

CHALLENGE



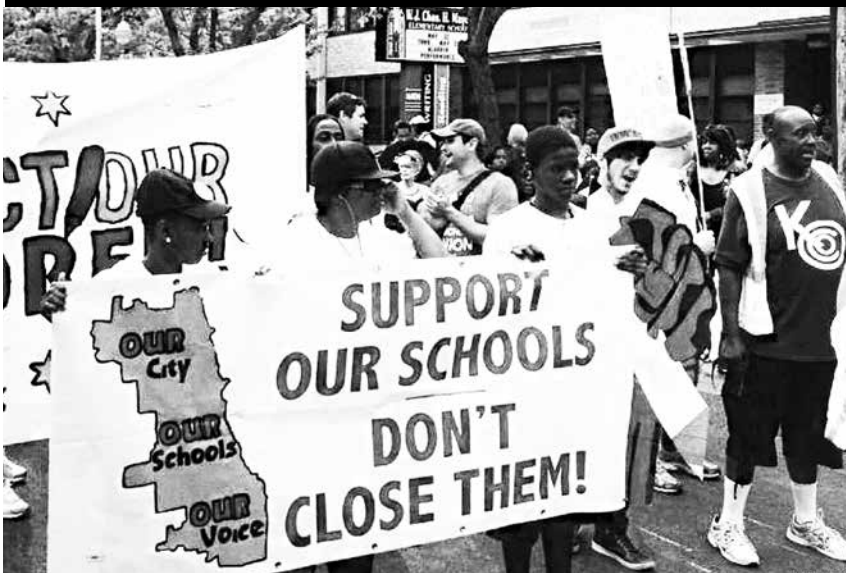
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Racist Rulers Rebuff Workers' Protest vs. School Closings



CHICAGO, May 23 — Thousands of Chicago teachers, parents, and students petitioned, spoke out, rallied, sat in, marched and disrupted meetings to stop school closings, turnarounds, and consolidations that will attack over 40,000 students at 120 schools. Nevertheless, on May 22, the Chicago Board of Education voted to close 50 schools, turnaround five, and co-locate 11 with charter schools. "Transformation" of schools means a combination of shut-downs, overcrowding multiple schools in one building, firing teachers and re-decorating schools based on the racist performance standards of federal and/or private grants.

Students from closing schools will be sent to 54 other schools that will cause overcrowding. The Board made this ruling in the face of clear and well-known evidence of racism — 88 percent of affected students are black, more than twice the percentage of black students in Chicago Public Schools (CPS.) Yet they could not defend their lies that schools needed to close to save money or that students would get a better education in the "welcoming" schools. Their hand-picked "hearing officers" had even recommended taking 13 schools off the list (at the last minute, four closings were removed.)

The move to shut down schools in Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and other cities, mostly in black neighborhoods, is part of the racist attack on the living conditions of the working class. The ruling-

class-led Broad Foundation is guiding this attack. Its plan is to close schools and divide up school districts in urban areas. This will further advance educational inequities and redistribute more education dollars to the wealthy. Chicago's Mayor Rahm Emmanuel, with the help of the black CPS CEO, Barbara Byrd Bennett, is implementing the Broad plan despite opposition. Even Chicago's ruling-class press called for fewer school closings. It's not that they oppose attacks on working-class education, but that they disagree on how fast or how obvious these attacks should be.

The answer to this is not, as the Chicago Teachers Union promotes, a massive voter registration drive resulting in the election of a new mayor. Under capitalism, the needs of the capitalists dictate the parameters of reform wins. For example, when Richard Nixon was president, he enacted social programs that Barack Obama is now helping to destroy. It has nothing to do with the politicians as individuals or whether they are Democrats or Republicans. It has everything to do with the times.

Nixon was president when U.S. capitalism was dominant in the world — they could afford the social programs that a mass movement was fighting for. Now, in spite of all the billionaires and the growing disparities between rich and poor, U.S. capitalism faces serious competition from China, Europe, India, and other capitalists in the world. Its status as "Number One" is fading fast and it will need to

depress working-class wages and conditions and go to war as it attempts to regain its standing. Electing a new mayor will not change that.

What will? The building of a revolutionary communist movement. When PLP was involved in the meetings, marches, and rallies, members pointed out the racism and the anti-student nature of the ruling-class system every day. School closings are an intensification of those attacks, but we also need to fight the daily capitalist status quo of neglect, lies, overcrowding, and under-resourcing schools.

To that end, we have plans to set up a "Freedom School" this summer to implement aspects of communist education on a small level. As our influence and experience grow, more will join PLP in the fight to end capitalism and its self-serving education system once and for all. Under communism, the need to move humanity forward will guarantee that everyone is educated to our fullest potential!



Woman hurls cops' tear gas back at them in Taksim Square, Turkey. See page 5



JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL FIGHT FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

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OUR FIGHT

★Progressive Labor Party (PLP) fights to destroy capitalism and the dictatorship of the capitalist class. We organize workers, soldiers and youth into a revolutionary movement for communism.

★Only the dictatorship of the working class — communism — can provide a lasting solution to the disaster that is today's world for billions of people. This cannot be done through electoral politics, but requires a revolutionary movement and a mass Red Army led by PLP.

★Worldwide capitalism, in its relentless drive for profit, inevitably leads to war, fascism, poverty, disease, starvation and environmental destruction. The capitalist class, through its state power — governments, armies, police, schools and culture — maintains a dictatorship over the world's workers. The capitalist dictatorship supports, and is supported by, the anti-working-class ideologies of racism, sexism, nationalism, individualism and religion.

★While the bosses and their mouthpieces claim "communism is dead," capitalism is the real failure for billions worldwide. Capitalism returned to Russia and China because socialism retained many aspects of the profit system, like wages and privileges. Russia and China did not establish communism.

★Communism means working collectively to build a worker-run society. We will abolish work for wages, money and profits. While capitalism needs unemployment, communism needs everyone to contribute and share in society's benefits and burdens.

★Communism means abolishing racism and the concept of "race." Capitalism uses racism to super-exploit black, Latino, Asian and indigenous workers, and to divide the entire working class.

★Communism means abolishing the special oppression of women — sexism — and divisive gender roles created by the class society.

★Communism means abolishing nations and nationalism. One international working class, one world, one Party.

★Communism means that the minds of millions of workers must become free from religion's false promises, unscientific thinking and poisonous ideology. Communism will triumph when the masses of workers can use the science of dialectical materialism to understand, analyze and change the world to meet their needs and aspirations.

★Communism means the Party leads every aspect of society. For this to work, millions of workers — eventually everyone — must become communist organizers. Join Us!

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WHO WRITES FOR CHALLENGE?

The fact that CHALLENGE/PLP articles are not signed grows from PLP's criticism of the cult of the individual in the former socialist Soviet Union and China. We do not want to encourage the possibility of building up a "following" around any particular individual.

While an article may be written by one person, the final version is based on collective discussion and criticism. Many times this collective discussion even precedes an individual's writing of an article.

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Editorial

Syrian War's Grand Prize: Mideast Oil

Imperialist rivalry, not religion, lies at the heart of the war in Syria. At stake are the vast energy resources of the Middle East. To maintain control of the region's oil and gas, the U.S. capitalist ruling class is pointing toward a "decisive" Syria intervention. With the Russian bosses arming in opposition, U.S. rulers need to win U.S. youth to support a new military draft. They also need the broader working class to support fascist war powers for widening regional conflicts. To date, however, their efforts toward these goals have faltered.

On the ramifications of the Syrian conflict, the New York Times (6/2/13), the top mouthpiece for U.S. capitalism, says:

The Syrian war fuels, and is fueled by, broader antagonisms that are primarily rooted not in sect but in clashing geopolitical and strategic interests: the regional power struggle between Saudi Arabia and Iran; Iran's confrontation with the West over its nuclear program; and the alliance between Hezbollah and the secular Syrian government of Mr. Assad against American-backed Israel.

Why Syria Matters

But that is only part of the truth. Regional bosses aren't the only ones responsible for the blood of 80,000 Syrians. The Times fails to mention the greater clash between U.S., Russian and Chinese rulers that underlies — and will likely intensify — the slaughter in Syria. Syria stands at the doorstep of the competing imperialists' geostrategic grand prize, Middle Eastern oil and gas resources. That's why U.S. planners are seriously pondering the risks of an all-out invasion and occupation of Syria that would kill tens of thousands more workers.

On May 28, the Times published a more candid op-ed piece, headlined: "In Syria, Go Big or Stay Home." In it, Ray Takeyh, a senior fellow at the finance capital-dominated Council on Foreign Relations think tank, and who previously served as Barack Obama's chief advisor on Iran, called for "full-scale, decisive American intervention" in Syria. Takeyh suggests that such an onslaught would set the stage for a U.S. conquest of energy-rich Iran. By contrast, a limited U.S. campaign — along the lines of the brutal but failed U.S. invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan — would only embolden Teheran's pro-Russian and pro-Chinese ayatollahs.

As Takeyh wrote, "Rather than intimidating Iran, a less-than-decisive American intervention in Syria would do the opposite. It would convince Iran's leaders that America doesn't have an appetite for fighting a major war in the region."

Russian bosses, allied to Syrian dictator Bashar Assad, are taking lethal steps to counter any U.S. offensive. Moscow is stationing more warships, including an aircraft carrier, at its naval base in Tartus, Syria. It has begun delivery of sophisticated, game-changing S-300 anti-aircraft missiles to Damascus, to be followed by MiG-29 fighter jets. Russian ruler Vladimir Putin has defended this escalation as a response to the U.S. threat: "Russia... [is] only providing Assad with weapons intended to protect Syria from a foreign invasion" (Associated Press, 5/31/13).

U.S. Invades, China Reaps the Oil

"The Chinese are the biggest beneficiary of [the] post-Saddam oil boom in Iraq," said Denise Natali, a Middle East expert at Washington's National Defense University....Chinese state-owned companies seized the opportunity, pouring more than \$2 billion a year and hundreds of workers into Iraq,...showing a willingness to play by the new Iraqi government's rules and to accept lower profits to win contracts.

"We lost out," said Michael Makovsky, a former Defense Department official in the Bush administration who worked on Iraq oil policy. "The Chinese had nothing to do with the war, but from an economic standpoint they are benefiting from it, and our Fifth Fleet and air forces are helping to assure their supply" (New York Times, 6/3/13).

In short, China's state capitalism has trumped the U.S. "free market."

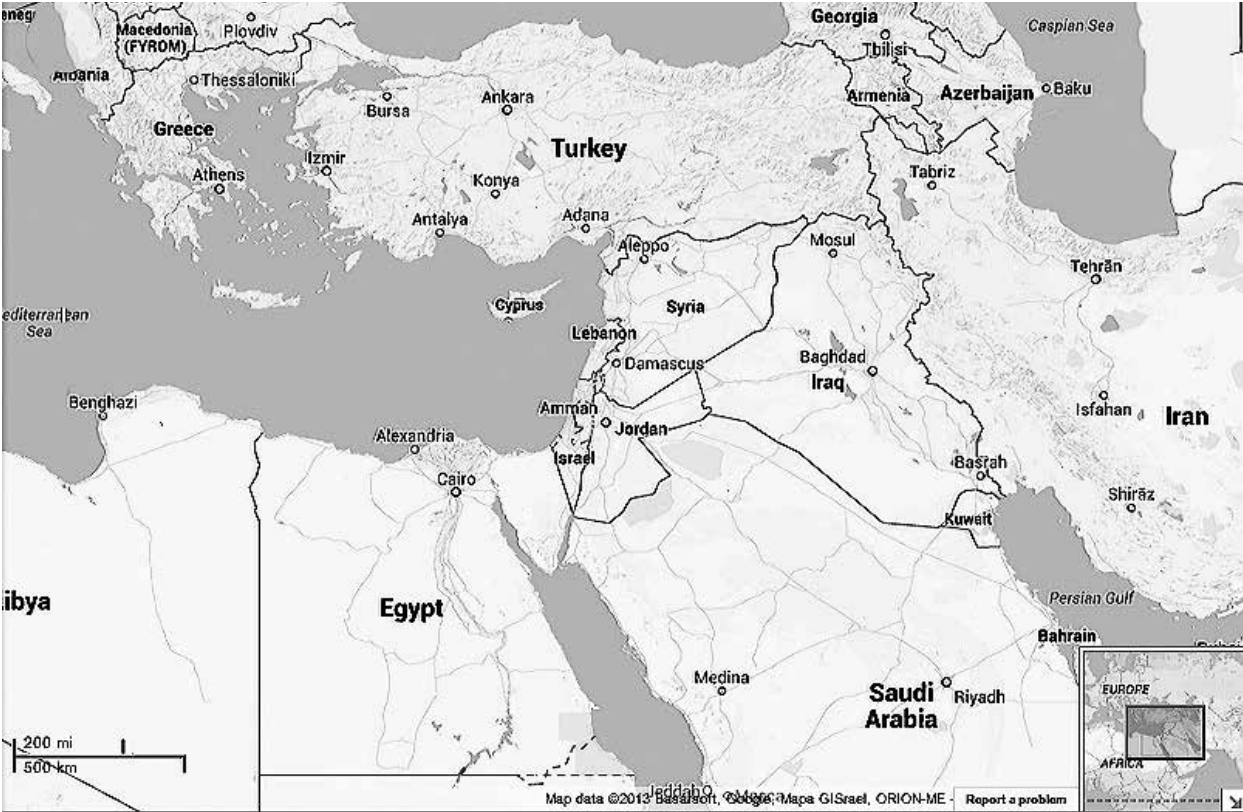
Enter China

By 2035, China's vast oil needs from the Middle East will double to seven million barrels per day (Oil Magazine, Dec. 2013). For the moment, China's capitalist rulers are not equipped to project military power into the region. They are acting diplomatically, using the United Nations to oppose U.S. aid to anti-Assad forces. But China's push for a blue-water navy, to forcibly challenge U.S. supremacy in the Persian Gulf, is well under way. And China has already outfoxed the U.S. in Iraq, reaping the oil rewards of the Bush invasion as the U.S.-China rivalry escalates (see box).

Wider wars, like a possible near-term U.S.-Syria-Russia-Iran conflict, loom large for U.S. bosses. They're also planning for an inevitable World War III with their imperialist rivals. Fresh from their misadventures in Iraq and Afghanistan, which slaughtered more than a million workers but failed to consolidate U.S. control, they are well aware of their military shortcomings. They know they need more troops and broader support for war — both within the working class and among U.S. capitalists themselves — than George W. Bush or Obama could muster.

True to form, the rulers' loyal New York Times printed yet another militaristic op-ed piece (5/27/13) to demand restoration of the draft and a new way for Congress to declare war. Written by two Stanford University cheerleaders for the U.S. empire, retired General Karl Eikenberry (formerly Obama's ambassador to Afghanistan) and Professor David Kennedy, the column proposed: "Let's start with a draft lottery.... [that] could be activated when volunteer recruitments fell short, and weighted to select the best-educated and most highly skilled Americans providing an incentive for the most privileged among us to pay greater heed to military matters."

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Legal Service Workers Strike vs. Racist Cuts

NEW YORK CITY, June 1 — “When you reach a certain point, you can’t continue taking your kids to the doctor, or you can’t afford to go to the doctor. You can’t raise your kids here in New York, so you have to find other work...The cuts are so drastic that they will undermine our ability to serve our clients.”

That’s how one striker explained why 270 lawyers, paralegals, process servers, and other staff are in Week 3 of their strike against Legal Services NYC (LSNYC), after working without a contract for over a year. The strikers are members of the Legal Services Staff Association/ UAW Local 2320 (LSSA), a nation-wide UAW local with branches across the country.

The millionaire cooperate lawyers who run the LS-NYC board want workers to take a pay cut equivalent to two years of seniority, pay thousands of dollars a year in health care contributions while providing greatly reduced coverage, cut employer contributions to the retirement fund by nearly one-third, and end cost-of-living pay increases.

Even more than union-busting, the proposed cuts are a racist attack on the poorest, mostly black, Latino and immigrant workers whose only access to legal assistance is through LSSA. It represents workers facing evictions and foreclosure, those denied disability benefits or unemployment compensation, victims of domestic violence, guides newly arrived immigrants through the racist immigration system and more.

The Legal Services Corporation was created by Congress in 1974 after the anti-racist rebellions of the 1960s, to ensure the grievances of poor and working people were moved into the judicial system. Forty years later, U.S. rulers can no longer afford a safety net they created when they were mostly unchallenged by rival capitalists.

The attack on Legal Services is a part of the shredding of the old social contract and very much a part of the development of fascism as the U.S. lurches to ever widening wars. And no strike, no matter how militant,

can change that course. While we need to fight tooth and nail to defend our livelihoods and our clients, at the same time we must build a revolutionary movement that can smash war and fascism with communist revolution. We invite every striker to join and build a mass Progressive Labor Party.

The bosses have dug in, hiring the notoriously anti-union law firm Seyfarth Shaw. One striker noted, “Milbank Tweed [building], where the chair of the board works, is downtown at Chase Manhattan Plaza. Michael Young, the vice chair, works in the New York Times building in Midtown Manhattan...Their clients are large banks. Our clients are the poorest of the poor, often being sued by those banks.”

The strike has the support from workers around the city. Workers from other unions have joined the picket lines and offered cold drinks to the picketers. Like the recent struggle to keep Long Island College Hospital open, workers uniting with those they serve can be a winning, anti-racist formula. It also has the “support” of the NY Central Labor Council, which helped to pull the rug out from under striking school bus drivers just a few months ago.

This past week, UAW Region 9A, which includes LSSA/UAW2320, rounded up about 50 strikers and union staffers to endorse Christine Quinn for mayor on the steps of City Hall. Quinn, as speaker of the City Council, has been billionaire Bloomberg’s closest ally as he has refused to settle even one contract with a city workers’ union. She refused to allow a vote on paid sick days for three years and is the strongest defender of racist NYPD commissioner Ray Kelley. She and four other Democratic candidates for mayor signed a letter urging the school bus drivers to end their strike, even though many no longer had jobs to go back to.

Strikers don’t need to be standing behind Quinn or any of her rivals. They are doing the right thing, relying on each other (every striker is on a strike committee) and the clients they serve. And they need to be wary of the Central Labor Council and UAW leadership. As the fight unfolds, we’re fighting to hold on to what we can, and limit our losses. That’s the period we’re in. In order to get the fruits of all we produce, we will have to take power from the bosses with communist revolution. That day may not be around the corner, but the opportunity to build that movement lies within this strike.✊



Pro-Boss Union Hacks Rally for Democrats

NEW YORK CITY, June 5 — The Municipal Labor Committee, a coalition of city-worker unions totaling 300,000 members — teachers, transit workers, workers in the mayoral agencies as well as fire and sanitation departments — will be rallying June 12 at City Hall park. Will this demonstration lead to a real fight to restore levels of city services needed in hospitals, schools and other vital areas?

Will it lead to a real fight for contracts that expired two and three years ago?

Will it end the racist police terror of “stop and frisk” and police murders?

Will it lead to a general strike that brings the banker-, real estate- and Wall Street-backed politicians to their knees?

We don’t think so!

Its main purpose is to win city workers, their families and friends to blindly follow and trust the preferred Democratic mayoral candidates of the various unions. The union leaders all support the capitalist system and its political process. They want us to buy into a rigged system that has always served the interests of the ruling class.

Progressive Labor Party members are participating in this demonstration to unite with our brothers and sisters who desperately want to fight back. We’ve helped lead struggles on our jobs and in our communities.

As we fight back, we will share our understanding that U.S. capitalism, fighting to keep its position as the top imperialist warmonger worldwide, intends to cut our living standards, including wages, pensions, health care and governmental services, cuts that are all part and parcel of capitalism. We therefore build a movement that fights for the unconditional benefit of the working class and for the destruction of the profit system. We fight for communist revolution, to build a society free of all forms of exploitation, racism, sexism and boss-inspired war.✊

JFK Workers Protest Poverty Conditions While Airlines Bank Billions



QUEENS, NY, May 30 — Dozens of airport workers rallied today outside JFK’s terminal 4 while officials and Delta employees celebrated the grand opening of the airline’s new JFK Airport gateway. The protesters were calling on airlines and airport service companies for an increase in wages and benefits, more job security and better treatment. The workers, who mainly work for companies subcontracted by Delta for terminal operations, marched outside the building, where several hundred feet away, officials and executives were gathering for its official opening.

The workers are predominantly black and Latino and are victimized by the racism of the companies that expect to get away with substandard conditions.

The protest was also directed against other airlines receiving subsidies or tax breaks for doing work at JFK and LaGuardia airports. This includes American Airlines, which received \$1.2 billion in bonds from the NYC Industrial Development Agency, a wing of the Economic Development Corporation, for construction of a new JFK terminal. JetBlue, Air France, Korean Air Lines and Lufthansa also received over \$400 million collectively in subsidies for work at Terminal 1.

“Companies at the airport get billions,” said Termi-

nal 4 security worker Mohamed, but “people like me, low-wage subcontracted airport service workers, continue to struggle to get by on wages as low as \$8 an hour with no meaningful benefits.”

Jamaica resident Jackson, a security officer for Air Serv who has worked in Delta’s terminal for more than three years, said he’s tired of being told there isn’t enough money for raises or benefits while billion-dollar terminals are constructed. “We haven’t received a single pay raise since I started,” he said. “We work full-time and still wonder if we make enough to pay the bills. This is no way to live. The problem is Delta received millions of dollars in tax subsidies to expand Terminal 4, but at the same time, we’re told there isn’t enough money for raises or benefits. There’s enough money.”

Jackson says some employees who worked in Terminal 3, Delta’s former facility that closed last Friday, don’t know if or when they will move to Terminal 4.

The racist, sexist exploitation of these airport workers is a clear example of how the capitalist system operates and of the necessity to overthrow it to create a communist society free of bosses and profits.✊

An Unemployment Story

Capitalism Won't Solve Economic Crisis It Created

Economic crises are deadly for workers. But for capitalists, crises are opportunities to attack the working class. As Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon declared at the onset of the Great Depression, “During depressions, assets return to their rightful owners.” By “rightful owners,” he meant the capitalist ruling class. (Mellon himself was a financier who amassed a personal fortune of more than \$300 million.) The system’s internal contradictions create periodic busts that weed out weaker capitalists and enable the surviving bosses to increase their profits by rolling back workers’ gains.

The current Great Recession is no exception. The capitalist class has used it to wage a relentless class war, complete with massive unemployment and givebacks from workers still hanging on to their jobs. This brutal cycle can be ended only when workers fight back — not just against pay cuts, but to destroy capitalism itself.

A Worker Faces the Crisis

In 2008, when Michael was laid off from his construction job, he was just one of millions of workers who found themselves jobless due to the latest capitalist crisis. What he didn’t know was how deeply this crisis would cut. In his home Washington State, there were now 350,000 workers collecting monthly unemployment checks. In Seattle, where Michael worked, there were three unemployed workers for every job opening.

After spending nearly two years on unemployment, applying for hundreds of jobs, Michael finally found work in a factory. Though the job was similar to his old one, he was forced to take a 30 percent cut in pay; his wages fell from \$16.75 to \$12 an hour. He was not alone. The average worker coming off unemployment during this crisis took a 17.5% pay cut, with the deepest cuts concentrated among the lowest-paid workers.

Where did all these lost wages go? They were pocketed by the capitalists. In 2010, 93 percent of all income gains in the economy went to the top 1 percent of the population — what economist Joseph Stiglitz called “the largest redistribution of wealth in such a short period of time in history.” In fact, this class thievery merely accelerated a trend of the last four decades. In 2000, U.S. workers received 64 percent of national income; by 2012, their share dropped to 58 percent. In short, the capitalist class has grown even wealthier at the expense of the working class.

Class War by Design

The civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements of the ‘60s and early ‘70s fought militantly to empower the working class. Rejecting the ballot box, workers, students, and soldiers took to the streets to demand justice. Mass urban rebellions helped to crush the capitalists’ ability to wage genocide in Vietnam. As a result, wages and benefits between 1966 and 1972 rose at a record 6.8 percent per year. In 1966, official unemployment hit an all-time low of 3.8 percent. In 1969, the average duration of unemployment fell to a record low of 7-8 weeks.

This period was a nightmare for the capitalist class, squeezed between rising inter-imperialist rivalries abroad and revitalized working-class movements at home. In 1971, in a secret memo to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, future Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell warned that the Left was “waging ideological warfare against the free enterprise system” and that “almost half of college students favored socialization of basic U.S. industries.” He stated that capitalists needed to stop their policy of “appeasement” of the working class: “The time has come — indeed, it is long overdue — for the wisdom, ingenuity, and resources of American business to be marshaled against those who would destroy it.”

In a 1976 report by the Rockefeller-organized Trilateral Commission, ruling-class stooge Samuel Huntington echoed Powell’s concerns. He stated that the U.S. suffered from an “excess of democracy” and that “people no longer felt the same obligation to obey those whom they had previously considered superior to themselves in age, rank, status, expertise, character, or talents.” Two years later, another Trilateral Commission member, William Simon, warned that the U.S. is “careening with frightening speed toward collectivism.”

The rulers’ solution was to launch a massive attack on workers. In the early 1980s, as head of the Federal Reserve, Paul Volcker jacked up the prime interest rate to induce a recession. This caused unemployment to skyrocket amid a relentless attack on labor unions, spearheaded by Ronald Reagan’s firing of 11,000 air traffic controllers in 1981. In 1982, at the height of the Volcker recession, 60 percent of unions agreed to pay freezes or cuts.

Hand in hand with their economic attack, the capitalists launched a political assault on workers. They packed their think tanks and universities with intellectuals dedicated to neo-liberalism, a reactionary ideology that stressed total reliance on the market and the elimination of social programs run by the government. Think tanks and foundations, Simon stated, must “serve explicitly as intellectual refuges for the non-egalitarian scholars and writers” — those who would exalt the deeds of capitalists while relentlessly attacking workers.

Soon enough, the dramatic reversal of U.S. class struggle was apparent. In 1993, the Wall Street Journal reported that industry had “excelled in holding down the cost of labor. Hourly pay in the U.S. was lower than in most other [industrial nations],” to the point where “gaps have narrowed” between the U.S. and “emerging nations” like Mexico and Taiwan. The Journal lauded this trend as “a welcome development of transcendent importance.”

In Congressional testimony in 1997, Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan explained that resurgent capitalist profits were the result of “atypical restraint on compensation increases” and “mainly the consequence of greater worker insecurity.” In 1991, as he pointed out, 25 percent of workers feared being laid off. By 1996, that number rose to 46 percent. In explaining how Ford “tamed the monster,” namely the United Auto Workers, the Wall Street Journal gleefully reported how “massive layoffs” and “outsourcing” had forced “increased cooperation” among workers now willing to work harder for less.

Worker Misery is No Accident

Michael is part of a growing trend. Between 1972 and 2011, as worker productivity increased by 80 per-

cent, wages have gone up only 4 percent. More recently, workers have actually lost ground to the price inflation on necessities. Since 2000, food prices have risen 25.2 percent, health insurance premiums 131 percent, and the price of gas 286 percent. With public transit allowed to deteriorate under neo-liberalism, Michael and millions of others spend an increasing proportion of their paychecks on gas as “extreme commuters,” traveling 40 miles or more to their jobs.

Yet Michael is not the hardest hit in this economic crisis. The bosses have used racism in their effort to make even more profit and also to divide the working class. They’ve created categories of super-exploited workers. As racist anti-immigrant hysteria is stoked by the media and politicians, the bosses have taken greater liberties in exploiting Latino workers through overwork and stolen wages. Black workers are still “last hired, first fired.” A recent study found that a black male with a college degree had as great a chance of being called back for an interview as a white male with a felony conviction.

The Only Solution is Revolution

More than anything, what Michael and other workers across the world need is class consciousness. The capitalist class is organized in its attack on the working class; workers must be organized in their counterattack. They must organize under the only political banner that has consistently fought for the rights and dignity of the working class: communism. There is a reason why the capitalists’ lackeys label those who opposed slavery, racist segregation, apartheid, sexism, child labor, and imperialist war as communists. It is because communists fight for workers. Communism is the political movement of the working class.☸



Syrian War's Grand Prize: Mideast Oil

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The bosses’ idea is to rebuild their depleted officer corps by making top colleges once again a recruiting ground for the U.S. military. The Reserve Officers’ Training Corps is regaining lost ground on the campuses, returning to New York’s City College after a 40-year absence. The rulers’ broader goal is to build patriotism among young people. If they succeed in implementing a new, all-inclusive draft, no one will be able to escape military service — not middle-class students seeking college deferments, not working-class immigrant youth seeking citizenship via Obama’s Dream Act.

The Bosses’ Problems

In an attempt to unite the diverse array of capitalists represented by U.S. politicians, Eikenberry and Kennedy assert, “Congress must also take on a larger role in war-making. Its last formal declarations of war were during World War II. It’s high time to revisit the recommendation, made in 2008 by the bipartisan National War Powers Commission, to replace the 1973 War Powers Act, which requires notification of Congress *after* the president orders military action, with a mandate that the president consult with Congress *before* resorting to force.”

For now, however, involving Congress more directly in U.S. militarization appears to be a pipedream. A significant Congressional contingent fronts for domestically oriented capitalists like the Koch brothers,

who have little to gain from oil-driven military action overseas. And divisions will persist between states that profit from weapons contracts and those that need to protect profits with reinvestment in domestic infrastructure.

Meanwhile, a gut opposition to a universal draft has persisted since the Vietnam era among students and workers. Much of it stems from the militant anti-imperialist actions led by the Progressive Labor Party, which made “U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of Vietnam!” into a mass slogan supported by millions.

As U.S. rulers mount an international drive to war, communists in PLP and our allies must intensify our attacks on the ruling class in the score of countries where our Party is growing. We need to link the issue of imperialist war to every class struggle. The capitalists’ murderous drive for maximum profits must be fought in our battles against wage and social service cuts, against hospital cutbacks and strike-busting. It must be tied to our fights against racist, killer cops and against the mass deportations of immigrant workers. Most of all, it must infuse our organizing of rank-and-file soldiers to win them to fight the military brass, not their class brothers and sisters under attack by U.S. imperialism.

Building the Party while immersed in these struggles will ultimately lead to communism, the only system that will end exploitation, racism, sexism, mass unemployment and imperialist war. Workers of the world, unite! Join PLP!☸

Masses Rise in Turkey vs. Fascist Erdogan Regime

ISTANBUL, June 5 — The working class is rising in Turkey, involving 3,000,000 across 60 cities. Mass demonstrations with as many as 250,000 people have occurred on a daily basis since May 29, centered in Istanbul's Taksim Square, a place where workers traditionally voice their grievances and show their strength. They are outraged at the Islamist government of Prime Minister Erdogan. On June 4, 240,000 government workers in the Confederation of Public Sector Trade Unions walked out as part of a general strike. They are protesting the arrest and trial of 72 members on phony terrorism charges. They are also striking against the current wave of police repression of massive anti-government protests that started last Friday.

On May Day, the trade unions staged their annual march, with tens of thousands of workers carrying red flags despite warnings not to enter Taksim Square. Workers responded to police attacks by hurling rocks, paving stones and bottles, and destroying police vehicles.

Since then, the government announced plans to



Woman builds barricades against the police.

erect a shopping mall, bulldozing hundreds of trees that form a park in the Square. This plan further enraged the masses. Huge protests began as hundreds blocked the bulldozers. The government responded with water cannons, tear gas and police batons, wounding over 1,000. Police have shot gas canisters at people's heads, killing one and blinding 12.



Protests have spread to the capital city of Ankara, Izmir, and the port of Bodrum on the Mediterranean Sea. The protesters are demanding the resignation of the Erdogan government.

Over the past six years Turkey has experienced rapid economic growth, but the working class has seen little benefit. As a result, the unions led a strike wave this past year. The Erdogan government responded by arresting hundreds of trade union leaders and rank-and-file militants, charging them with se-

Mobilize to Back Workers' Rebellion

Today a colleague of mine from Turkey came running into my office, excitedly declaring that he had been in touch with several of his friends in Turkey who have been injured by the fascist cops, and that he was trying to mobilize support throughout the country among other workers there. He said about 200 had gathered at the White House in Washington, DC over the weekend to protest Erdogan, the prime minister of Turkey, and that more action was needed around the world to increase pressure to drive out Erdogan. He said the regime had unleashed vicious cops who have killed and wounded many demonstrators. When the cops attack, he said, local residents have opened their homes to fleeing demonstrators, only to find that the cops shoot tear gas canisters into the apartment buildings. He said that the upheaval includes all ethnic groups including Kurds and that even many Muslims have joined in, despite Erdogan's claim that he could mobilize over a million Muslims to attack the demonstrators. He said even successful people with good jobs had joined the battle against fascism.

I told him that we would be at the next event, and to keep us informed!

DC Red

rious felonies in order to smash the power of the unions.

Turkey has been crucial to U.S. imperialism's influence in Iraq, its aim to undermine the Assad regime in Syria, and U.S. conflict with Iran. Instability in Turkey could weaken U.S. influence in the region and strengthen Russian and Chinese imperialist influence.

The parallel to Egypt is quite evident. Like Egypt, there is a succession struggle between the rival political parties, neither of which has the worker's interests at heart. By trying to change the constitution, Erdogan is attempting to pave the way for him to circumvent the term limits on being Prime Minister by becoming President. So, the crackdown on the sit-ins in front of bulldozers and its subsequent uprising, are now being co-opted by opposition political parties.

For courageous workers in Turkey, the essential lesson from this struggle is that a mass communist party is necessary to up the ante to a fight for workers' power and an egalitarian communist society. PLP embraces this struggle against tyranny and looks to aid the working class in building that international party in Turkey. We ask all workers to organize rallies at Turkish embassies, consulates and Turkish Air Lines protesting the fascist Erdogan regime.✊

PL'ers Spread May Day from El Salvador to Honduras

EL SALVADOR — PL'ers met to discuss May Day activities. We discussed the planning and outcome of each activity:

First, one comrade went to Honduras to coordinate the event there and arrange the distribution of 2,000 flyers at the May Day march by six CHALLENGE readers.

Following that, in the capital city of El Salvador, San Salvador, 15 comrades, members and friends of PLP, distributed 5,000 flyers. These comrades come from various nearby communities.

In total, 45 people distributed flyers at the May Day event in San Salvador. We'd also like to highlight the number of flyers that were sent to a university in Guatemala, through the efforts of a PLP sympathizer. Further, we printed one thousand more flyers than the number planned at a pre-May Day meeting.

In summary, we're certain this event was a success and a step forward for PLP, and therefore for the working class, and the peasants from the villages, who were pleased. All the PLP members in San Salvador are very proud and we're ready to continue the struggle organizing workers, women, peasants, teachers, soldiers, and students.

Youth who participated were able to realize that the only way to change the capitalist system is organizing to build our base and contribute to consolidating and strengthening communism internationally to destroy the forces of imperialism.

Long Live May Day! Long Live the Workers of the World! Long Live PLP!✊



LETTERS

We encourage all CHALLENGE readers to send in letters and articles about their experiences fighting the bosses worldwide.

‘Workers are the real movers of society...’

Under today’s economic system of capitalism, there are billions of wage workers who only have themselves (and their labor power) to sell for money because the bosses control the global resources. Workers come in all colors, genders, and languages. Bosses try to use these to keep us divided so we don’t see who our real enemy is — the bosses themselves. Workers are the real movers of society — we grow the food, drive the buses, maintain the power plants, make the automobiles, computers, and educate our children.

A revolutionary worker knows she/he is (super)exploited and fights to liberate their class. When workers try to alter their destiny, this is called “agency.” Karl Marx one of the founders of our movement said, “proletarians must be a class for itself.” For as dialectical and historical materialism, the scientific outlook of communists, says that just as the universe realizes itself, its conscience, through humans who are the highest forms of matter, proletarians must realize that it must act to fulfill its historical role as liberators of our class.

With communist revolution and the development of a communist society, we will abolish wage slavery, money, racism, sexism, nationalism, and imperialism. Only then can we be free. All this can be possible with working-class armed struggle through the leadership of PLP. The bosses will never voluntarily leave the stage of world history.

PLP is the best weapon for communism. From John Brown, Harriet Tubman, to Lenin, and Stalin, we must learn from what was best for our class and discard what was bad. Join us on the road to communist revolution! Join PLP!

Minnesota Red

Imperialist Exploiters Suck Resources Out of Tanzania

New discoveries of natural resources in several African countries — including Tanzania, Ghana, Uganda, and Mozambique — raise an important question: Will these windfalls bring prosperity and hope or be a political and economic curse?

On average, resource-rich countries have done even more poorly than countries without resources. They have grown more slowly and with greater inequality. Volatile resource prices cause growth to be unstable. International banks rush in when commodity prices are high and rush out in the downturns.

Moreover, resource-rich countries often do not pursue sustainable growth strategies. They fail to recognize that if they do not reinvest their resource wealth into productive investments above ground, they are actually becoming poorer. Political dysfunction exacerbates the problem, as conflict over access to resource rents gives rise to corrupt governments. The Ogoniland delta region makes Nigeria the ninth-leading oil producer, but it’s the poorest area in that country.

Recently, residents in Mtwara, Tanzania, have demonstrated for Mnazi Bay and Msimbati gas to be utilized in economic projects within their region. Gas at Mnazi Bay was first discovered in 1982 by an Italian petroleum company that drilled a well in shallow waters. The well was abandoned due to lack of local demand and a national economic crisis. Later Artumas (eventually renamed Wentworth Resources), a petroleum company based in Canada, entered the area to appraise the hydrocarbon resources. They also discovered a previously unknown gas field at Msimbati. In 2008, the gas reserves in Mnazi Bay were estimated at 2.2 trillion cubic feet..

Meanwhile, China has just loaned Tanzania the \$1.3 billion it needs to construct the 524km gas pipeline from Mtwara to Dar es Salaam. The biggest investment by the Chinese will be in Bagamoyo, where they would spend \$11 billion to construct the biggest port in East Africa. The Chinese would manage the port for 50 years to recover the monies.

The old colonial powers regarded Africa simply as a place from which to extract resources. Some of the new purchasers have a similar attitude. Infrastructure (roads, railroads, ports) has been built with one goal in mind: getting resources out of the country at as low a price as possible, with no effort to process the resources or develop local industries within the country.

The discord between the bureaucratic bourgeoisie who constitute the state-capital nexus and the dispossessed is the root cause of the street

rage in Mtwara and elsewhere. The dispossessed in Mtwara now count themselves out of the gas bonanza.

A friend

Red Youth Learns Roots of Racism

As part of preparation to start a campaign against racism in our community, we recently met in a study group to discuss its roots. This is a summary of what I learned:

- Materialism— Historical Materialism is the application of Dialectical Materialism to the study of life and social changes. Ideas, theories, and the way we interpret the world come from our material conditions.
- Idealism — Idealist thought, on the other hand, argues that society develops because of ideas

Initially, slavery was never linked to racism. Whites also served as slaves, and slavery was the punishment for a crime or simply payment for an unpaid debt. Blacks reached high positions after serving their years as slaves and even when other persons of color were slaves.

Before the 10th century, the majority of slaves came from Eastern Europe. Arabs went to Equatorial Africa in search of black Africans who were forced to work for Arab masters.

Capitalism developed with the expansion of trade, which also made possible the growth of the bourgeoisie from the 14th to the 16th century.

It became necessary to define the status of slaves as different from that of the other workers, and find a way to brutally exploit them. When blacks arrived in Virginia as servants, they became the best source of labor.

Racism was created to legitimize slavery. Laws and practices were put in place to keep people divided and sustain racism.

But British capitalism, which used to control the slave trade, sought the abolition of slavery to take advantage of the Industrial Revolution.

Liberal people believe racism will disappear by itself, or if it’s fought in court. But they don’t understand how it benefits capitalism, which created racism in the first place.

A new comrade

Genocidal U.S. Empire Can Never Be Reformed

The disclosure of the 1.7 million Wiki Leaks files by U.S. soldier Bradley Manning exposed U.S. imperialism’s murderous, racist actions for the recent historical period. The book “Untold History of the U.S.” details the entire genocidal history of U.S. capitalism’s insatiable hunger for lands and resources, from its colonial beginnings to world empire in 2012, describing over 100 wars and interventions against other countries.

The authors Oliver Stone and Peter Kuzneck use thousands of facts about the “dark side” of U.S. history, like showing the waterboarding of Filipinos by U.S. troops in the 19th century that echoes today’s torturing and renditions. At the same time, the authors assert that U.S. superiority over other world powers is because of its ideals of freedom, liberty and democracy. However, millions of capitalism’s victims and the following quotes show U.S. imperialism’s rise to empire came not from ideas or values but from organized terror and military violence.

• In the 1870s, U.S. rulers forced the army to slaughter workers in the 1877 national railroad strikes because of fears that the Paris Commune might spark a communist revolution here. Jay Gould, a railroad millionaire, boasted he “could hire half the working class to kill the other half.”

• President Wilson jailed anti-war protesters and rushed to enter World War I for a piece of the war profits, like producing enough poison gas to wipe out all German cities and kill everyone in North and South America. He said, “Everyone knows America as savior of the world.”

• General Smedley Butler, who led many of the more than 50 invasions and interventions in Central American, Caribbean and South American countries between 1900 and 1936, said, “I was a gangster for U.S. capitalism.”

• After World War II bailed out U.S. capitalism from a decade of depression, Wall Street said, “A permanent war economy is needed to prevent a return to depression” and profiteering from the Cold War against the Soviet Union began with wars in dozens of countries, including Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

• When President Nixon was told by advisor Kissinger that hundreds of millions could die in the nuclear war he threatened in Vietnam, Nixon replied, “You’re too concerned about civilians and I don’t give a damn.”

• Federal Reserve Board member Greenspan said everyone knows, “the Iraq war is about oil. The oil translates to power and control over Europe, Japan and China” And the New York Times (1/5/03) had a piece entitled, “American Empire, Get Used to It.” President George Bush searched under his desk and laughed when asked where were the weapons of mass destruction used as a false pretext to start the war that killed 600,000 Iraqis.

• After drone warfare had killed 2,250, including 50 civilians for every militant, and terrorized millions of Afghans and Pakistanis into hiding from daily drone flights during President Obama’s first three years, he “joked” to a rock band not to get interested in his two daughters or else “predator drones, you will never see it coming.”

• In 2010, Defense Secretary Gates assured the Afghans, “We’re not ever leaving at all” which explains why 17,000 U.S. soldiers remain in Iraq and 30,000 remain in Korea conducting invasion exercises for a new conflict 60 years after that war supposedly ended.

By omitting the role of working-class and communist-led struggles (“available in libraries”) and exposing only the untold “dark side” of U.S. history, the authors dream that critics of imperialism and reform capitalists will be encouraged to develop and promote an American mission of peace and shared prosperity. President Adams, Vice President Henry Wallace and President Kennedy are portrayed as moderators of colonialism and imperialism who could have changed the course of history and prevented wars.

Only liberals who are desperate to believe that capitalism can change its war-making stripes (so they can argue that it’s not necessary to smash it once and for all) could give Kennedy the mantle of peacemaker. Kennedy campaigned for the Presidency by making up the existence of a “missile gap” to justify ramping up military spending as soon as he took office. He began and accelerated the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

He and his brother Robert supported the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in an attempt to make it secure once again for United Fruit. When the Soviet Union exported missiles to Cuba (not unlike the missiles the U.S. had in Turkey that were even closer to the USSR), Kennedy escalated the conflict with a wartime blockade — bringing the world to the brink of a nuclear World War III.

Read the book if you want tons of facts on how capitalism always leads to wars. But if you want to learn how the working class is fighting back and organizing to change history, then you have to read CHALLENGE. Our revolutionary newspaper explains how communist revolutions have seized power in the past and will do so again.

A Comrade



The Cultural Revolution: A Model for Communist Society

As communists, we are often asked how a communist society would function under the leadership of the Progressive Labor Party. One way to envision a communist society is by studying historical examples, such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (CR) that occurred in China between 1966 and 1976. An excellent source of first-hand knowledge and documented facts is Dongping Han's book, "The Unknown Cultural Revolution: Life and Change in a Chinese Village."

The book is largely based on research done for Han's PhD thesis. He traveled from the U.S. to his native village in China to interview villagers who lived there during the CR, and to examine records of crop production and village expenditures. As part of his thesis, he wanted to provide evidence that the educational and political reforms that took place during the CR greatly improved the lives of the average villager.

However, by 1969 Mao retreated from the CR and had the Red Guards dismantled or placed under army control. Many of the educational and political reforms that the CR initiated were reversed. Consequently, the children of many rural villagers were, and continue to be, denied an education because the schools are no longer free. With the abolishment of communal farming (and thus eliminating the societal security it created) many farmers are forced to work well beyond retirement age.

The CR empowered villagers because, for the first time, they were encouraged to criticize their leaders. Students were encouraged to criticize their teachers and principals; women were encouraged to work and get educated. Corrupt village officials were denounced and forced to reform or be removed from office. Big



character posters, newspapers, and mass organizations flourished during the CR.

Before the CR, there were only two high schools in Jimo county (where the author grew up); as a result of the CR the number increased to eighty-four. The high schools were all constructed and financed by communes. Before the Cultural Revolution, a standardized test determined who would be admitted to college. In 1966, the national entrance exams were suspended, and all students had to work in rural areas or a factory for at least two years before going to college. "Students had to prove themselves as good farmers or workers before going to college."

On communes, team leaders were no longer appointed, but chosen. Production plans were decided on by meetings of mass leaders of various mass organizations. These meetings involved as many as ten thousand, from county leaders to production team leaders.

The democratic nature of the CR resulted in significant increases in yields of corn and wheat, as well as mechanization of farming techniques.

Han concludes that "economic development in the countryside was facilitated by political and cultural changes brought about by the CR." Among the changes was a cultural shift that allowed villagers to challenge party leaders, advance a collective work ethic, including leadership participation in manual labor and democratic decision-making. These changes also resulted in giving rural children an opportunity for an education and development of skills that helped rural economic development.

Even though capitalism was restored in China and the USSR, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution serves as an example of what we in PLP are fighting for under a communist society.☺



RED EYE ON THE NEWS . . .

Below are excerpts from mainstream newspapers that may be of use for our readers. Abbreviations: NYT=New York Times, GW=Guardian Weekly, LAT=Los Angeles Times

Afghan women are virtual slaves

NYT, 5/19 —Even with some legal protections in place, Afghan women, and even little girls, can be sold to pay family debts. In the country's vast rural areas, just talking to a man who is not a close relative can be punishable by death. And in some places, girls are routinely married at puberty.

And now...the country's tiny women's rights movement faces an unenviable decision: leave intact the only law that attempts to halt such abuses, or continue to present changes to Parliament and run the risk that a growing conservative bloc could dismantle the law entirely....

Angry mullahs and conservatives who never supported the law in the first place complained that it and the proposed revisions were un-Islamic and asked who could better decide than they who and when their daughters should marry.

Stop-and-frisk: racist and false

NYT, 5/21 — [New York City]...on...88 percent of stops,...the police did not find evidence of criminality after a stop...."You reasonably suspect something and you're wrong 90 percent of the time."

"That is a lot of mis-judgment," Judge Scheindlin said....Officers were wrongly interpreting innocent behavior as suspicious.

....In station house recordings...supervisors can be heard exhorting officers to issue more summonses and conduct more stops....The Center for Constitutional Rights...claims that the Police Department had long been stopping and frisking black and Hispanic New Yorkers without evidence they were engaged in criminality....but millions of stops [were] conducted over many years. [A] lawsuit claims to represent all the minority men and women who have been stopped not because their behavior was suspicious but because of the color of their skin....

Black and Hispanic people represent an overwhelming majority of people stopped, more than 85 percent most years....

Laws allow Apple's tax-dodging!

NYT, 5/21 — Even as Apple became the nation's most profitable technology company, it avoided billions in taxes in the United States and around the world through a web of subsidiaries so complex it spanned continents and went beyond anything most experts had ever seen....

...Some of Apple's subsidiaries had no employees and were largely run by top officials from the company's headquarters in Cupertino, Calif. But by officially locating them in places like Ireland, Apple was able to, in ef-

fect, make them stateless — exempt from taxes....

"Apple successfully...created offshore entities holding tens of billions of dollars while claiming to be tax resident nowhere."

....Apple was able to largely sidestep taxes on tens of billions of dollars...outside the United States in recent years. Last year, international operations accounted for 61 percent of Apple's total revenue.

Investigators have not accused Apple of breaking any laws...[!]

Profit system breeds bad drugs

NYT, 5/26 — [Author] Goldacre, a doctor, mentions the usual Big Pharma critiques, touching on the ethical morass of human trials and the infuriating dirty tricks pharmaceutical firms use to market their drugs both to patients and doctors....Outright testing manipulations...have led to "a market flooded with drugs that aren't very good."

Food stamps — but hunger lingers

NYT, 5/21 — The modern food-stamps program....remains an immensely important source of support for low-income families and children living below or near the poverty line. Still, some 50 million Americans live in households that cannot consistently afford enough food, even with the food-stamps program....

MORE ITEMS AVAILABLE AT WWW.PLP.ORG

Capitalist Courts: Tool to Maintain Bosses' Power

The following article advances some possible answers to questions raised in the thoughtful letter, "Can Class Struggle Use the Bosses' Court?" (CHALLENGE, 4/26/13), especially about the history posed by the law professor whose lecture on the racist history of the U.S. Supreme Court inspired the letter.

There is historical evidence that the U.S. War of Independence was fought mostly to *preserve* slavery. By the late 1700s, the British rulers were gradually moving away from chattel slavery toward wage slavery due to the rise of industrial capitalism in Great Britain. The leaders of the War of Independence, including southern plantation slave owners and northern shipping and banking interests, all profited from the continuation of chattel slavery.

The new U.S. government wasted no time in using its power to support slave owners. The Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision (1857) was a logical manifestation of the intent of the "Founding Fathers." It stated categorically "that neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not" were included within the term "citizen" in the U.S. Constitution nor within the term "people" in the Declaration of Independence.

It's important to understand the dialectics of the capitalist legal system, in its appearance and essence. The bosses wish to promote the *appearance* that the courts are the final resort for those seeking relief from the more oppressive aspects of capitalist rule. Dred Scott, for example, was a runaway slave represented by Abolitionists in a lawsuit arguing that since he lived in a free state he should be a free man. They turned to the Supreme Court for relief. But the latter returned him to slavery.

One of the most famous cases used to support this appearance of "relief" from oppression is the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision which ended legal segregation in public schools. The case was mounted by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund as part of a 60-year campaign of legal challenges to segregation.

A closer look at the *essence* of the courts, however, reveals that they are a tool of the capitalist bosses to maintain power. Thus, the Brown decision was primarily a response to the Cold War gains of the communist movement in Asia and Africa, in the wake of the Chinese Revolution and the massive anti-imperialist struggles of the 1940s and 1950s. The U.S. bosses were attacked, correctly, worldwide for the hypocrisy of their system of racial segregation.

In a "friend of the Court" brief filed in the Brown case, the U.S. Justice Department argued that legal segregation had "an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. Racial discrimination furnishes grist for the communist propaganda mills, and it raises doubts even among friendly nations as to the intensity of our devotion to the democratic faith." Interestingly, though, through various legal maneuvers as well as the result of capitalism's overall racism in broader spheres (segregated housing, rent and income disparities), school segregation exists in the vast majority of U.S. cities.

As communists we need to separate our possible tactical use of the courts — as part of a larger mass campaign — from our understanding of how the court system itself serves strategic ruling-class interests. The Court's function is to legally interpret the Constitution. However, this Constitution is enshrined chattel bondage, whose main purpose is the protection of capitalist property rights. Its most "progressive" part, the Thirteenth Amendment, while abolishing slavery, permits a modern form of slavery — the mass incarceration of mainly black and Latino youth and workers.

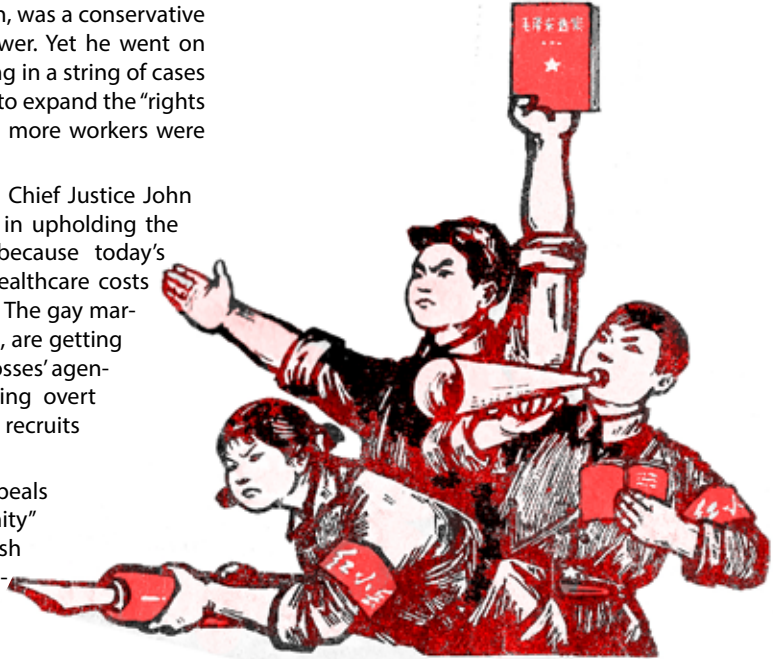
In practice, this means that "legal interpretation" of the Constitution is solely a function of the needs of the ruling class in any historical period. At times the Court is used to mediate issues among competing factions of the ruling class, such as President Roosevelt's efforts in the 1930s to add additional justices when the Court refused to endorse his New Deal programs, or the Court's decision in Bush v. Gore in 2000 which settled a disputed election.

The appearance of liberal v. conservative justices is largely a smokescreen. Chief Justice Earl Warren, who

led the Court to the Brown decision, was a conservative Republican appointed by Eisenhower. Yet he went on to become the liberal bosses' darling in a string of cases after the Brown decision was used to expand the "rights of the accused" even as more and more workers were incarcerated.

Similarly the arch-conservative Chief Justice John Roberts joined the liberal justices in upholding the constitutionality of Obamacare because today's capitalist class needs to control healthcare costs to fund mounting imperialist wars. The gay marriage cases, though still undecided, are getting extensive coverage because the bosses' agenda for the military includes limiting overt discrimination in order to win more recruits willing to die for their interests.

Thus, we oppose organizing appeals to the "legal reasoning" or "humanity" of a court system established to crush the working class and maintain ruling-class power. However, just as communists involve themselves in the daily battles of reform struggles, we also involve ourselves in the bosses' court system. It is one more arena of struggle, although by far not the most important. There are reasons for communists to take tactical advantage of the legal system and to recruit and train legal workers.



Cultural Revolution. See page 7

(Part II will discuss the political use of the courts as one tool within a mass communist-led campaign, as well as maintaining the necessity to recruit lawyers and legal workers into the Party.)

Germany Protests Austerity Cutbacks

Crowds of anti-capitalist protesters on June 1 blocked streets leading to the European Central Bank in Germany's to protest its role in pushing for austerity cutbacks as a way to fight the continent's debt crisis.



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