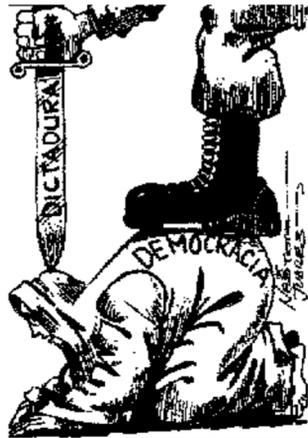


Struggle for union democracy in Costa Rica

:: READ MORE PAGE 2 ::



Join community struggles



:: READ MORE PAGE 5 ::

Socialist Voice

Number 20 | April/May 2015

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS LEAGUE - FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

£1

Great success at No Austerity conference



Build a class struggle for the streets

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Elections

:: READ MORE PAGES 3, 6 & 7 ::

Vote against austerity

Support strikes and occupations

For a workers and left alternative

**VOTE
MARTIN RALPH
24
OLD SWAN
AGAINST THE CUTS
NO AUSTERITY**



Fight for public libraries Cambridge



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Syriza



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Economic liberalism



:: PAGE 12 & 11 ::

International Socialist League weekend on Women and Marxism

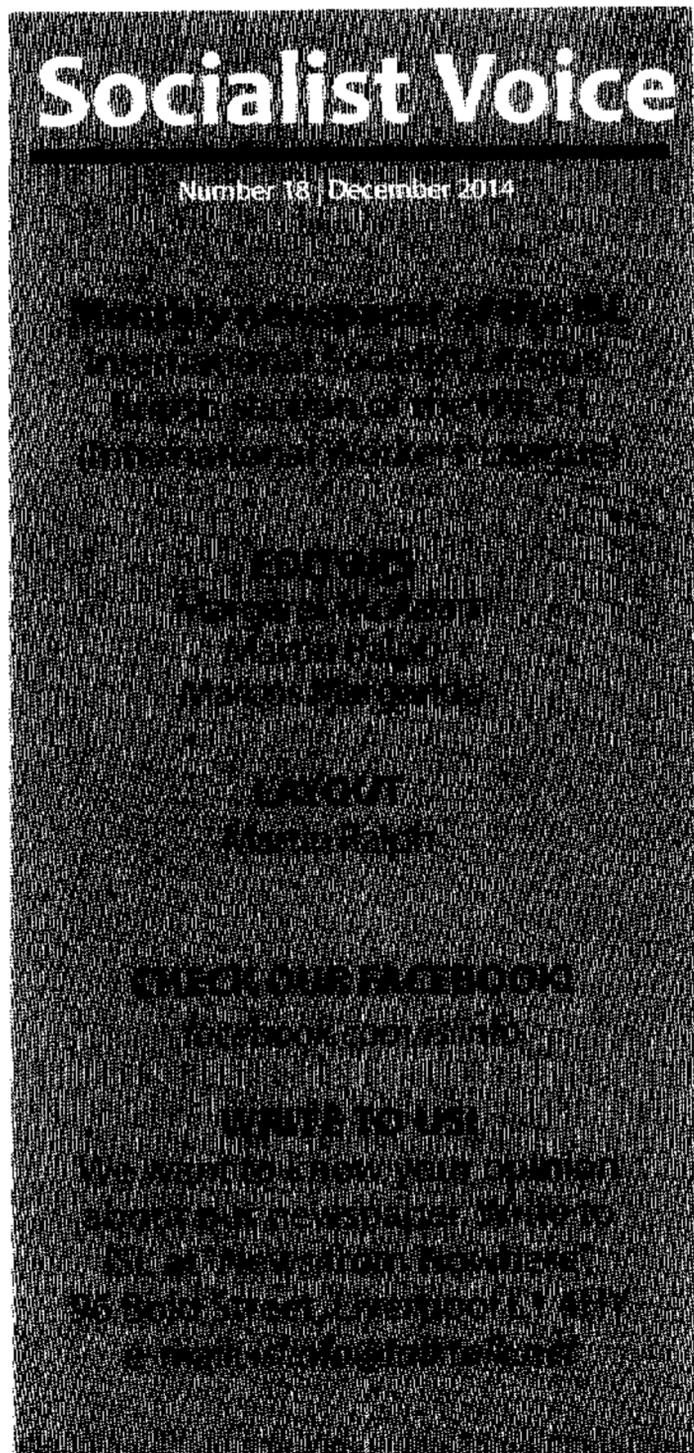
30 & 31 May Liverpool

For further information please contact:

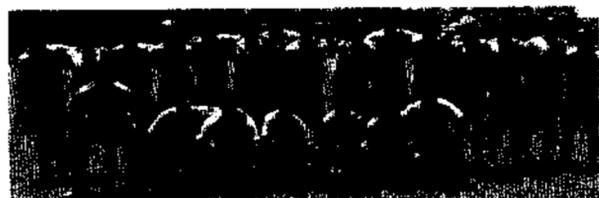
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A combative and democratic union struggle with wide community support including the local football team.



LIFE OF THE IWL

Costa Rica: Workers' struggle against bureaucracy

Solidarity with Laura Morúa



In 2012 a tendency called Rescate was formed in Costa Rican's largest trade union. It came out of the belief that the ANEP (National Association of Public and Private Employees) is an anti-democratic union full of bureaucratic vices.

ANEP usually supports government policies. For instance, ANEP leads wage and workers' rights negotiations for private and public workers without talking to workers about their opinion or ideas. Decisions are made at the top.

One of Rescate's proposals is that democratic elections should be organised by the union where the members can vote and choose a leader — the incumbent has been in office for 20 years. After intense political discussions between the unions and Rescate's leaders, for the first time in 20 years an election was called. In addition, Rescate also wants a democratic and transparent union controlled by the workers, with all the privileges of the current leaders abolished.

In the months prior to the election the electoral tribunal, selected by the current leaders, did not organise any union debate, publish the electoral roll, or even make known the election dates. Despite Rescate's leaders demand for all of this plus the publication of candidates' manifestos, nothing happened.

Costa Rican major television channels and newspapers interviewed Rescate's main leader, Laura Morúa. In one of the interviews she mentioned the anti-democratic measures taken by the current leaders over the election. This led the union's General Secretary, Albino Vargas Barrantes, to issue a lawsuit against Morúa claiming that she defamed him.

Why are union leaders, who have been in power during the last twenty years, so afraid of public debate and a coherent election process?

Laura Morúa went to court in November 2014 when the lawsuit was dismissed. However, in February 2015, ANEP appealed that decision but on the 23 March, 2015, the court absolved Morúa of all accusations made against her.

Rescate lost the election in 2014, but Morúa is continuing to build a political tendency to fight the bureaucracy and help workers in their daily struggles.

Morúa is an active member of the Costa Rican PT (Workers Party) official section of the International Workers League - Socialist International.

For more information
www.facebook.com/lauramorua

For a democratic workers and left anti-austerity

SOCIALIST VOICE INTERVIEWED MARTIN RALPH, WHO IS STANDING FOR OLD SWAN AGAINST THE CUTS IN THE 2015 LOCAL ELECTIONS

Why are you standing in the local elections?

We want to continue the no cuts and anti-austerity struggle that we started when Old Swan Against the Cuts was formed two years ago. Last year I stood as the OSAC candidate and we received just over 8.5 per cent of the vote. We came 3rd out of eight candidates beaten only by the Labour party and UKIP.

This time OSAC is in a better position because we played an important part in the save our libraries campaign that forced the Labour council to back down over their plan to close 11 libraries. And also because we took a leading role in the organisation of the 14 February No Austerity conference.

Both the library campaign and the No Austerity conference created stronger ties with the community and the unions. Now the University and Colleges Union plan to use the 25 April No Austerity demonstration to build the opposition to the 25 per cent planned cut in adult education. The Fire Brigades Union is also supporting along with many community groups.

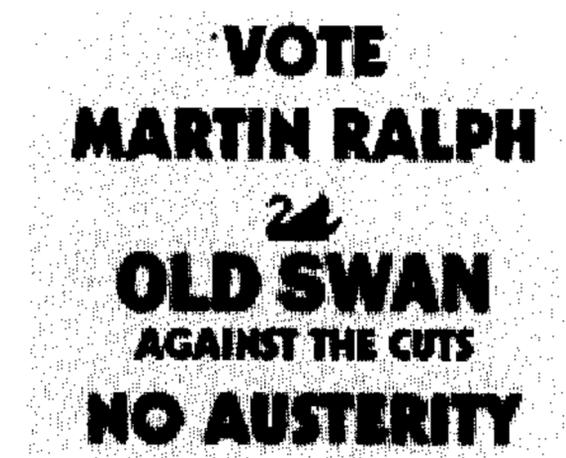


What are your policies to fight the cuts?

We are fighting **all** cuts and austerity. The government talks of a growing economy yet millions of people are suffering. We stand with and for all the oppressed and exploited who are wrongly paying for the crisis the banks created after 2007.

Our programme for these elections is based on the programme agreed at the No Austerity conference attended by over 100 people. We base ourselves on collective discussion and agreement in our fortnightly OSAC meetings.

We support all workers in struggle such as the fire-fighters and museum staff, and all those in our communities fighting the cut backs made by the government and



in Liverpool. Our recent struggles have been over the libraries, against sanctions, zero hour contracts (which are engulfing many workers).

We know that there is not a group powerful enough to win by themselves. We have to take action together. We must not allow the employers or the main parties to divide us. This is our first policy.

We are fighting for policies that can unite the class in struggle, because what we can win we will win on the streets by combining unions (especially the rank and file) and communities, in common actions against capitalism and all its supporters such as the Labour council, UKIP and the Lib Dems.

We urgently need to build an alternative, which can only be a working class alternative.

The NHS, education, social care and benefit cuts are vital issues on which we are fighting, and by taking action together we can that alternative.

We pose actions that come out of our democratic discussions and that is how the 25 April No Austerity mobilisation was called.

How can a small group like OSAC influence change?

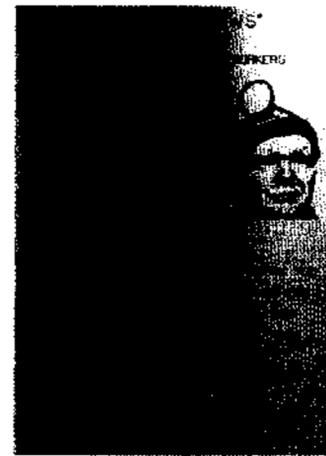
The best example of what a small group can do is the libraries. In 2014 anti-cuts campaigning became dominated by the decision of Mayor Joe Anderson and Liverpool City Council to close 11 of the city's libraries. Along with Friends of Sefton Park library, and some from Liverpool Against the Cuts. We led a campaign to save ALL libraries. The victorious campaign stopped all the closures. It was a diverse and creative campaign — collected 20,000 signatures, mobilised two city centre demonstrations, sent Love Letters from

schools, demanded a referendum, and gained support from 500 artists, writers and musicians.

This combined action led Mayor Anderson to reverse his decision in November 2014.

We continue to support the campaign which is now seeking to ensure that there is no undermining of or reduction of the current service.

The strength and size of the campaign frightened Joe Anderson because of fear that the hundreds who mobilised could turn to thousands if they continued to insist on closing libraries. Since then they have been afraid to make a full public report on the proposals.



A National Union of Mine workers' plaque presented to the late Bob Mathews, husband of Eileen, in 1985 by NUM Sutton Manor Branch.

Bob was a shop steward on the buses. OSAC member Eileen proudly shared her history

Will OSAC be here after the elections?

We think democratic struggle groups like this should exist across the UK. Therefore we have no intention of going away.

The programme of all the main parties is to cut public expenditure, jobs and services or to ramp up privatisation. Which will only bring more crisis and greater pain for men, women, young people and children of the working class. To make these attacks the government has tried to take away our right to strike and to mobilise. They try to divide the class by skin colour, by gender, by nationality, disability, by whether you are working or not and so on.

OSAC has a tradition of supporting workers' struggles in Britain and internationally. Our group is diverse and includes English, Irish, Brazilian, Italian and Greek. We support fights against deportation and against all oppression — women's, youth and Black people. Unless we are to live with austerity the rest of our lives the working class must fight. In many European countries large vibrant struggles have emerged.

We need to see this development here and OSAC seeks to build the movement against austerity here and nationally, now and tomorrow until Austerity ENDS.



www.facebook.com/VOTEMARTINRALPH?fref=ts

No austerity conference a great success

MARTIN RALPH

A "No Austerity Conference" took place on 14 February 2015 in Liverpool with over 100 people, including representatives from local community organisations and trade union activists. The impetus for the conference came out of the victory gained by the campaign to stop the closure of 11 Liverpool libraries by the local Labour Council.

Filmmaker Ken Loach sent a message of solidarity saying "This conference and campaigns like it are absolutely vital." Solidarity greetings and support were also read out from Alan Gibbons, Mark Rowe Merseyside FBU secretary along with international greetings from Solidaires (union federation, France), Railway workers (Belgium), the Italian 'No Austerity' movement and the Brazilian CSP-Conlutas.

The morning session heard from individuals and groups who are fighting



crisis facing Greece, Syriza and the working class, Peter Glover on TUSC (Trade Union and Socialist Coalition) and education, Guy and Paul from Save our Sanity, Sam Semof on Keep Our NHS public, Valentina Barrera on the UCU local campaign against zero hour contracts and casualisation.

Three workshops explored: What are our experiences? What are our demands? Learning from each other.

Glenroy Watson, chair of RMT Finsbury Park Branch and a Black activist, opened the afternoon session.

At lunch time the Reclaim community provided a mountain of local cuisine.

Building the programme

Following Glenroy's opening, workshop report backs generated interesting discussions and fed into the construction of a No Austerity programme. The programme was built positively, showing real what workers' democracy. The programme now belongs to all who built it and support and want to develop it. It is a programme of struggle for the streets and for the elections.

The No Austerity conference agreed: a new programme of struggle, for the streets and for the elections; a No Austerity demo in April; to publish the programme and a pamphlet from the conference; to support all candidates in the elections opposing the austerity parties (including the Labour Party) and who agree with the programme; for the conference organising committee regularly and to consider the date of a re-call conference.

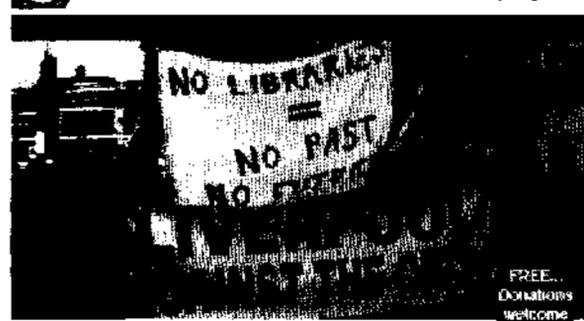


NO AUSTERITY

PROGRAMME,

14 February 2015

- No to Austerity
- Free, high quality public and council services – owned by the people, for the people. Re-nationalisation!
- Keep our libraries council-run, properly maintained and fully staffed with trained librarians.
- Against any increases in council tax
- Free public transport for children and students
- Fully comprehensive, integrated, publicly accountable and publicly provided, free at the point of delivery NHS, based on need.
- Fully publicly funded education & the means to education (Sure Start, libraries)
- Real contracts for workers, proper permanent jobs! Minimum wage of £10 an hour.
- Restore – pensioners' and disabled people's rights
- Restore a real benefits safety net; stop all sanctions!
- For a renewable energy policy – not dependent on fossil fuels, nuclear energy and fracking!
- Scrap Trident and nuclear weapons
☑ use the £100bn for sustainable energy
- Equality for all people; irrespective of race, culture, sexuality, gender, age and disability.
- For a society that nurtures, protects and cherishes all its children! Full rights for the child.
- Full rights for women.
- Full rights for all immigrants.
- We are a society – an injury to one is an injury to all. Replant the seed of social solidarity among the young.
- What we win, we win by mobilising – support building local anti-austerity groups in all neighbourhoods.
- Work towards diversifying the movement.
- Support all international struggles against austerity!



Struggle against austerity grows



If you want a copy please write to liverpoolagainstthecuts@

against cuts and closures on the streets.

Speakers in the morning included: Sue Ferguson on the Liverpool libraries victory and the need to stop outsourcing, Joe Boyd on fracking, Jayne Pinder on Wirral library struggle, Laurence Clark for Disabled People Against Cuts, Kelly Butchard on the Knowsley library campaign. Marie Pendaraki, on the

Why did you join Old Swan Against the Cuts?

Cathy Laird, Old Swan Against the Cuts (OSAC) minutes secretary:

The first meeting of the group that became OSAC that was held at St Oswalds. It was very informative.

After that meeting someone I worked with gave me a leaflet saying that there was an OSAC meeting in the Youth Club on Derby Lane. I went and decided to keep going. We started going to meetings outside of Old Swan and I started leafleting with OSAC outside Old Swan Library.

Aimi Molloy, OSAC chair person:

I was an organiser of the first meeting in St Oswald's church, which included Joe Halewood (bedroom tax), Ruth Knox (benefit attack and advice) and Les Skarratts, for the fire fighters FBU union. Then we started meeting at the youth centre and decided on the name of OSAC.

We are democratic, everyone has the chance to speak and contribute ideas, our meetings are consistent and we campaign outside the library every week.



Larry Bowles, OSAC trade union liaison:

After two election campaigns in previous years under the Trade Union Socialist Coalition (TUSC) banner we thought the best way forward was to build from the community.

We have a good mix of members from the community, the trade unions and some are experienced campaigners.

Marco Longoni, OSAC photographer:

I had my first membership card in 2014 but I wasn't an active member because I lived abroad. I currently have my membership card for 2015.

I joined OSAC because it's a demonstration of power from the bottom. A bunch of people meet to discuss, after a while the bunch becomes a group and then a political party. People realise that by their participation things can be done, changed and won.

Josh Blamire, student and co-editor of the No Austerity pamphlet:

OSAC is a genuine grassroots alternative it has both a strong critique of austerity but, crucially, also shares a critical view on anti-austerity politics whereby it recognises some of the problems inherent within traditional leftist modes of organisation (such as TUSC).

OSAC is open to all anti-cuts activists and is an inclusive space, it doesn't shut down ideas and encourages participatory organisation e.g. co-writing literature. I find it is quite an empowering space and I'm 'at home'.

central
library
Cambridge

Stop privatisation of Cambridge's library!

Keep libraries free and public!

REKAI TOSASHI

Cambridgeshire County Council is looking at teaming up with a private firm to create an Enterprise Centre in the space that is currently the 3rd floor of Cambridge Central Library.

The project, that would require investment of £300,000 of public money, matched by an equal amount from the private company Kora, aims to "providing cutting edge business and learning services".

Kora "cutting edge" includes relocating outside the UK to avoid paying taxes here.

The Socialist Voice encourages the County Council to call off the project. It will reduce the available room in Cambridge Central Library.

Currently, the third floor houses free access computers, provides job-seekers with guidance, meeting rooms available at popular rates and a popular cafe.

The plan is to cede a large portion of this space for the project. This will transform an area which is free of charge for all, into a service for those who can afford it.

The project will sacrifice a public service for a business. This means using money to create a space for private business. The County Council must provide services, not create businesses for private profit.

Most important of it all, this decision has not been democratic.

The county council often talks to residents on topics of public interest, such as street repairs, or speed limits. But this project has been drafted and approved in two weeks, without any announcement or public consultation.

This project is a clear use of public money to create private profit.

Defend our libraries!

Not a pound investment in private profit!

Vote anti-austerity For a workers and left alternative

In the general election campaign the competition between parties is no longer solely focused between the two or three main parties as in the past. The wafer thin differences between austerity policies and the possibility of a hung parliament have focused voters' attention towards the smaller parties. Especially in Scotland where the SNP dominate since the 2014 referendum and could become the third party in the UK.

The struggle for Scottish independence, in which the fight against austerity was the central question for workers, revealed many things. To oppose that Tory and Labour united and formed a coalition against the right for self-determination. They both threatened Scotland with punishment if it separated.

Initially Labour were saying a vote for the SNP is a vote for a Tory government, the Tories say it's a vote for Labour and putting the Union at risk. Both are against independence and for austerity. The contradictions are huge because the SNP do not plan to end austerity.

As in Scotland, votes for smaller parties in England and Wales, such as the Green Party, are also votes against austerity. But the only way to defeat austerity is to build a workers and left alternative that is independent of any capitalist party, as has been the historic struggle of revolutionary Marxism.

All the main parties will continue with austerity and continue to scapegoat immigrants for capitalism's ills such as unemployment, low wage rates, housing shortages and benefit cuts.

These problems arise out of policies that are driven by political subservience to big capital. That immigrants pay more in proportion to the state than workers in general is an awkward fact. The Financial Times reported last year that European immigrants to the UK paid far more in taxes than they received in benefits over the past decade, making a net fiscal contribution of £20bn.



Why is immigration a political football? It is the need to divide working class, and allow these political parties and parliament to survive. If someone receives a low wage whether immigrant or native it is the employer who is to blame. The only remedy is working class organisation.

No party plans to reverse the undemocratic anti-union laws. While

trade unions continue to support Labour the rank and file must begin to link with community struggles to end the paralysis that their leaders support.

From social war to social blitzkrieg

Permanent austerity is the Tory strategy. Plans include deepening the attack on the poor, cutting benefits and obliterating welfare support. With plans to cut £12bn from welfare and £30bn overall by 2018 if they return to government it means a move from a social war to social blitzkrieg. Labour if elected will continue as they have over the past five years in local councils with privatisation and cuts, and contempt for working class residents and communities.

Some Tory proposals were leaked to the BBC including a freeze on in-work benefits; reduction of the benefit cap from £26,000 to £23,000; child benefit payable for the first two children only; scrapping state industrial injuries benefit; taxing disability benefits and reducing the eligibility for carers' allowance. This will affect millions of people who are already struggling with current cuts. Even greater austerity is planned but is being concealed until after the elections.

Labour's shadow Chancellor Ed Balls has stated he will not reverse Chancellor George Osborne's budget and will not reverse austerity cuts.

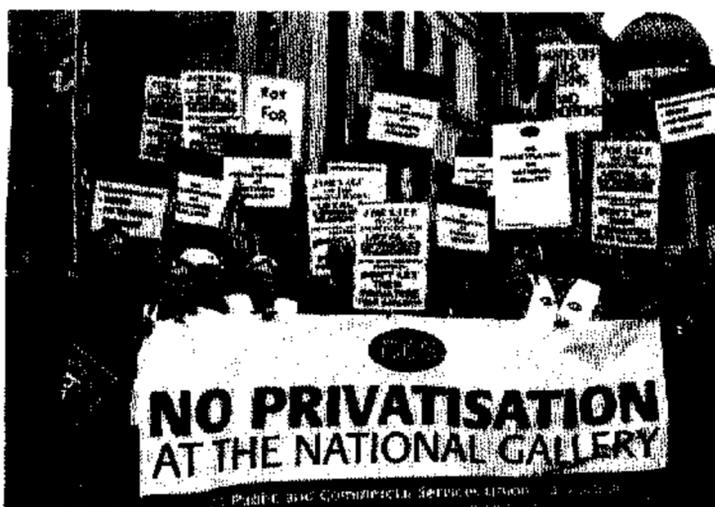
A major concern for many is the future of the NHS and this is one of the key battle grounds, but Tory, Lib Dem and Labour have all encouraged the internal market and privatisation.

When the Tories say they will save the NHS they mean to increase privatisation within the NHS. To achieve their saving of 30 per cent by 2018 will also mean massive privatisation of remaining public services.

Miliband claims he is leading the charge against big business. How? Not by saying he will restore full public ownership to the NHS but by proposing a profit cap on



Unison Glasgow Homelessness Casework strike for fair pay



UKIP

UKIP is polling around 13 per cent which could mean gaining seats from zero to ten. However, they continue to exhibit racist and anti-women attitudes and policies, which are reasons why they are struggling to maintain the surge achieved last year in the Euro and local elections.

Green Party

The Green Party is receiving a surge in support. It seems to some to be an alternative to the big capitalist parties but it is not a party against all cuts and austerity. They have proposed using volunteers to replace waged workers in some council services.

In the Brighton and Hove council, where the leader is a Green Party member, they crossed the picket lines of a wild cat strike by refuse workers in 2013. The councillors wanted to use the capitalist policy of cutting council workers' pay through "pay modernisation". When the trade unions responded they accused them of causing trouble!

When it comes to the commanding heights of the economy the Green Party allow the multi-nationals to carry on as they are. They naively ask them to act in a responsible manner. Who do they think is pulling the strings of the main parties?

Some will vote the SNP or Green Party because they can no longer vote Labour, and see it as a vote against austerity. But Labour could form a coalition with the SNP and Green Party, and all implement cuts against the working class in Scotland, England and Wales.

Who will the ISL support?

We are for a workers' and left alternative against capitalism and all those who support it.

The ISL support the left candidates such as Trade Union and Socialist Coalition (TUSC) and Left Unity (LU) because they are against all cuts and austerity, but we support them critically.

We have criticisms of TUSC for not building, in most cases, community campaigns in between elections and their top to bottom methods. We think TUSC and Left Unity should have called a national conference as the ISL helped to do in Liverpool with the No Austerity conference that was democratic and open to all who want to fight against austerity with a programme to unite workers and the left in struggle.

Left Unity say (February 2015) that, "we will support any candidate, whether they are from the Greens, the Labour left or a smaller party committed to equality, who states clearly that they will never vote for austerity." We disagree with the proposal to give support for two capitalist parties.



The main question is to bring to the fore the great traditions and fighting capacity of the working class.

The union rank and file and communities of the working class will have to build a mass movement to defeat austerity. The elections should be used to help build this.

We have to build with all those in the working class who want to fight, that means welcoming all immigrants. They should have the right to work, stay, vote and fight. We say, No divisions, No scapegoating of immigrants.

Support all strikes, student occupations and mobilisations during the elections.

Defend Adult Education from a 25 per cent cut.

Whatever the balance of power in parliament after 7 May workers will have to continue to fight.

Build a workers and left alternative on the streets, in our communities and in our workplaces!



Scottish health workers on strike

private health companies. Outsourced NHS contracts valued at more than £500,000 would be required to include a profit cap, with the default level set at 5 per cent. It will make them quake!

It is a cowardly policy. In reality Miliband is in awe of capital, and is making it clear that he will not challenge big business's right to privatise the NHS.

Whilst cutting vital services they plan to invest in the nuclear submarine Trident, committing themselves to policies of more wars of oppression, more environmental and planetary destruction. Tory and Labour agreed a budget for Trident in 2015 of £100bn.

Labour: "Better break the poor than the law"

The Labour Party Buy is selling a coffee mug that states "Controls on Immigration". This highlights their policy towards the most vulnerable men, women and children. It is taken from UKIP's racist policy. Some trade unionists are shocked, which means they are waking up to just how racist the Labour leadership is.

Rachel Reeves, Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions, made it very clear that she supports Tory attacks on the poorest, sick and disabled, "We are not the party of people on benefits. We don't want to be seen, and we're not, the party to represent those who are out of work...Labour are a party of working people, formed for and by working people."

In 1921 the right wing of the Labour party could not stop the fight by London Poplar council. They fought under the slogan, "Better to break the law than break the poor," for a rate reduction, for adequate relief for the poor and council workers' decent wage. This is the history of the Labour Party and this is what people still remember when they vote Labour.

On Syriza's capitulation to EU blackmail

Cancel the debt immediately, the only way out

RICARDO AYALA AND FELIPE ALEGRIA

After the ultimatum from the European Union (EU) the Tsipras' cabinet had two options: either to keep its agreement with the Greek people and cancel the memorandum, or capitulate to European imperialism's demand for a complete surrender. Unfortunately, Tsipras surrendered.

Before the meetings started, finance minister, Yanis Varoufakis, declared that there would be no more negotiation with the Troika and that he "wouldn't sign the memorandum even if they held a gun to his head". Prime Minister Tsipras asserted that Greece was not a colony, and that his cabinet would refuse to accept ultimatums or blackmail. Nevertheless, his aim was for "negotiation among partners". It was totally illusory.

When the negotiation started, the whole of Greece was following the news on TV, as if watching a FIFA World Cup final. But there was much more at stake than a few goals: jobs, public health, schools, housing and a decent living standard for Greek people. Winning this match explains why many people voted for Syriza. The party promised during the elections to break with the memorandum and to end austerity. Thousands of people rallied to back the government and the polls showed 85 per cent support.

But there was at the same time a second match being played on the same field. The EU on one side and all the workers of Europe on the other. For European imperialism, the deepest meaning of the "negotiation" lay beyond the extension of the second Greek bailout. The "negotiation" was also aimed at the Portuguese workers, those from Spain, Ireland, the Baltic countries, France and Italy, and the workers and people of all Europe. If the Greeks won, we would all win. That is



why the Greek government had to be forced to surrender and humiliated, and that should become clear to everyone.

In the discussion inside the eurogroup (the organisation that brings the finance ministers of the eurozone together) the "negotiation" was purely political: having the Greek people declare themselves sovereign and master of their fate was a thorn in the EU's side and they wanted to be rid of it as soon as possible.

Starting "negotiations" without demanding the cancellation of the debt and the end of the memorandum as a pre-condition was like conceding defeat before the game began. Once the crux of the Greek people's problem was not on the table, it was only a matter of discussing payment conditions, some semantic arrangements and trying to avoid a complete humiliation.

From that point on, the goal of European financial capital was to make an example of Greece, not only for the indebted countries, but also for the Italian and Belgian workers who organised strikes at the end of last

year against government adjustment policies.

The heads of the EU intended to reinforce the point that adjustment policies cannot be thwarted. They wanted to make it clear they would all close ranks under the lead of German capitalism. They are united in this, including the third rank imperialists such as Spain, and the bourgeoisie of dominated countries like Portugal and East Europe. They all share a higher goal: to change the pattern of exploitation of the working class, especially in the periphery countries.

Because of this they had to impose on Tsipras, and through him to all Greeks, a humiliating defeat and continue the structural adjustment throughout Europe.

One cannot have two masters

In all modesty, when the German ultimatum to Greece happened, we wrote: "Syriza is trapped in an insurmountable contradiction: they

want to oppose the bailout terms no matter the cost, but at the same time remain inside the Euro and respect the EU agreements, as well as the agreements with the Greek bourgeoisie... But it is not possible to stop the Greek catastrophe if the cost is staying in the eurozone. If there was any room for doubt, Berlin and Paris have spoken clearly: Syriza must choose between one thing or the other."

The enactment of the "negotiations" has become a farce and tragedy, because the Greek government accepted the cornerstone on which austerity builds: firstly to save the banks and secondly remain in the eurozone whatever the cost.

This is not compatible with the measures required to stop social ruin. It is not possible to save the banks and at the same time remove the memorandum. Tsipras chose the banks.

The leadership of Syriza, who call the imperialist governments of Europe "partners", thought that through an aggressive speech they would be able to get some leftovers. According to Tsipras, the "partners" wouldn't be able to remain indifferent to the humanitarian crisis that torments the Greek people.

But Tsipras failed to understand that he was not negotiating an arrangement just for the emergency measures he passed after taking office — which are measures that cannot be sustained after the agreement he just signed. He

failed to understand that the eurogroup did not want a sovereign Greece and were also using Greece as an example to all bailout-aided countries. But the question for them was would the workers of Europe stand up and revoke the dictates of the governments. Manolis Glezos, Syriza MEP, and hero of the WWII resistance said, "Replacing the name Troika by the name Institutions, changing the Memorandum of Understanding to Agreement and lenders into partners, you do not change the previous situations as in the case if you rename meat to fish,"

You do not change, either, the meaning of the Greek people's vote on 25 January. Tsipras was elected to remove the Memorandum of the second bailout, force a waiver of the debt and end the regime of austerity. But he has signed the opposite. As in a classical Greek drama, the actors have taken off their masks. But the difference was it did not happen at the end of the play, but right at the beginning.

Tsipras cabinet chose to bail out the banks

When the "agreement" was finished, the British economist Michael Roberts wrote on his blog: "One of the cruel ironies of the last minute deal between the Euro group and the Greek government for a four month extension to the existing 'aid' programme monitored by

the Troika is that in any sane meaning it is not aid at all." He's right: the bailout that is being extended now was the bailout of German, French, North American banks. The bailout allowed the banks to transfer all their Greek bonds to the EU, the ECB and the IMF.

The agreement signed by the Syriza-ANEL coalition government has the same spirit as the previous bailouts. The difference being that this time the priority is to keep Greek banks afloat.

The agreement extends for four months the second bailout which would have finished on 28 February. Extending it means accepting the draconian measures imposed by the moneylenders, then on top of this foundation to start negotiating a third bailout, with the same terms and conditions.

This is what Tsipras meant when he said, "The difficulties, the real difficulties... are ahead of us."

In exchange for the last tranche of the loan from Troika, Tsipras cabinet gave sovereignty away. They refused to apply the "Thessaloniki Programme", and will abolish the emergency measures approved after winning the election.

The Thessaloniki Programme is a manifesto adopted by Syriza on 13 September 2014, that proposed a set of policies oriented towards reversing austerity.

Where will 'aid' from the Troika go?

The worst part of this deal is that the Greek government will not get a trace of the Troika's "aid" to Greece. Tsipras will not get any extra Euros to spend. It is a fund that goes to the creditors in order to keep the evil engine of debt moving. A debt that becomes bigger every day and it becomes more unlikely ever to be repaid. The blackmail by the Troika was based on the threat of taking liquidity away from Greek banking. The money for the banks has to refinance the €11bn that the ECB lent in exchange for some short-term debt, which the Tsipras cabinet cannot afford to buy back.

The economist and Syriza MP Costas Lavapistas reports: "The existing funds of the Financial Stability Fund will be used exclusively for the needs of banks and will be out of Greek control." And he adds "Greece is committed to ensuring 'appropriate' primary surpluses to guarantee the sustainability of the debt



The troika are hitting Greece in order to keep speculatots happy

On Syriza's capitulation to EU blackmail

Cancel the debt immediately, the only way out

MARY KEOGAN

on the basis of the eurogroup decision of November 2012." Primary surplus is the difference between income and expenditure of the government before paying interest rates. The Troika will maintain a close control over all the important decisions of the government.

The agony does not end with the bailout extension

In June, the Greek government has to pay back €6bn to the ECB and €5bn to the IMF. At the end of April, the Troika must "check" the agreement to ensure that the reforms and the measures that Tsipras committed to are really in place. If that fails, the Troika will not refinance the Greek government or banks.

To release this fund, which will never reach the Greek treasury, Tsipras has agreed to continue implementing the measures of the Memorandum. This is according to the demands of Berlin and Brussels, backed by the Greek bourgeoisie.

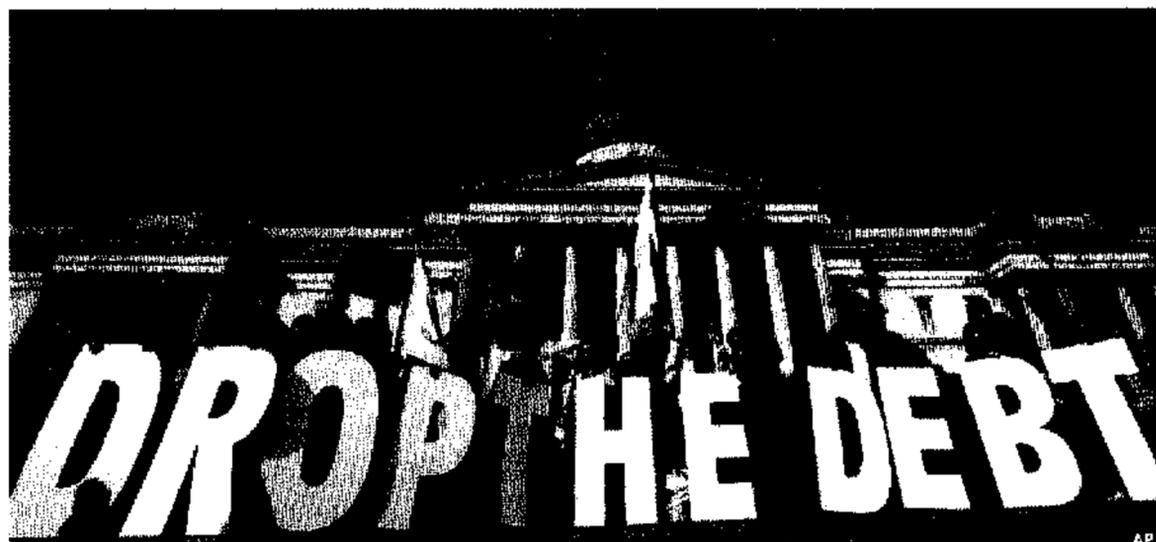
The programme of Syriza passed in the conference of Thessaloniki was voted on the basis of a likely early victory in the ballots, as the Samaras government was falling apart. The Thessaloniki Programme was clearly a step back from the programme voted in the previous congress that agreed to unilateral non-payment of the memorandum proposal to be voted in the parliament. Instead, the new programme suggests that Greece faces a dilemma of "negotiating with the EU having Syriza in the government, or the acceptance of the creditor's terms having Samaras in the government." In this context, the government of Syriza would be defined by the following points:

"Write-off the greater part of the public debt's nominal value so that it becomes sustainable. Include a 'growth clause' in the repayment of the remaining part so that it is growth-financed and not budget-financed.

"Include a significant grace period ('moratorium') in debt servicing to save funds for growth.

"Exclude public investment from the restrictions of the Stability and Growth Pact.

The issue of the Nazi Occupation forced loan from the Bank of Greece [...] It will become the country's official position from our first days in power.



"We assume responsibility and are accordingly committed to a National Reconstruction Plan for the Greek people that will replace the Memorandum as early as our first days in power, before and regardless of the negotiation outcome."

The Greek workers voted specifically for these points, but not one of them was part of the negotiation. When the German finance minister, Wolfgang Schauble said: "Writing off the debt is not on the agenda," Tsipras refused to maintain the commitments he had made and ended up signing the agreement.

Payment of the whole of the debt will be maintained, and Tsipras is bound not to take any measure that increases public expenditure without the Troika's seal of approval. It also goes against all the emergency measures already in place, and accepts the targets of "primary surplus" to face the debt instalments.

In short, using the same words that are in Syriza's programme, the outcome of the negotiation has been "the acceptance of the creditor's terms", the same way the Samaras' cabinet would have gone.

EU keep your talons out of Greece! Immediate cancellation of the debt!

From Corriente Roja, International Workers League-Fourth International's Spanish section:

We have no doubt that, although we thought the emergency measures announced by the Tsipras government were insufficient, we have to fight tooth and nail against the attacks of EU and the imperialist European powers.

In the face of the German ultimatum, Syriza must apply its programme of writing off the debt and ask for a

moratorium. And although Syriza has never discussed the possibility of leaving the eurozone, it should embrace that option as the only way to apply their emergency programme against social catastrophe.

If European imperialism replied by blocking the financing of the Greek banks, the natural response is the nationalisation, and the control of capital transfers, to prevent money flight.

But the option taken by Tsipras is to preserve the property of these bankrupted banks that survive as the parasites of the big sharks that pillage the country. In order to break with the dictates of European imperialism embodied in the EU and the ECB, the government has to break the commitments with the Greek bourgeoisie, the coalition with the Independent Greek party (ANEL) and with New Democracy, Tsipras' guest in the presidency as a symbol of his compromise with the status quo.

We agree with Manolis Glezos, the Greek left must mobilise to revoke the agreements. We must make Manolis Glezos's demand our demand, "Act, Before it is too late". Syriza's leftwing must mobilise themselves and mobilise the workers and the people, to take to the streets and demand the Tsipras' government immediately suspend the payment of the debt, and apply without delay all the emergency measures that his government passed.

If not then they are "behaving as if Greece was a colony and the Greeks the pariahs of Europe", as Tsipras said in the election campaign.

“Economic Liberalism” Today

due primarily to the working class organisations pushing up wages and creating a “rigidity” in labour costs.

There had to be the destruction of the trade unions’ strength in order to create a “free” economic society. It was a naked class theory. Hayek himself made a central question of the trade unions in a paper which he read to a conference of the Mont Pelerin Society, which he formed in 1947; “That if there is to be any hope of a return to a free economy the question how the powers of trade unions can be appropriately delimited in law as well as in fact is one of the most important of all the questions to which we must give our attention.”

It has to be said that there is certainly a difference between the “economic liberalism” of the end of the twentieth century and the ideas of Adam Smith and other classical economic liberals at the end of the 18th century. Then, capitalism was in its youth. The industrial revolution was surging forward creating a capitalist class with confidence and a future. It was a class which was unleashing a mighty expansion of production, engineering and scientific achievement, never seen nor envisaged before. With complete self-assurance, they concluded that this system was the last in history and entirely in accord with human nature.

Today, “orthodox” economists can explain nothing about fundamental movements in society and are not generally concerned with observing the laws of its development. Most of them search for keys in the financial and share markets, movement of credit and capital. They repudiate any scientific observation of capitalism as a whole, building abstract mathematical models or seeking psychological explanations for the crises which shake capitalist society, so that the movement of markets and production becomes a matter of psychological analysis. The doctrines of today’s “neo-liberalism” are backward, irrational and reactionary. So far as upholding the “natural individual” then it is a “natural individual” which is a self-seeking, profit hungry, money-grabbing individual who makes his riches in the most parasitic departments of capitalism, linked with speculation and uncontrollable corruption.

The men and women who determine the ruling ideology of capitalism today

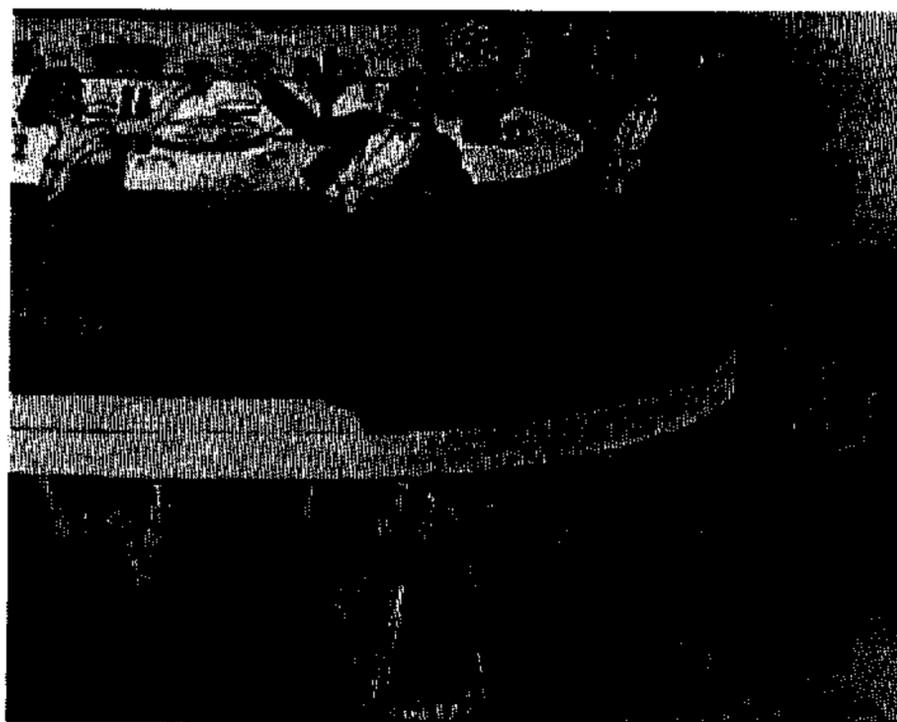


Illustration from 1911, *Industrial Workers of the World* publication. Both Tory and Labour today are trying to take us back to the days of huge inequality

under the name of freedom of the individual are justifying the exploitative relations of a capitalist society which is spinning more and more rapidly into an anarchy which threatens humanity itself.

Their attacks on the working class are propagandised with “scientific” facts of people who refuse to find jobs that are not there, dubious statistics and selective research on everything from unemployment to the development of intelligence and bio-genetics.

The chapters in Marx’ *Capital* on how capital was accumulated for the expansion of capitalism in Britain are filled with the facts and statistics of this change and also have the most moving accounts of the separation of the majority of the rural population from their common property and their herding into the factories. Further, a large part of that accumulation was gathered from the slave trade.

The development of the working class as a class of “free labour” did not come about by peaceful means. Capitalism broke up the old relations in the countryside and created the industrial towns where an industrial working class crowded together under the conditions described by Engels in his *Condition of the Working Class in England* in 1844.

Capitalists opposed vigorously, legislation controlling “free” workings of capitalism. In the last century, they opposed legislation against child labour, legislation on cutting down the working day to ten hours. As they argue about the minimum wage today, then also,

they argued that these reforms would only mean that workers should lose their employment because the factory owners would not be able to continue. Marx refuted the argument of the Oxford economist Nassau Senior, who had claimed that a bill limiting the workday to ten hours would be disastrous for the textile industry, because all its profits were made in the last hour of an eleven-and-a-half hour day.

The blind development of societies driven by profit has brought in this century, the threat that an exploitative society will bring humankind to untold devastation. The decisive factor which enabled the working class to climb out of brutal and repressive working and living conditions was the counter force of its solidarity and organisation in struggle. The relationship of Capital and Labour can never be free and equal as the capitalists own the means of production, giving them economic mastery over labour and the force of economic compulsion in a society born in violence and conflict.

Before the Second World War capitalist governments increased state intervention in the economies in their social and economic crises. The Transitional Programme of the Fourth International declared: “The necessity of “controlling” economy, of placing state guidance over industry and of “planning” is today recognised — at least in words — by almost all current bourgeois and petty bourgeois tendencies, from fascist to social democrats.”

Bill Hunter's Archives

"Economic liberalism" today

In the next few issues Socialist Voice will publish several articles by Bill Hunter about how the current attacks on workers like zero-hour contracts, privatisation, and the increasing polarisation of wealth and misery began in the 1980s and earlier.

The attacks on workers are pushed by recurring economic crises, and Western governments need to open every inch of the world to trans-national finance-capital. Central to this drive comes the problem of over-production and the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, two things from which they can never escape.

Bill's analysis shows that the economic liberalisation of the Thatcher days could not prevent the recurring and deep crisis in the 1990s, in fact it has done the opposite, it has only only deepened the crisis.

Mrs Thatcher talked of freeing the economy from state control. However, in reality she was only against particular forms of state control and regulation. It depends which class is being controlled, regulated or assisted by the state.

In 1976, the Centre for Policy Studies was founded by Alfred Sherman, Margaret Thatcher and Keith Joseph, from discussion groups which met in the previous two years (1974/5). Meetings were held throughout the mid 1970s in London and many academics and post-graduate students were invited to attend. Those who did so included F.A. von Hayek and Karl Popper, Austrian-British philosopher.

The Centre set its aim to place Margaret Thatcher into power in the Tory Party and remove Edward Heath who had been twice defeated in his attempts to introduce legislation to curb working class struggle. Nicholas Ridley, Conservative Party minister, drew up the Ridley plan to defeat the miners whilst working for the Centre.

F.A. von Hayek — member of the anti-Marxist Austrian School of Free Market Economics — was one of the leading lights of the CPS. The ideas of the true pioneers — if you can call them that — of this ideology, like Hayek were adopted by those who took a leading part in advising the Tory Government. Hayek, himself, in the first two years of the Thatcher government was resident in Downing Street four days a week.

They claimed to base themselves upon the classical economists like Adam Smith. In fact one of the institutions, which was one of the chief protagonists of Thatcherism was named the Adam Smith Institute. Above all they were anti—working class. They declared that all intervention by the state was part of



Thatcherism helped create the 2007/08 crash

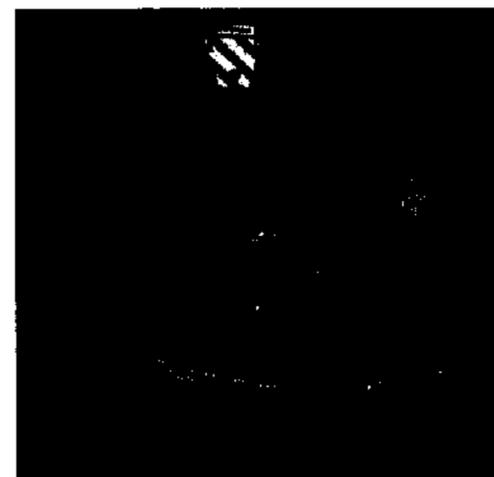
the steady advance of collectivisation of which Socialism was one aspect.

They aimed to convince the populations of the world that Stalinist repression was an inevitable product of a planned economy and a proof that no other system was possible but anarchic capitalism based on the relationships of the market and production for profit. In 1989/90 with the collapse of Stalinism, they declared there was a democratic revolution in the East and unleashed a wave of propaganda seeking to undermine the struggles of the working class and shake its confidence in its emancipation through its own rule over society.

"...if there is to be any hope of a return to a free economy the question how the powers of trade unions can be appropriately delimited in law as well as in fact is one of the most important of all the questions to which we must give our attention." Hayek 1947

They never gave up, neither can we

Thatcher, with loud triumphalism, told the people of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that militant trade unionism, collectivism and the "nanny state" was finished; the present and the



The collapse of Stalinism was a prelude to deeper crises but the West used it to attack workers democracy and Socialism

future belonged to the "free capitalist market".

The economic liberals not only declared opposition to the interventions of the state in taking over industry, but also were vocal against its interventions in free market relationship between workers and capitalists. Here of course, the hypocrisy of this ideology of "freedom" is revealed very clearly. As always an ideology of the ruling class about freedom or democracy means freedom or democracy for it. So under this banner of free market relations the Tory government has used the state to carry out the legislation against trade union rights. It has restricted the freedom to strike and actively used state repression in the miner's strike of 1984/5.

Richard Cockett, British historian and journalist, gives some very interesting quotations from the "economic liberals," setting out their antagonism to Keynes, who they denounced as seeking to evade the problem of dealing with the strength of the working class, by finding an easy road that would only pile up problems in the future.

They attacked Keynes for his premise that the biggest danger to the economy was unemployment. They declared that the greatest danger was inflation,