of workers and soldiers!

That was the plebiscite about; once again the politicians raised that illusion to prevent a crisis in the heights that would have allowed an independent decisive action of the Greek masses leaving no stone of this infamous regime of the Troika and its anti-labor Government.

After so many years, some "leftists" giggle when we speak of Councils of workers and soldiers in Greece. But inside themselves they well grind their teeth. The sole idea causes them panic. That's because if these councils develop, and extend, their days as Greek working class leaderships will be counted.

They want us to believe that the struggle began with the "NO" in the plebiscite of Syriza. But since 2008 the working-class and rebellious youth of Greece have already been performing 32 General strikes, bouts of barricades, factory outlets, casting the bureaucracy out of the trade unions in cities as Thessaloniki, expelling the Union bureaucrats from the demonstrations... The masses clashed with this trade union bureaucracy and their armed bands when the latter were defending the Parliament of Papandreou, which voted the worst attacks against the masses.

With the rebel youth and its self-defense committee immigrants were defended from the beating of the fascist gangs. The ruined middle classes of the countryside went to directly sell their products to the city, to break the chain



in their favor over the ruin of the bourgeois state. Everything else is a vulgar hoax to the exploited. It is to make the masses believe that with elections and 60% or 100% of 'NO' votes, it is possible to stop the IMF, the imperialist Maastricht, and the Greek parasites and... Germany! A country that invaded Europe twice and unleashed two world wars seeking for a sphere of influence of its own in the old Continent. More than a lie this is a tragedy, with which the Greek working class is having very quickly its experience.

To stop the Troika you should defeat first the Greek Government because the enemy is at home. It cannot be achieved by subjecting the working class to its executioners:

Tsipras and the class that he represents.

of middlemen that affected the price of their goods, so that the people could eat. The workers and people alliance was within reach of the hand and still is, faced with the "corralito" expropriating the ruined middle-class savings. The youth put their martyrs, as Alexis Grigoropoulos - shot by Karamanlis murderous police - and Pavlos Fyssas, murdered by the fascist gangs of Golden Dawn.

Then, here which capitulated are those who submitted to the plebiscite and embellished Syriza from the left, i.e., those who closed again a revolutionary path to the Greek working class.

They capitulated who have poisoned the consciousness of millions of workers worldwide awakening illusions in Syriza, saying it would confront the EU and that it could be imposed with 60% of 'NO' votes in the polls. You lie! Capitalists don't feel pressed by votes! Their attack can only be stopped by the working class with its revolutionary struggle. It's them or us, the class of capitalists or the workers.

They capitulated who made the Greek and world working class believe that with "the victory in the polls", Germany, the head of the European imperialist powers, with its Bundesbank filled with junk bonds of Greek debt, would feel frightened and declare their banks' default.

They capitulated who sought to convince the exploited that the Greek bankers were in opposition to the EU, when the great Germany acts as it is, the large dominant imperialist power in Europe, together with US, and Tsipras also acts as he is: a junior partner to international finance capital, and walks on his knees before it.

It is about stopping the EU, imperialist Maastricht, the IMF and the cynical Greek bourgeoisie, by putting the foot on their chest and making them kneel down. That is not made through votes, but with the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Only a provisional revolutionary Government of workers and soldiers can define the fate of the masses

It is necessary to tell the truth. Stopping the unprecedented suffering of the Greek masses, confronting the Troika and parasites of Greek imperialism cannot be achieved with votes but with the revolutionary struggle of the masses of Greece and the whole Europe.

So, the first step to get the masses off the morass to which Syriza took them is deploying a definite fight for the rupture of the exploited with the imperialist bourgeois Government. Combat cannot be other than the fight for rallying decidedly to the streets for seizing the power and putting instead on its foot that of the working class, the unions, the factory committees, the unemployed committees, the committees of the rebellious youth and the ruined petty bourgeois. We must put up the self-defense committees and worker militias, starting by fighting for the liberation of the rebel youth in Greece who was so brave as to confront the fascist gangs; and we also must be prepared, because those gangs will now be multiplied by a thousand.

Enough already of Bonapartist plebiscites! Open the way to the direct democracy of those at the bottom! Que se vayan todos, not even one should remain!

Down with Merkel-Tsipras Covenant!

Disavowal of all the external debt contracted by Greek parasitic bankers!

Annulment and cancellation of all conventions and secret agreements of Greece with the Morgan Bank, Goldman Sachs, Wall Street and the IMF!

Expropriation without compensation of all the bankers, for a single State banking! Expropriation without compensation and under worker control of the transnational corporations of all the Greek ship-owners and finance capital!

The clash between classes is inevitable. The bourgeoisie is also prepared vigorously to these shocks. Either with



Syriza disciplining all bourgeois fractions in the Parliament to vote as law the agreements with Germany and the EU; or going to new elections with a worn out Syriza, with the masses demobilized and reconstituting a reactionary power, settled in counter-revolutionary forces to discipline the exploited. These variants are which the Greek middle class is already weighing.

We insist; collisions are inevitable. There is no room for concessions. Reformism cannot regulate any reform, except to be the guarantor of the business of the capitalists openly. Syriza mask has been removed in front of the masses.

The bourgeoisie seeks to define this clash in their favor with counter-revolutionary blows and fascism. It will attempt to pull from the Greek working class until the last drop of blood and sweat, and for this purpose the exploiters are preparing a hard defeat. The Government of Syriza and its plebiscite were a "siren song" so that the masses crash against the coup of the Greek bankers and Merkel, the "Iron Lady", the head of the EU, together with the US Capital.

It is a lie that in Greece there has been a "coup d'état". In fact there was a common action of the imperialist forces of Maastricht and its Government in Greece against the masses, against the working class. Nobody here defeated Syriza. Actually Syriza, the bourgeois Government, is trying to deliver a severe blow to the Greek working class.

What's next is a mass dismissal of civil servants, plus pension, wage and job loss... even more unprecedented sacrifices for those masses who are already suffering. Reformism prepared the working class to pressure struggles with votes at polls to "stop the offensive of capital". The latter took its whip, and said "so this issue is resolved". Capital disciplined its agent Syriza / Tsipras, and sent him to attack the Greek working class openly.

What were those waiting who today come to spend the days after the referendum, while more and more Syriza agrees with Merkel one growing attack against the Greek workers? What did they expect with the victory of the 'NO'? Maybe they expected Syriza -pressed by the masses and the 'NO' vote- to expropriate the Greek bankers and the large imperialist ship-owners without payment, to retrieve the theft to the Greek people?

This is a vulgar invention and a political crime. The lefts' true program for Greece has all along this time been: "unity of action with Syriza and the Greek Government to pressure it to confront the imperialist Troika". The bourgeoisie cannot be pressed. Either it is made to lay on its knees, or it will crush the workers. The bourgeois only delivers some concession when it is on the verge of losing everything, and this wasn't the situation created by the plebiscite, but the opposite.

The only way... to resume the offensive fighting of 2008

**LET AGAIN ATHENS' SPARK IGNITE EUROPE!**

**LET'S DEFEAT THE MERKEL-TSIPRAS COVENANT OF HUNGER AND SLAVERY AGAINST THE GREEK WORKING CLASS AND THROUGHOUT EUROPE!**

The combat is class against class

**DISSOLUTION OF THE PUPPET PARLIAMENT OF THE IMPERIALIST BANKERS! REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE! QUE SE VAYAN TODOS, NOT EVEN A SINGLE ONE SHOULD REMAIN!**

**DOWN WITH THE EUROPE OF MAASTRICHT, MERKEL AND THE GREEK BANKERS! OUT WITH THE IMF! OPEN THE WAY TO REVOLUTION!**

When we are publishing this statement the Greek Parliament is about to meet, which will devote to make law Merkel and Tsipras Pact against the workers and the people.

The attack by Merkel and Tsipras on the Greek working class IS AN ATTACK TO ALL THE EUROPEAN WORKING CLASS. The skyrocketing of the public service fees, the VAT increase, the attack on pensions, the job instability of public employees and the labor flexibility that they want to impose on Greece, if it is not stopped there, will deepen and go against all the European working class. Only thus imperialist Europe will reconstitute its current bankruptcy.



**Argentina: 2001 uprising**

This offensive against the workers of the Continent began long ago. The entire crisis of bankrupt Maastricht has been downloaded on the workers of imperialist Europe and Eastern Europe maquila. There are the same claws of Germany, US imperialism, the Great Britain and France, among others, which are crushing the Ukrainian working class and massacring the Donbass miners. These resist heroically, along with the working class in Kiev, an attack of the same magnitude that Greek workers are suffering, an attack that will deepen in all European countries.

It is not just Greece that is bankrupt, but the whole imperialist Europe. The world crack began in the imperialist gang heads' home, USA, which is littering the world -and Europe in particular- with its crisis and thousands of tons of junk bonds.

The "new left" and their spokesmen throughout the world have said that the real clash and confrontation is "between oppressed Greece" and "imperialist Germany". They have thus forced the working class in Europe to choose a location in any of two "blocks", either in the "progressive bloc" of Greece or against it in the regressive "block" of Germany. Every working class has thus been submitted by them to its own imperialist bourgeoisie, particularly the German and Greek ones.

This is a scam. They have presented the current struggle not as a fight of the working class in Greece and throughout Europe against imperialist Maastricht, Merkel and the Greek Government. In fact we have a true class war between the exploited in Europe and the imperialist Governments and regimes. The "new left" has said contrariwise, and thus it has isolated the Greek working class from their class sisters and brothers of Germany, when it is precisely there where the attack on the Greek and European working class can be stopped.

This is the current tragedy of the European working class. The spark of Athens yesterday burned Europe. The policy of the social imperialist reformist left has been wetting the gunpowder so that the spark is already not even turning in Greece.

Against this policy of "blocks", "Greece against Germany," that the "new left" and Syriza drive, any revolutionary policy in Greece must stand clearly that: the enemy is at home! So it is also for the German, French and English working classes. This is the only way to conquer the unity of the European working class in one single fist.

For Merkel, imbibing the Greek imperialist bourgeoisie, in the defeat to the Greek proletariat the conditions to defeat the German proletariat are implicit. The latter, gripped by Social Democracy, Stalinism, and the threat of the crack, has not yet intervened in a decisive form. German imperialism has been regulating the crisis inside Germany; but if the attack in Greece passes, Merkel will return with all her strength to crush the German working class, such as France, England and all imperialist powers will also do. In Greece, the immediate task is the Socialist Revolution. And in Germany and the rest of imperialist Europe, the first task in order to free the workers and common people

from the yoke of the capitalists, is to stop and defeat the attack of Merkel and imperialist Maastricht against the Greek working class. Again, the battle cry is: the enemy is at home!

Preventing this is the task of the "nationalist" notion of the imperialist powers distilled by labor autocracies and bureaucracies of the old continent. It is about breaking the unity of the working class and developing the worst chauvinism in the labor movement. We insist, that is the role of a powerful aristocracy and labor bureaucracy, such as the social imperialist parties and Union bureaucracies, which are responsible for submitting the working class to their executioners.

The true policy of the German bourgeoisie is making their working class believe that the cause of their misfortunes is the "completely indolent" Greek working class... and vice versa, to convince the Greek working class that those responsible for its miseries are the German workers. "The enemy is at home," is the only possible policy to pave the way for the victory of the European working class. "The enemy is at home," means that the Greek and German working classes have nothing to gain from the Governments of Syriza and Merkel, but everything to lose. The German working class has long ago lost its 36 working hours per week and 25% of its salary. The conditions have been created long ago for the German workers to meet the suffering Greek and European working classes. Chauvinist social imperialist leaderships are who prevent it.

The Greek left and their followers in the world say - and their subordination to the plebiscite reflects it - that their program is "along with Syriza, let's defeat the Troika, and then we will settle accounts with the Greek bourgeois Government". This amounts to putting the Greek working class in the hanging rope of its executioner and away from their class brothers and sisters of Germany, France, England and throughout Europe; because it is impossible to start in defeating Maastricht and the Troika without the victory of the socialist revolution in Greece. Everything else is a vile lie.

The "new left" is armed with old recipes, the pseudo theories and treacherous programs of old Stalinism: "Let's go with progressive or attacked imperialism against the aggressor imperialism". They made this yesterday in the Second World War with England and France against Hitler; and now they do so with the "Greece under attack" against the "oppressive Germany". They have subjected the working class to "democratic" or "unfortunate" imperialism saying that, in a second stage, they would make "the revolution"... but they are always hung to the coattails of any imperialist gang. So they prepare the worst defeats for the working class.

It is imperative to tell the truth to the workers. The fight for the disavowal of the external debt of Greece is the struggle for the expropriation of the Greek bankers and the transnationals, because as members of the European and American financial capital they are which created it and cheated the people. This is the only program which, breaking

with chauvinism, opens the conditions to conquer the unity of the Greek working class with their brethren in Europe. That opens the way to the defeat of imperialist Maastricht and to the start of a European socialist revolution.

Plebiscites, the submission to Syriza's siren song and all their deceptions are not more than a diversion to hold the stick of Germany and Greek imperialist bankers and knock the workers. Leftist parties won't save their faces after such capitulation to Syriza and the Greek imperialist bourgeoisie. The first step to show if they are truly for the workers is that whoever speaks on behalf of working-class organizations must break openly with the class collaboration Government of Syriza, Independent Greeks... and the President of New Democracy.



President Obama with Tsipras

Here the theory-program has collapsed of "Let's all of us go with Syriza in the first stage, then celebrate the plebiscite - as they did, on account of what they had not yet conquered - and afterwards, in the second stage we can settle scores with the Greek imperialist bankers in misfortune", as the new left claimed.

The left voted to celebrate the world day of the plebiscite and not tell the truth to the masses. Everyone cheers... White House hails... Merkel becomes a bit tough, but agrees to everything... and the left celebrates.

This is the "new left"... a concoction of old recipes of Stalinism and social democracy.

All of them should explain. Or maybe they have some other "great tactic" to offer the Greek working class?

**ENOUGH IS ENOUGH! DOWN WITH THE ATTACK OF TSIPRAS, MERKEL, OBAMA AND IMF ON THE GREEK WORKERS AND PEOPLE! THE EXIT TO THE CRISIS IS IN THE STREETS! THE CRISIS MUST BE PAID BY THE GREEK BANKERS AND TRANSNATIONALS TOGETHER WITH THE EU AND THE IMF!**

**DISSOLUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE TROIKA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF PARASITE BANKERS OF GREECE! "QUE SE VAYAN TODOS!" ("THAT EVERYONE OF THEM GO AWAY AND NEVER RETURN!") GENERAL STRIKE!**

**TO THE STREETS TO FIGHT; THERE IS NOTHING TO CELEBRATE!**

**OUT WITH MAASTRICHT, THE IMF, AND THE "NEW LEFT"!**

**THEY ARE A FRAUD!**

**FOR THE UNITY OF THE WHOLE EUROPEAN WORKING CLASS!**

Merkel and Tsipras' attack must be stopped in Berlin, Madrid, Paris, and by making the oppressed peoples in Eastern Europe rebel, since the working class of the imperialist Europe would look at itself in the "mirror" of those working classes and their squalid living conditions.

### **THE LIBERATION OF THE WORKERS, WILL BE A WORK OF THE WORKERS THEMSELVES!**

Open the way to the revolutionary Greece of the Councils of workers and soldiers!

Against the European Union of the imperialist powers ... **For the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!**

The crisis of leadership of the Greek and European working class boils down to this: they have long had an overabundance of treacherous leaderships. Decisive clashes between classes are already here. The Greek pre-revolutionary situation was opened in 2008. We are now seeing its crucial chapters.

Only fighting to unite Greek workers with the European working class and collaborating to make these to rise to set up combat organizations, it may advance to put up a revolutionary leadership. That is what the fight is about for the Councils of workers and soldiers and workers militias, with representatives of all the oppressed classes of society.

There, in the bodies of dual power of the masses, it will be the order of the day the setting of a revolutionary leadership, which will only emerge as an expression of the international combat of the revolutionary forces of the fourth international against the liquidators of the Socialist Revolution.

## THE SERIOUS POLITICAL CRISIS AND THE CRACK THREATEN AGAIN TO BREAK THE WEAKEST LINK IN THE CHAIN OF IMPERIALIST DOMINATION IN EUROPE, WHICH IS GREECE

The treacherous leaderships disorganized a thousand and one offensives of the masses in Greece and the whole Europe all these years, as we saw in the pre-revolutionary upheavals in the Spanish State, the sit-in strikes and the rebellions of the immigrants in France in 2009-2010, in the general strikes in Belgium and Portugal; in the uprising in Tottenham, England; in the fight of the German youth and working class against the proto-fascist movements; in the harsh resistance of the Italian workers against the austerity plans; and in a hundred more uprisings in Eastern Europe, from Georgia to Ukraine to Euro-Asiatic Kirgizstan. The treacherous leaderships have created the worst conditions for the European working class to fight. First they contained the first wave of struggles of 2009-2011, year when the huge revolutionary processes were beginning in Maghreb and the Middle East, in the spheres of influence of the imperialist powers. And once those have been smashed, the imperialists go for Greece, and tomorrow they will go definitely for the entire European working class.

In Greece, as in Ukraine, two great battles of the world working class are being held. Imperialism as a whole is concentrating its forces to smash these two revolutionary focuses. If it cannot crush them, they could expand and put all Europe on fire, to either side of the Rhine, both in the imperialist West as in the oppressed Eastern Europe.

The last word has not been pronounced. This will not be said by counting the votes of the working class neighborhoods, but organizing the fighting in the factories, with the immigrants, the rebel youth and the rank and file soldiers. There lies the future of Greece and also the future of the European revolution.

Let's speak up. The Greek proletariat only has common interests with the European and World working class. Without this as a precondition, no decisive struggle could be taken ahead. It's indispensable to break with the government of Syriza.

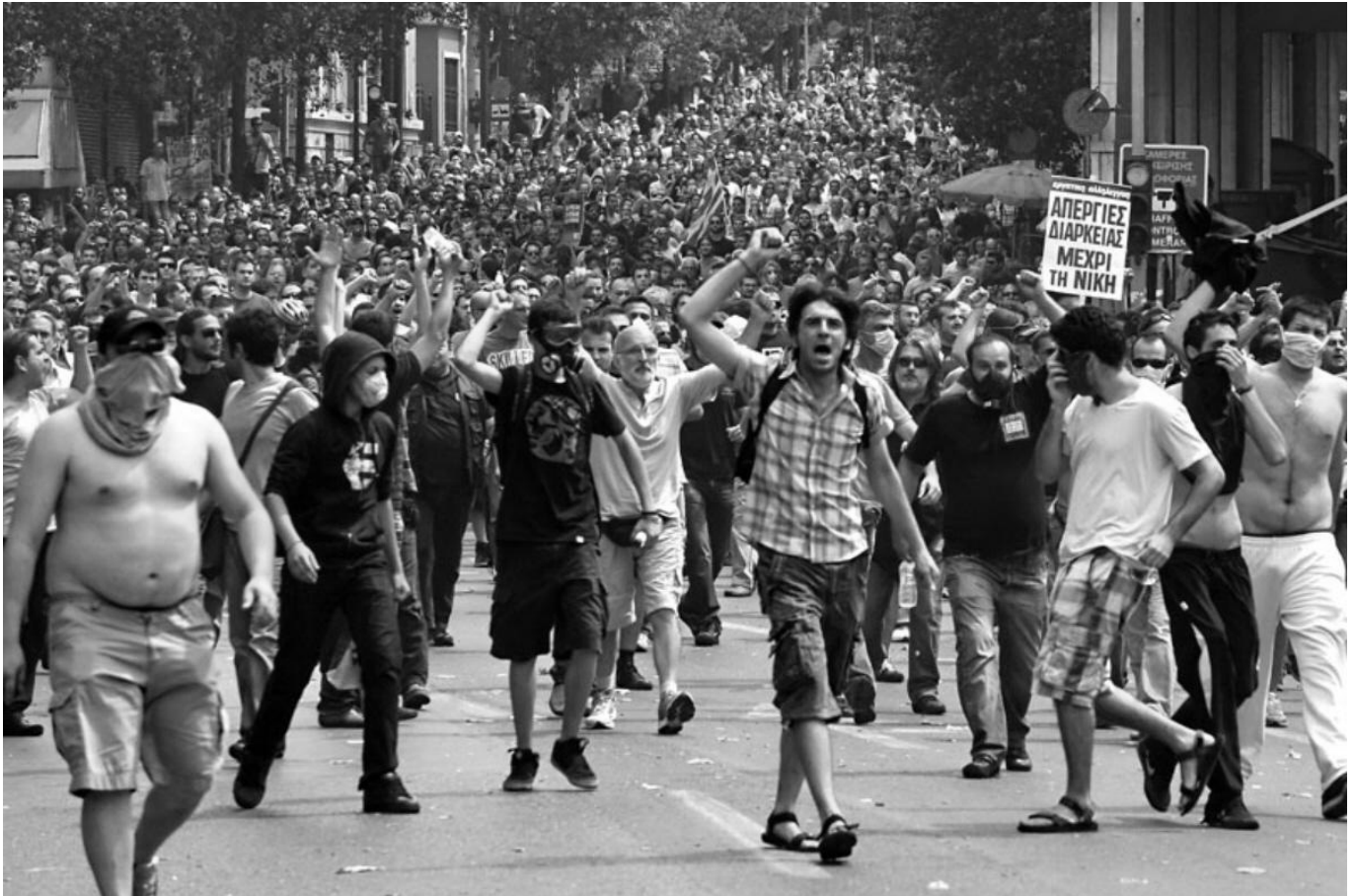
The first battles of the struggle against the deal Merkel-Tsipras have begun. When this declaration was in the press, the first clashes have started in the streets against the Parliament of the Troika and the pirates of the Greek bourgeoisie. Transport and state workers are already striking and calling to surround the Parliament today. The Communist Party, which leads the PAME Central Union, and called to vote NULL in the plebiscite, putting itself as "a left alternative" to Syriza, has now the opportunity of showing that it is really fighting for a government of the workers or is putting up a new farce to feat the working class.

The KKE and the unions it dominates had an opportunity for calling to defeat the plebiscite, opposing to it, not the ridiculous call to vote NULL, but a courageous struggle of the unions and the whole working class against Syriza, which has come for a time applying a starving plan of the Troika. The Stalinist bureaucracy in the unions also prevented the masses from giving a reply in the streets to the trap of the plebiscite. Well, now the conditions are overripe to give that reply. A call for a national congress of the unions and worker organizations, to put up committees of enterprises, of unemployed, of supplies, etc., would open a new perspective for Greek exploited and also put on the order of the day a call to all workers in Europe for coordinating a common struggle against the imperialist Europe of Maastricht. Old Communist Parties in Europe are also part of the debris that constitutes this "new left", and they play an essential role in the task division inside the same. Today they are the great obstacle for opening a revolutionary perspective. Dug in as bureaucrats in the Unions, they have carried the European working class –and particularly, the Greek one– to beg the capitalists: "please, be merciful and don't make us tight so much our belts", "stop your austerity plans". That amounts to begging the fox not to eat the chickens. These union bureaucracies have imposed on the unions the worst humiliations and separated the unionized workers from the millions of unemployed and immigrant workers.

The leash of Capital is uniting ever more all the sections of the working class, including the ruined layers of the middle-classes. This is now a sharp reality in Greece. The masses are trying to break the contention dams of their leaderships. This is one of the last opportunities that the Greek masses have to find a breakthrough, and a poignant warning to all the workers in the imperialist powers.

### **Let's set up the organizations of dual power of the fighting masses!**

It is necessary to unite all the masses that are fighting. No demands in any sector or trade inside the working class can now be achieved without defeating the government and the deal Tsipras-Merkel. All the sections of the masses that enter the struggle must set up the organizations of self-organization and direct democracy of the masses: the state workers, the Unions, the workers of the bankrupt enterprises, the unemployed, the rebel youth, the ruined petty-bourgeoisie.



A huge political crisis is now open in Greece. The treacherous leaderships want to prevent the masses from discovering the monster that is waiting for them in the shadows, so that the masses do not hit it harshly and beforehand: the caste of officers of the Greek Army, which is part of the high rank of generals of the NATO; the same caste that gave birth to the infamous murderous Greek Colonels.

The demand for committees of rank and file soldiers which prevent any repression against the people, the right of these soldiers to be unionized, and their participation in the actions of the workers and the people in their struggles, is now a decisive question before the political crisis that Greece is entering. Out of Kosovo the Greek military bases!

Golden Dawn and the whole fascist movement, before the development of the crisis and supported by the ruined desperate petty-bourgeoisie, will turn to recruit fresh forces –encouraged in the backroom by Big Capital- in order to attack labor and the fighting masses. Building up a worker militia in Greece is a question of life and death for the exploited. The youth has been the vanguard of this struggle. It is necessary to set up the committees of self- defense of the fighting workers alongside the immigrant workers, facing any attempt from the part of the bureaucracy of the Unions to break from inside the struggle of the Greek exploited, as

we saw already in 2012 when the masses were fighting to throw down Papandreou.

Huge class battles are on the works; Big Capital has given the order: “all-out civil war against the masses”. No one may go on creating illusions about “coming epochs of social peace and harmony among the classes”. More than ever, there is a very clear alternative ahead. Bourgeoisie with its class-collaboration governments –of the likes of Syriza- comes putting to sleep and anaesthetizing the masses, so to be able to repress violently and unmolested their left wing. Meanwhile, Big Capital prepares Fascism. In Greece, the latter has been long grinding the workers’ backs with sticks and guns.

Whither Greece? Towards an iron alternative: either socialist revolution or fascism and war.

**Statement of the FLTI -  
Collective for the Refoundation  
Fourth International**

## ONGOING DEBATE

*Two theories and two programs confront in the Greek barricades*

**TROTSKYISM AND THE THEORY-PROGRAM OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION; AND THE "NEW LEFT", FOLLOWERS OF THE PSEUDO-THEORY AND PROGRAM OF STALINISM AND THE SOCIALDEMOCRACY**

### The "new left" and the "bourgeois fields" old venom recipe

For Marxism, the history of mankind is the history of class struggle. There are exploiting and exploited classes, in this case capitalists and workers.

For reformers and opportunists, even since the 19th century, and after that for social democracy, the Stalinists and all that came after them in the 20th century to the present day, this Marxist law, which boils down to "the history of mankind is the history of class struggle", "is suspended" during some historical periods. For them, at times, the ruling classes collide among themselves. For example, they say that in semi-colonial countries the native bourgeoisie clashes with the abuses of imperialism, or that in the imperialist countries democratic imperialists collide against the "more fascist" ones.

For all of these people, at times "two blocks" occur in the bourgeoisie: a "progressive" one and another that is "regressive". For them there's a bourgeois block that the proletariat can use for their purposes making political deals with it, thus helping to strengthen the proletarian forces. So, for them, the working class must walk forward next to the "democratic bourgeoisie" against the "fascist bourgeoisie" or with the bourgeoisie of the semi-colonial countries "against imperialism".

Which more developed this "two fields" theory was Stalinism in its "popular fronts" policy. These old recipes about "progressive bourgeois fields" - led the working class to

the worst defeats by supporting "democratic" imperialism in the inter-imperialist wars or seconding bourgeois governments, lackeys of imperialism, which were disguised in "democratic" clothes to strangle the proletarian revolution.

We will not enumerate here the huge list of revolutions betrayed by this poison of the reformist left "two fields" theory. We mention here some of them: Stalinism applied it to strangle the world revolution as in the tragedy of Spain and France in the '30 and in the Yalta and Potsdam Pact between Stalin and the supposedly 'democratic' imperialism (Roosevelt and Churchill). That theory was that choked the 1968/74 revolutionary upsurge and all the fights for national independence in the aftermath of the Second World War; and so on. We could be enumerating those defeats for hours. "Two fields" theory and practice, that is, the existence of "progressive bourgeois fields", is common to all renegades to Marxism.

They hold it is "tactical" to "have the class struggle suspended" and also it is that "the proletariat limit their demands to be able to make a block with the bourgeoisie". Them, from Lassalle to Bernstein, Kautsky, Martov and Stalin to the Renegades of the Trotskyism of today, all respond that move is something "tactical".

Life has showed that not even formal bourgeois democracy is defended; imperialism can't be defeated in

semi-colonial countries nor will inter-imperialist wars be prevented, if the working class does not join forces with the other oppressed classes of society against the bourgeoisie. Where there is a bourgeois and thousand workmen, it is the bourgeois who has the upper hand, since if there is no agreement the latter goes away with his wallet, as Trotsky says. The most serious flaw of this "two fields" theory is that it poisons the consciousness of the working class and creates in it illusions in its executioners.

As Trotsky would say, on a political front with the bourgeoisie is not the law of mathematics which rules, that is, in which one plus one is two, but the law of the parallelogram of forces, i.e. the product of two forces with opposite direction is zero.

Who gives even the tip of the little finger to the bourgeoisie, or creates political illusions about bourgeois parties and Governments is giving his/her soul to the devil. Moreover, the sin is much more serious, because he/she becomes responsible for the atrocities and the exploitation of a bourgeois Government against the working class. But what is more serious still, giving the slightest support to a bourgeois Government is to waive in advance the fight to overthrow it.

That is what the policy of the "new left" is about, in this case against the 'NO' of Syriza: a clear "two fields" policy. In itself, it is a complete program through which the left

refuses to prepare the conditions for a revolutionary overthrow of that Government -a bourgeois class collaboration Government-, because it awakens illusions of the masses in it. And it is not enough to then say "Syriza has betrayed us" while they called to a political front with Tsipras by means of voting NO in the plebiscite.

This is not a tactical problem. It is a problem of strategy and principle. Of course, for reformism no strategy problems and principles exist. They live in the world of the immediate, where the strategy is not raised except for many, many years later, when the Socialist Revolution "can begin". Therefore for reformism principles and strategies have no importance.

For us, revolutionaries, any tactical that does not express the strategy and principles is a betrayal. There are tactics and tactics, some are treasonous and other are revolutionary. Support the bourgeoisie is part of the first. Marxism has a revolutionary tactics manual: the unified labor front, the revolutionary intervention in the bourgeois parliaments, etc. But if these do not pursue the objective of the seizure of power, they turn against the working class.

There have been "geniuses" of sophistry who have come to say, paraphrasing Clausewitz, "tactics are the actions of scattered patrols" and strategy is "the conjunction of those actions with a goal"... but this is quackery. The war techniques are based on a principle, which is to concentrate all forces and means available to overcome the will of the enemy. So the crucial point is separating the forces of the working class from their torturers, to liberate them from the latter and its institutions of domination in a way that allow the exploited to take power.

Therefore it is not tactical to make a political bloc with the bourgeoisie, unless you want to betray. Any tactical intervention in bourgeois electoral processes must serve to organize the fighting of the masses, denouncing the bourgeois institutions of domination, fighting for the power of the working class and to develop the forces of

the revolutionary movement.

We Marxists do not reject the unity of action, even with the devil. For example, we make a military action unity with anyone who faces imperialism if the latter attacks an oppressed country. We do not deny the unity of action for a point in the struggle against imperialism if the native bourgeoisie are seeking to press it by mobilizing the masses. But we never do a political bloc with the bourgeoisie.

In the elections for parliamentary seats any political working class intervention is based on maintaining the class independence. In a plebiscite, no different class blocks hide in the 'Yes' or 'NO' alternative. The bourgeois parties next to Syriza were in the "NO" vote. The same was true for the 'Yes'. That's why now the bourgeois have very easily agreed and voted together Merkel package.

That is why, either in the elections you respect the political independence of the working class or you seal a political bloc with the bourgeoisie and betray the proletariat. There are no intermediate tactics.

Plebiscites as of Greece are the most undemocratic form of wrapping the bourgeois dictatorship and a policy of class collaboration, for **in a referendum you always opt between two bourgeois policies; the working class cannot introduce its program and put it to the vote. Or does anyone know any referendum that has been put to the vote whether or not the property of capitalists will be respected?**

Let's talk about clear. The "new left" wanted to sell that the workers and the people were in the "NO". But many times workers vote to bourgeois parties. We saw it with Chavez, Peron, Obama... Some other "new left"



Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin

parties and currents also said that if the 'NO' won, the best conditions were being created to fight

As we see today, the trap of the 'NO' created the worst conditions to fight, not the best ones.

As we shall see later, PTS (Partido de los Trabajadores Socialistas - Socialist Workers' Party) of Argentina, which called on not to vote in the plebiscite, ended with an ambiguous policy. In other words, for them the victory of the 'NO' would be a hybrid or rather, algebraic result; i.e., either Tsipras can use it against the working class or the working class can use it to deal with the EU. As we see, this last variant did not nor could be with Syriza in the Government, because every confrontation with the EU must begin with defeating Tsipras, not with him coming as a winner with the 'NO' vote, as he did.

These are steps in the clouds and reformist fantasies. The elections are the ground of the bourgeoisie. If we of the revolutionary parties can develop our positions, we intervene in them to develop the extra-parliamentary struggle of masses. We reaffirm, however, that the "No" or "Yes" alternative in a referendum does not allow to express a class independence policy. It is the most perfidious and anti-democratic of bourgeois traps. We insist the only one that can use the referenda is the bourgeoisie. Tsipras and Merkel did very well and quickly could discipline all the Greek parliamentarians of all parties, including the "rebels from Syriza's" and most of the "left".

In the "NO" you could find any kind

of bourgeois parties, including the fascists of Golden Dawn and bourgeois partners of Tsipras at the Ministry of Defense -the Independent Greeks. In the "Yes", there was the entire EU governments plus Greek New Democracy and PASOK.

The division was established around which bourgeois program was to be applied in Greece, whether that of Tsipras, that is of negotiating a more gradual attack or that of Merkel, "operating without anesthesia"... or the exit from the euro. After the deception, they turned out to be all for Merkel's way.

The extreme pressure from Merkel legitimized the "setting in increasingly fewer installments" by Tsipras. The more Merkel pressed, the more and more Tsipras 'gave in', as his sycophants say. **Let's say the truth, both of them, Merkel and Tsipras played for the same team.** The truth is that Tsipras told the exploited: "accept my prescription, if not you will have to gulp Merkel's which is worse". He deceived them. The masses voted for 'NO'. And now he returns to say: "if we do not now support this new setting, it will become worse, because not only we have to mortgage the State enterprises, but put them on behalf of the creditors directly". Tsipras was always who worked to impose an ultimatum on the Greek working class. And this is very clear. No one can deny it. The plebiscite was a great blackmail against the masses. And the world "new left" was an ACCOMPLICE to this.

The problem is no one within it denounced that in this plebiscite, both the "Yes" and the "NO", or the hybrid positions about them, were part of a great anti-democratic trap against the working class... a fraud of various bourgeois gangs. That is the crux of the matter.

No current, even the more "reddish" ones denounced the referendum trap nor called to defeat it. Some, like Antarsya, Argentina's PO (Partido Obrero - Workers' Party, Argentina), a sector of Greek Stalinism, the Syriza left, French NPA and other various Renegades to Trotskyism which swarm behind the "new left" emerging in Europe, called to give a class struggle content to the 'NO'. This is impossible; because after the voting, who



Greece - Syntagma Square: "We are awake! What time is it? It's time they go!"

implements, executes and decides what is to be done with those 'NO' votes? The "revolutionary" members elected by plebiscite? But the plebiscite did not elect any members, even of the reformist parties. Tsipras did what he wanted. It was the Government of Syriza that had "NO" in its pocket, as Merkel had the "Yes" vote.

Calling to vote 'NO', "though changing its content", and make the masses believe and develop delusions about that serving to defeat the attack, was collaborating with the deception against the same masses.

The PO of Argentina said in its statement on July 7 addressing the victory of the 'NO' in the referendum: "popular rebellion against the so-called Troika, comprising the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the IMF"... They speak of "a sinister trio";... but isn't the Syriza Government a part of the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the IMF for attacking the working class and make it pay for the crisis of their bankers and transnationals? We have here a position that vindicates the theory of "two fields", that is, an openly class collaborationist position. For now PO, Antarsya, French NPA and all new European social-imperialist left have long broken with any policy of class independence.

The PO has been caught in the bourgeois 'field' of the 'NO'. And let's be clear. The more the bourgeoisie lies to and deceives the working class the more this deception and this lie should be denounced.

For its part, French NPA - which has long ago broken publicly with the struggle for socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat - and "anti-capitalist" Greeks of Antarsya say: "on Sunday, more than 60% of Greeks voted for NO in the referendum. What does this vote mean for Greece? It is clear that this was a class vote." (Interview with Manos Skoufoglou, leader of Antarsya on July 6)

This is a lie. Voting 'NO' was a vote of class collaboration. Syriza and the bourgeoisie of the 'NO' used it to impose the plan of the Troika. And it is not about many NO votes coming from working-class neighborhoods. Also many workers voted Peron and his party in Argentina to Chavez in Venezuela to Obama in the USA and that does not mean that they were class votes.

The PO, the NPA, Antarsya... were in the "NO sidewalk". And now what do they complain about when Tsipras announces his "adjustment plan"? Because the masses -and not them- are who pay the consequences of such treachery and fraud.

The PTS called "not to enter the trap of the 'NO'". That was correct. Here it is not a question of winning an argument. The problem is that the same PTS ended up entering the trap...

It announced during days: "while the Tsipras Government will try to use the referendum to maneuver with European leaders and maintain the policy of retrenchment in exchange for the bail-out workers, young people, the



impoverished sectors have expressed their repudiation of the Troika (...) "The rejection of the Troika will be expressed in different ways, both by those that will vote NO and those who do not consider the referendum as any way out." (Declaration of the PTS on June 30 2015).

They are saying that by means of the 'NO' vote the working class could repudiate the EU plan and the Government, which had been already negotiating - as they also say - an agreement with Merkel in the backstage against the Greek people! They said that time and again... endlessly.

Syriza has deceived the Greek people. They could not express their yearning for Justice and stopping the terrible attack on them. Today the 'NO' means a ton stones dropping to each worker in the head.

**The 'NO' could not nor can ever be used against the Troika because it was a tool of Syriza, its Government and the negotiating table with Merkel. Only with the fight in the streets, with General strikes and deepening the road to revolution you can reject the Troika;** and that's inseparable from - and at no time the PTS says that- defeating the Government of Syriza, which is an enemy of the people, a Government of the imperialist bankers,. This had to be said with the bravery of the Bolsheviks against the Kerensky: Syriza is a Government of imperialism, the enemy of the people. It was necessary to report it even if that amounted to remain alone, because today millions would have been saying "they were right; they were brave and did not lie to us." The PTS simulated with marching to a correct position. But stayed in the middle and ended up giving the 'NO' magic values. That's regrettable.

Though, the PTS went further still. In a statement July 7 it announces "a paradox" after the victory of the 'NO'. Its leadership expressed a sort of "Yes, but not". They say, on the one hand, that the 'NO' "has strengthened the Government that is ready now to negotiate with the same Troika". How can this be? Had not they told us that

the 'NO', according to the PTS, was a way in which the workers also could "repudiate the Troika"? Here their eclecticism is boundless. If the 'NO' serves Syriza and also Merkel, as we see today, how is the 'NO' going to serve for the working class to make use of it? As you see, the 'NO' vote has a "multiple use" for PTS.

In a previous article on July 6 the PTS had posed another "paradox": "while the Greek people spoke out forcefully against the Troika, the destiny of the Greeks is again in the latter's hands".

So then PTS is saying that the plebiscite was a great trap; that the 'NO' was a fraud. Though they had said before that in this fraud "the working class expressed its repudiation to the Troika". What ends up being a fraud is the position of the PTS. How could the working class come out as a winner from a plebiscite that was a scam against it? The PTS was with one foot in a correct position facing the plebiscite, and with the other foot together with its friends Antarsya and French NPA which openly supported it.

In its Declaration on July 7 PTS ends it saying -after reporting that the 'NO' was a fraud- that it is possible that "the NO at the ballot box" turns "into a NO in the class struggle to fight for the power of the workers". Here you have delirium, a 40 Celsius degrees fever. So they say that the working class, with the 'NO', that is a fraud, can fight for the power of the workers! Indeed, PTS has been lost between the columns of the Parthenon in Greece.

This amounts to saying that, despite the fraud of 'NO', despite Syriza using the 'NO' in favor of the Troika, the ballots with the 'NO' votes can exit the ballot boxes and organize the battalions to "fight for the power of the workers". We have already seen how PO -the partner of the PTS in Argentinean FIT- has raised that the success of the 'NO' vote in the referendum had been a "popular rebellion against the Troika"... How is that, a "rebellion" with votes? Have the ballots insurrected at the polls? Do they jump? What are you speaking about? This is all a smokescreen. There was no other chance of expressing a policy

of class independence and clashing with the Troika save that of facing both Yes and NO in the plebiscite; because unless workers break with both 'Yes' and 'NO', that is, with Syriza's fraud and its plebiscite, they will not advance to the Socialist Revolution. Telling the working class that it "can use the NO vote to fight" is a lie. Because what you need to say is that you have to break with this Government that has cheated us with the referendum, because it is pro-EU, because it is pro-IMF, because it is the "left Manager" of the Morgan banking, so much -or more an enemy of the Greek workers as is Merkel. It is the jailer of the rebellious and combative youth. It is which posed as lamb and turned out to be the Wolf. It's that freed with its judges the fascists of Golden Dawn, which kill immigrant workers with their sticks.

This had to say before, during and after the plebiscite. And what about tactics? In any case they are in the hands of the reformers, who claim to be the "geniuses of the tactics".

The PTS announced the mother of all battles against the referendum, but stayed on the "NO side-walk", giving Syriza ideology from the left. After insisting correctly that due to the policy of Syriza, "the NO mandate" at the ballot box, runs the risk of becoming in a few hours in a Yes" (and this it also called "paradox") in its statement on July 7 continues saying: "the referendum has operated a change at a level that might not be still perceptible." (sic.) Here it is already entering a fantasy world. The 'NO' vote has telepathic powers. The PTS says that this level, which is not yet perceptible, "is the self-perception of the masses of their own strength. This vital element, establishing itself in the balance of power between classes, is the main asset of the Greek working class and youth to face the fighting to come."

Blah, blah, blah. So the Argentine working-class voted Peron and realized its own strength because he won the election? Or workers vote Obama, who won the elections, and thus they got "through their self-perception" their own strength? What kind of invention is this, to enter the 'NO' through the window?

The PTS's trick is speaking about everything, and finally saying that 'NO' has a "progressive character", which can "raise the consciousness of the masses". If this is so, why PTS has not called to vote "No"? If it rains, why not come out with an umbrella? The PTS threatened to leave the "NO field", but came to the edge of the palisade and returned to the 'field' of Syriza again. If you develops much your "self-perception" you will notice quickly from this.

Here nobody invents any position that these people do not have, though they pretend to speak in a highbrow way. Theirs is a big lie. The 'NO' and the referendum are a defeat for the working class, and they have been used by Syriza to attack it violently. This defeat now the masses must overturn once their struggles were diverted by this Government of class collaboration of Syriza and its infamous plebiscite, which turned out to be nothing more than a detour to let Merkel, the EU and the Greek bankers put the sacrifice of the working class in their pockets. That is what the triumph or defeat is about: that money goes into the pockets of bankers, with the "NO" included. Don't lie anymore!

All this left believes that the class nature of the institutions of the bourgeoisie can be changed. This is the old social democratic theory of Bernstein that the "State is neutral", an "empty bag" that each class may impose their own content to. Bernstein's followers today say for example, that you can press the bosses' justice to get "good sentences" in favor of the workers. Or that in the Parliament, which is an institution of the bourgeois state, it is possible, due to the presence of "worker representatives" to vote laws "in favor of the workers". All this is a vile deception.

The left with 'NO' applies this same theory to the plebiscite, saying that you may give it content in favor of the masses or against them if Syriza uses it. That's a shame. Because who will use it, if not Tsipras? We will not tire of affirming that the 'NO' in the

referendum was one of the policies of the Greek bourgeoisie and bankers to fool the masses and impose a brutal attack, in partnership with the Merkel who if the YES had won would have imposed the same attack with few degrees more.

These are the trickeries and drawings this people had to do to follow in the NO's "bourgeois field", covering it with a "red" mantle and saying that the referendum as an institution has "progressive features" that can be used in favor of the workers.

The FIT of Argentina is making progress in the school of this "new left", as now it has openly entered into it.

The "masters" of this theory of the "two fields" is Stalinism; this time in Greece the Stalinists have been located on the outside of both the "YES field" and the "NO field". So it was that the KKE (Greek PC) has posed in front of the referendum: "neither Yes, nor NO; withdrawal of the EU with the people in power". But this position of the KKE is far from having confronted the trap of the plebiscite. The Greek PC leads the absolute majority of trade unions and whole labor confederations, and has not called a single action of the Greek working class to struggle for defeating the referendum fraud. It was commissioned to unravel the fabric of the working class, demobilize it and guarantee social peace to Syriza so this rearm the Government of imperialist bankers and, buttressed by the Pact with Merkel, attack - as it is doing now - the Greek labor movement.

How is it that a parent Trade Union and all trade unions led by the Communist Party has raised a passive policy of abstention to the plebiscite, if they had the best conditions to prepare a crucial struggle for June 30, when the bailout to Greece was due?

KKE, with its abstention policy facing the plebiscite, washed the dirty laundry of the fight which it did not prepare or organized, in a treacherously deliberate way. Now, it will be in the "opposition", and the "left" dam for containing the revolutionary masses when they win the streets again, as it

is happening at this moment, when we are finishing this article, when the Parliament is assembled. I.e., the KKE located itself outside of the "two fields"... but to save them both from the fire of the proletarian revolution.

**The old theory of "two fields" and a programmatic conclusion: "we'll first defeat the Troika and then begin the road to socialist revolution"**

**Again on the "new left" and the old recipes of Stalinism**

As it could not be otherwise, since the Syriza Government arose, all the world lefts march to its tune: critically, uncritically, denouncing it furiously for being reformist... But they do not say what is substantial: Syriza is a Government of popular front, of class collaboration, the bourgeoisie being inside; many shades of the bourgeoisie: from the Ministers of finance and defense, up to New Democracy's Pavlopoulos, chosen by the majority of Syriza in the Parliament, as the new President of Greece that is above Tsipras.

That's why they did not denounce that both 'Yes', as 'NO' were in the Government of Syriza, and for that reason that plebiscite was a scam, as the entire anti-labor Government of Tsipras the agent of imperialism is... a new Papandreou, from whom it took all the measures agreed today in common with the EU. Papandreou and PASOK - which was destroyed in the revolutionary processes of these years in Greece - gave the post to Syriza so that it implements their plan.

For this reason, Syriza is not the expression of the revolutionary process that the Greek masses and its rebellious youth began in 2008 but its diversion and abortion. The role of Syriza is coming to anesthetize the masses, violently repress its left wing - as it has done-, protect the most reactionary bourgeois state institutions, as the caste of Greek officers who occupied the Balkans, the judges who have jailed rebel youth and even sheltered the fascist bands, which tomorrow will be called by big capital to crush the

masses numbered by Syriza today.

As it could not be otherwise, the reformist left's politics of the "two fields" ends on... the theory of "revolution by stages" of Stalinism: "Let's go with Syriza in defeating the Troika and then we'll make the Socialist Revolution"... as if it were possible to combat the Troika, the IMF and the EU without putting the battle cry that "the enemy is at home". The Troika is Syriza and Greek bankers. They, with the City of London and Wall Street have stolen the money of the Greek masses. And they enslave them along with Merkel and Obama.

The working class cannot move forward to defeat the EU without taking power in Greece. This revolution would be a link, an episode of a single and unique European revolution. As the "new left" has a theory-program of "revolution by stages", the "NO" in the plebiscite is its "motto of transition" for pressuring Syriza and making it go until the end to a break with the EU. For them, "the Socialist Revolution would come after that", and demand us Trotskyists to "let them alone" and abandon our "sectarian policy". This is pure Stalinism. This amounts to asking the Greek imperialist bands to break with its partners of the imperialist gangs in Europe, in favor of the working class. It is a reactionary utopia. It is impossible to fight against oppression and the dire situation of Greek masses unless you expropriate the Greek capitalists and bankers and call on the German and European working class to confront Merkel, the Bourbons and all imperialist gang from Europe and the IMF together with the Greek masses. None of this these leftists talk about.

The politics of this "new left" is so class collaborationist that is desperate seeking "progressive leftists" with a central program- as the one of the PTS- that is the following: to call on "the European left forces like Podemos, that governs in coalitions in cities like Madrid and Barcelona, to put all their ability to summon people to propel a great mass demonstration getting the square and streets with people in support of the Greek people

and demanding, first, the unilateral cancellation of the debt of their own imperialist countries" (statement June 2, 2015).

PTS addresses Podemos of Madrid and Barcelona recognizing that this party is in government with coalitions where the bourgeoisie is in. PTS asks them to make new squares of the "outrage/indignados". Has anyone told PTS that the old militant of the CC.OO in the '70s -who today is the mayor of Madrid- was during years the bourgeois judge of the Spanish Bourbon monarchy? There existed a worker judge of the king Juan Carlos? PODEMOS is a force that has been got hegemonic by the rich middle class going down and a faction of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. So "democratic" is that the latest war cry has been: "long lives the renewed monarchy".

PODEMOS is in itself a "republican front" with the shadow of the bourgeoisie inside. but the difference is that this current "republican front" has put on his shoulders the monarchy and defend tooth and nail it against the masses.

It is unlikely to demand on supposed democrats -that they aren't even such a thing- to carry out tasks that the militant masses of the Spanish State tried to do by a true "outrage" rebellion with their vanguard the heroic Asturias miners today chased and imprisoned, etc.

LIT-Liga Internacional de los Trabajadores- did the same: they demanded Chávez to do socialism. How can they demand the bourgeoisie to carry out socialism? If they are to make capitalism, not to give in their property?

It seems to be a lie but they say it. They speak on Madrid and Barcelona as if they were worker communes...what are they talking about? This people also say that Podemos has a policy to "gather people". Podemos himself says that what they are doing in Spain is a "democratic revolution" and the central thing of such revolution is the "democratic" reform the monarchy has made itself by taking out all the

corrupts who stole the money and putting the only prince that for now, has not been charged in any case. This is unbelievable. They are telling masses that PODEMOS is the expression of the "outrage" working class struggle in the Spanish State. It is a lie. We insist on it, Podemos I the expropriation of the "outrage" movement, the heroic combats of the Spanish working class, whose vanguard was the Asturias movement who rebelled at the war cry: "id our children suffer hunger, yours will bleed" and today those miners are in jail, chased and prosecuted with charges left isolated by the entire pseudo-democratic left currents.

PTS calls on Podemos to make the Spanish working class and masses support the Greek people... but Podemos has already acted: it supported Tsipras and his pact/agreement with Merkel. Thus, PTS created the illusion that such a bourgeois front could support the Greek working class. PODEMOS sustains the monarchy that has in jail the Basque fighters like Tsipras and his bastard left of Goldman Sachs keep in prison the Greek youth for the "crime" of confronting fascism.

The bourgeoisie of Spain learnt from the year '31 when the "republican front" won the elections and after that the mass upsurge overthrew the monarchy by fighting in the street and boycott against the fake Berenguer Cortes. Thus, PODEMOS today is a preventive popular front per city in Barcelona and Madrid...a "republican front" that sustains a "self-reformed" monarchy to prevent the working class from leading the mass struggle against the miserable imperialist bourgeoisie, to clear out the Bourbon monarchy and open again the revolutionary road expropriated due to the treasons of the Communist Party and PSOE when Franco fell down in 1976.

Podemos comes to prevent the mass revolutionary upheaval using petty-bourgeois phrases, changing the names of the Madrid streets that had old fascists' names but he rules for the bourgeoisie against the worker movement and sustaining the Spanish Bourbon monarchy, the biggest representative of Maastricht.

PODEMOS pretends not to notice the trade unions and worker

organizations using in his favour the huge discredit of the trade unions. They are getting ready to be like Syriza that doesn't have any pressure on the part of the worker movement, thus, allowing that the trade unions

keep inside a social pact- the Moncloa Pact- for the bureaucracy can continue strangling the working class' struggle.

PODEMOS sweetened by the world reformist left is the twin star of Syriza. Both are the new stars in the New

Left 's world that only irradiate new catastrophe and sufferings for the worldwide working class.

Carlos Munzer

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## In the reformist politics the capitulation of PODEMOS from the Spanish State cannot be absent

### The fake of the "republican front" that sustains the Bourbon monarchy

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Tsipras with Pablo Iglesias

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Carlos Munzer

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## The reactionary utopia of the "New Left": They wanted to show Tsipras as a new "European Chavez"

The reformist left wants to convince that Greece is a colony or a plundered semi colony, and its bourgeoisie as if it were half oppressed by imperialism and half oppressor of its own working class. The only thing missing is to say that Syriza may be "Peron" "Chavez" or "Naser". They want to bring about a "Bolivarian movement" in the imperialist Greece. It's a fraud!

Sometimes in semi colonial countries, and under specific historical circumstances, the native bourgeoisie haggles their share of national income and supervalues taken out of the labor movement with imperialism, which controls most of the economy of these countries. The bourgeoisie blackmails the imperialism mobilizing the masses, up to the point that they can control them because if not they may attack not only the interests of imperialism but also the native bourgeoisie.

Greece is not a colony or a semi colony. Their imperialist gangs are junior partners of imperialist domain of the world. Greece is the weakest link of imperialist domain in

bankruptcy of Europe.

Imperialist gangs even the smallest ones and minor partners, share out world market and the big or tiny areas of influence, where they are associated.

Since a long time imperialist powers are left over. Most of European powers have remained vassals after the 2008 crack

The relationship between them and the imperialist powers that won the commercial battle like the US, Germany and Japan is vassalage. The imperialist pirates' winners will keep the losers' business and even

their areas of influence. The losers will try to join them, recognizing the forces relationship. And if not, they will wait the moment to recover their businesses. That was the reason of first and second imperialist world war.

For the reformist charlatans, war does not exist. Here what is being defined in the Chinese crisis, European bankruptcy and Greek crisis it is how the imperialist powers defeated in the trade war pay the crisis and which of the victorious imperialist powers will have to pay the next crisis, that it is already here. Germany has told the IMF and the US: "Not me, I do not pay anything



in Europe." The vultures are pecking each other. And if the working class does not take the power, the war will come, which is the last path that the world capitalist system has to solve its chronic crisis. This is the only way to raise the current situation of Greece from a strategic point of view. Everything else are reformist lies.

**Greece has the second military budget of all European countries, and its reactionary officers, is an advanced detachment of the imperialist NATO troops**

Gentlemen, we must speak clear. Under these conditions, to pretend the masses believe the emergence of a "Bolivarian phenomenon" in the imperialist Europe is stupid. In Eastern Europe, in the new colonies and republics of the former workers states that possibility is open. But here we are talking about the bourgeois government of Syriza, the Greek shipowners, one of the largest shareholders of HSBC, of those who had put their assets as partners of Banking Morgan and Goldman Sachs on Wall Street. You are talking about a small bankrupt imperialist nation, but which has the second military budget in Europe, even bigger than Germany. Greece and Turkey dispute the southern Mediterranean, the routes of the Black Sea and the Balkans. You are talking about transnational companies of the largest ship owners in the world.

Greece's military budget has been under German observation. This requires a reduction of 200 million euros of Greece budget. Greece and its generals officers, used to make coups and kill workers, is the outpost of NATO troops to the Balkans, Eastern Europe and the southern Mediterranean.

These people are now in bankruptcy. But they are not willing to pay for the crisis. That's what Tsipras and Merkel discuss: how to make the masses pay for it. The relationship

between them is as it happens among capitalist gangs: pirating, step on to the other... the pillage's winner imposed conditions to the losers, puts him down on his knees... and will remain, as it is inevitably, with most of its business. If Germany wins, Greece will go back to a category of vassal. This is capitalist system. **These Greek pirates will never call to support the working class and its organizations of struggle. Instead, the world reformist left, indeed, called to support Syriza, the left cover of these imperialist gangs, some of them run down.**

Then, to pretend that Greece is a plundered semi-colony is a fraud because what they are proposing to Syriza, a direct agent of Greek and European imperialism is a "anti-imperialist front" to face Maastricht. Why they do not intend to propose Hollande, the Prince of Belgium, the Netherlands, the new king of Spain to make a front to face Maastricht? They have already gone too far when they proposed Hollande and imperialist social democracy to make an "anti-austerity" front.

These are the doodles the left of Maastricht has to draw to deceive the masses and left support Syriza.

We must speak clearly. The pseudo-theory of a "Bolivarian government" the in imperialist Europe of Maastricht is a huge revisionist cruelty and deception for the masses. What lies ahead are governments of class collaboration, popular fronts, to rebuild the battered states and regimes of imperialist Europe. If they fail in their attempts, the next it will be the fist of fascism.

The real program for Greece of the left is "unity of action with Syriza and the Greek government against imperialist Troika". This is to be a servant of imperialist gangs into disgrace. In Greece: the main enemy is at home! So it is for the German, French and English working class. This is the only way to conquer the unity of the European working class. The nationalism of imperialist powers is to break the unity of the working class and develop a worst-chauvinism in its labor movement. Plebiscites, are

submission to the siren call of Syriza and all its deceptions are merely a round-up to support the big stick of Germany and the Greek imperialist bankers against workers.

Facts and figures demonstrate this. If you do not face and defeat the bankers and capitalists parasites of Greece, there is no solution for the working class of this country. **Foreign debt of Greece, which is now 320,000 million euros in 2011, 110 billion euros of Greek debt belonged to Greek banks, which had fallen into the debacle of its partners Banking Morgan and Goldman Sachs in Wall Street's crisis. The Greek state paid these banks 110 billion euros. And now, Greek banks are creditors of 40% of the Greek debt (about 128 billion euros) today.**

We must tell the truth. We are facing a policy of class collaboration, of subordination of the working class to bourgeoisie political fronts. That was the support to the NO together with Syriza "against the Troika", as if the fate of the Greek masses could be tied to the fate of NO of Syriza. Why are these people surprised now about the "betrayal" of Syriza?

When there are thousand workers and a boss, you do what the boss says. Otherwise, the boss goes.

With the plebiscite, they beautified the good boss, who is ready to hit the working class. These are the facts. You can't deny it. Do not lie anymore!

**The left of the left gave legitimacy to the referendum of Syriza. This is the trap of attacking directly the masses.** They will tell this opportunist left, "You also told lies and deceived us." And they will be right.

We insist, we are facing an open policy of class collaboration. The Greek government is popular front government, as Stalinism imposed for decades. That is, a government of workers' parties with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

**Carlos Munzer**

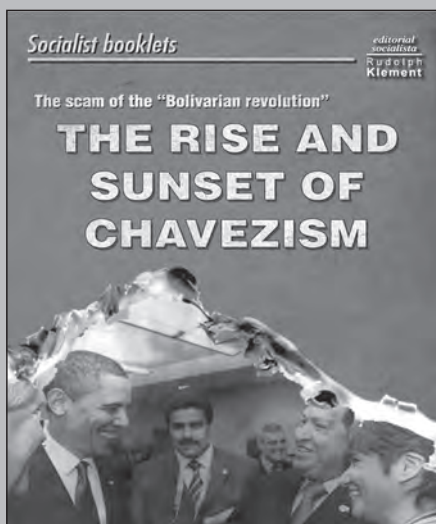
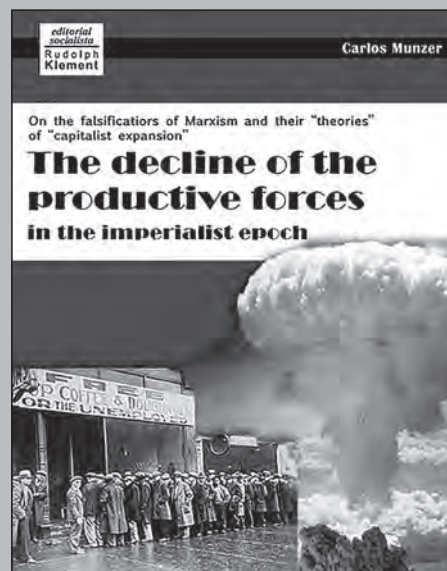
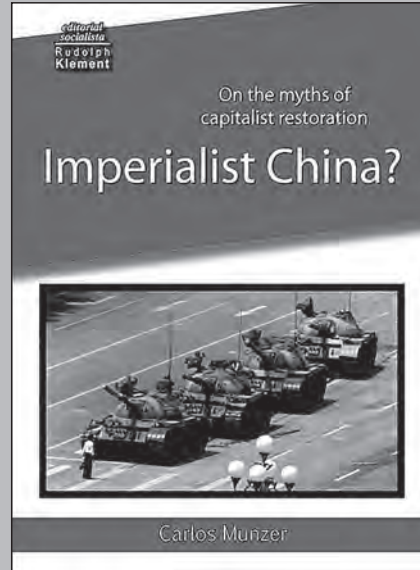
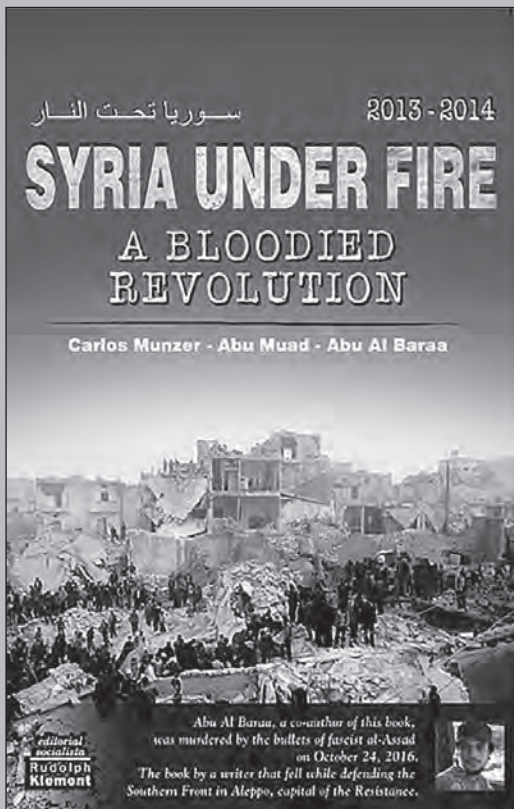
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## WHITHER GREECE?



The plebiscite arranged by Syriza and its bourgeois government, a representative of the Greek bankers and the Goldman Sachs was a gross hoax against the workers and the people

It is now clear that the great Greek capital in bankruptcy is a junior partner of Maastricht and the IMF in the bankruptcy of Greece... In its puppet parliament all of them together voted for a true confiscation of the peoples' pockets

**DOWN WITH THE ATTACK BY MERKEL-TSIPRAS AGAINST  
THE GREEK WORKING CLASS!**

**This pact is the starting point  
for a new imperialist offensive  
against the workers in Germany  
and the entire Europe**

**The spark in Athens has to  
set on fire Berlin and the whole  
continent now**

**OUT WITH EVERYBODY, NO ONE  
MUST STAY!**



**FOR THE EUROPEAN WORKING CLASS TO LIVE, IMPERIALIST  
MAASTRICHT MUST DIE!**

**FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!**

See full statement on page 7