

Military Resistance 13G2



**“The European Leadership Put
The Greek Voters In A Position In
Which They Had Nothing To Lose”**

**“The European Union Did Not Want
To Set Any Precedents For Future
Crises Or Anti-EU Governments”**

**“Focusing On Pensions Made The
Europeans Appear Tough But Was
Actually Quite Foolish’**

The European leaders miscalculated. They thought Greece could be more flexible, and they wanted to demonstrate to any other country or party that might consider a similar maneuver in the future just what the cost would be. The Europeans feared the moral risk of compromising with the Greeks. They created a more dangerous situation for themselves.

[Thanks to Sandy Kelson, Veteran & Military Resistance Organization, who sent this in.]

July 7, 2015 By George Friedman, Stratfor Global Intelligence [Excerpts]

In a result that should surprise no one, the Greeks voted to reject European demands for additional austerity measures as the price for providing funds to allow Greek banks to operate.

There are three reasons this should have been no surprise. First, the ruling Coalition of the Radical Left, or Syriza party, is ruling because it has an understanding of the Greek mood.

Second, the constant scorn and contempt that the European leadership heaped on the prime minister and finance minister convinced the Greeks not only that the scorn was meant for them as well but also that anyone so despised by the European leadership wasn't all bad.

Finally, and most important, the European leadership put the Greek voters in a position in which they had nothing to lose. The Greeks were left to choose between two forms of devastation — one that was immediate but possible to recover from, and one that was a longer-term strangulation with no exit.

As the International Monetary Fund noted (while maintaining a very hard line on Greece), the Greeks cannot repay their loans or escape from their economic nightmare without a substantial restructuring of the Greek debt, including significant debt forgiveness and a willingness to create a multidecade solution.

The IMF also made clear that increased austerity, apart from posing an impossible burden for the Greeks, will actually retard either a Greek recovery or debt repayment.

The Greeks knew this as well. What was obvious is that austerity without radical restructuring would inevitably lead to default, if not now, then somewhere not too far down the line.

Focusing on pensions made the Europeans appear tough but was actually quite foolish. All of the austerity measures demanded would not have provided nearly enough money to repay debts without restructuring.

In due course, Greece would default, or the debt would be restructured.

Since Europe's leaders are not stupid, it is important to understand the game they were playing. They knew perfectly well the austerity measures were between irrelevant and damaging to debt repayment.

They insisted on this battle at this time because they thought they would win it, and it was important for them to get Greece to capitulate for broader reasons.

No other EU country is in a condition as bad as Greece's. However, a number of EU countries, particularly in Southern Europe, carry a debt burden they would like to renegotiate. They are doing better than Greece this year, but with persistent high

unemployment — for example, 22.5 percent in Spain as of May — two things are not clear: first, what shape these countries will be in next year or the year after that, and second, what governments would come into office, and what the new governments' positions would be.

Greece accounts for less than 2 percent of the European Union's gross domestic product.

Italy and Spain are far more important. The problem of restructuring debt is once it is done for one country, others will want to restructure as well.

The European Union did not want to set any precedents for future crises or anti-EU governments.

In Greece, Europe's leaders had a crisis and a hostile government. It was the perfect place to take a stand, they thought.

They became inflexible on debt restructuring, demanding prior increased austerity measures in a country where unemployment exceeded 25 percent and youth unemployment was over 50 percent.

The EU strategy in the past had been psychological: spreading fear about what default might mean, spreading fear of the consequences of leaving the eurozone and arguing that it was the European Union that lacked the ability to make concessions. In the past, the EU strategy had been to make agreements that it never thought the Greeks would be able to keep in order to kick the problem down the road. Europe's leaders demanded austerity measures but tied them to postponing repayments.

They expected Greece to continue playing the game. They did not realize, for some reason, that Syriza came to power on a pledge to end the game. They thought that under pressure, the party would fold.

But Syriza couldn't fold, and not just for political reasons.

If Syriza betrayed its election pledge, as the European leadership was sure it would, the party would split and a new anti-European party would form in Greece.

But on a deeper level, the Greeks simply could not give any more.

With their economy in shambles and Europe insisting that the solution was not stimulus but austerity — an increasingly dubious claim — the Greeks were at the point where default, and the short-term wrenching crisis that would ensue, would be worth the price.

The European leaders miscalculated. They thought Greece could be more flexible, and they wanted to demonstrate to any other country or party that might consider a similar maneuver in the future just what the cost would be. The Europeans feared the moral risk of compromising with the Greeks. They created a more dangerous situation for themselves.

First, in its treatment of Greece, the European Union has driven home — particularly to rising Euroskeptic parties — that it is merely a treaty organization and in no way a confederation, let alone a federation.

Europe was a union so long as a member didn't get into trouble.

As I have said, the Greeks were irresponsible borrowing money. But the rest of Europe was irresponsible in lending it.

Indeed, the banks that lent the money knew perfectly well the condition Greece was in. The idea that the Greeks pulled the wool over the bankers' eyes is nonsense. The bankers wanted to make the loans because they made money off of transactions.

Plus, European institutions that bought the loans from them bailed out those that made the loans.

The people who made the loans sold them to third parties, and the third parties sold them to EU institutions.

As for the Greeks, it was not the current government or the public that borrowed the money.

And so the tale will help parties like Podemos in Spain and UKIP in the United Kingdom make the case against the European Union. The European Union appears both protective of banks and predatory to those who didn't actually borrow.

Second, having played hardball, the Europeans must either continue the game, incurring the criticism discussed above, or offer a compromise they wouldn't offer prior to the Greek vote.

One would lead to a view of the European Union as a potential enemy of nations that fall on hard times, while the latter would cost the bloc credibility in showdowns to come.

It is likely that the Europeans will continue discussions with Greece, but they will be playing with a much weaker hand. The Greek voters have, in effect, called their bluff.

It is interesting how the European leaders maneuvered themselves into this position. Part of it was that they could not imagine the Greek government not yielding to the European Union, Germany and the rest. Part of it was that they could not imagine the Greeks not understanding what default would mean to them.

The European leaders did not take the Greeks' considerations seriously. For the Greeks, there were two issues. The first issue was how they would be more likely to get the deal they needed. It was not by begging but by convincing the Europeans they were ready to walk — a tactic anyone who has bargained in the eastern Mediterranean knows. Second, as any good bargainer knows, it is necessary to be prepared to walk and not simply bluff it. Syriza campaigned on the idea that Greece would not leave the eurozone but that the government would use a "no" vote on the referendum to negotiate a better

deal with EU leaders. However, all political campaigns are subject to geopolitical realities, and Syriza needed all options on the table.

The EU leadership was convinced that the Greeks were bluffing, while the Greeks knew that with the stakes this high, they could not afford to bluff. But the Greeks also knew, from watching other countries, that while default would create a massive short-term liquidity crisis in Greece, with currency controls and a new currency under the control of the Greek government, it would be possible to move beyond the crisis before the sense of embattlement dissolves.

Many countries do better in short, intense crises than they do in ordinary times. The Greeks repelled an Italian invasion in October 1940, and the Germans didn't complete their conquest until May 1941. I have no idea what Greece's short-term ability to rally is today, but Syriza is willing to bet on it.

If Greece withdraws from the European Union, its impact on the euro will be trivial. There are those who claim that it would be catastrophic to the euro, but I don't see why. What might be extremely dangerous is leaving the euro and surviving, if not flourishing. The Greeks are currently fixated on the European Union as a source of money, and there is an assumption that they will be forced out of the global financial markets if they default. But that isn't obvious.

Having shed its debt to Europe and weathered the genuinely difficult months after default, Greece might be an interesting investment opportunity. We know from Argentina that when a country defaults, a wall is not created around it. Greece has value and, absent the debt, it is a high-risk but attractive investment.

The European leaders have therefore backed themselves into the corner they didn't want.

If they hold their position, then they open the door to the idea that there is life after the European Union, and that is the one thought the EU leaders do not want validated.

Therefore, it is likely that the Europeans, having discovered that Syriza is not prepared to submit to European diktat, will now negotiate a deal Greece can accept. But then that is another precedent the European Union didn't want to set.

Behind all this, the Germans are considering the future of the European Union. They are less concerned about the euro or Greek debt than they are about the free trade zone that absorbs part of their massive exports.

With credit controls and default, Greece is one tiny market they lose. The last thing they want is for this to spread, or for Germany to be forced to pay for the privilege of saving it. In many ways, therefore, our eyes should shift from Greece to Germany.

It is at the heart of the EU leadership, and it is going to be calling the next shot — not for the good of the bloc, but for the good of Germany, which is backed into the same corner as the rest of the European Union.

"The Greek Vote and the EU Miscalculation is republished with permission of Stratfor."

MORE:

“It Is Clear That This Was A Class-Based Vote”
“All The Workers Districts And Towns Voted Massively Against The Agreement, That Is, More Than 70%”

7 July 2015 Left Voice [Excerpts]

Interview with Manos Skoufoglou, member of the leadership of OKDE-Spartakos and of Antarsya Anti-capitalist Left Coalition. Laura Valet, from Revolution Permanente, conducted the interview. [Excerpts]

Yesterday, more than 60 % of Greeks voted “NO” in the referendum. What does the vote mean for Greece?

Manos: It is clear that this was a class-based vote.

If you check out the data, it is pretty obvious that all the workers districts and towns voted massively against the agreement, that is, more than 70 %.

And in all bourgeois areas in Athens for example, it was exactly the opposite, maybe 70 % or more voted “Yes”.

The question in the referendum itself was not very clear –it was deceptive because it only referred to the proposal that the so-called troika (IMF, ECB and EC) made ten days ago. But it did not include the proposal of the government itself. So we could say that it was deceptive because if you voted “No”, then the government, and that is what they are doing now, will try to renegotiate.

However, the referendum turned into a social and a class confrontation between the working class and the bourgeois class.

And it also showed that the middle strata, that is, the petit bourgeois sectors, lost so much during the crisis that it is not worth it to be afraid of the collapse, the bank run, or the exit of the eurozone.

So the lower sectors of the middle strata voted "No" along with the workers.

Yesterday after the results of the referendum were announced, thousands of people gathered in Syntagma square. What is the feeling of the people and what are they hoping for?

Manos: Of course it is relief and hope what the people felt yesterday.

People were hoping a victory of the “No” in the ballot, but they did not know that it will be that impressive with a difference of more than 20 %.

They gathered in Syntagma and in other squares all over the country.

It was a victory. Everybody felt relief that the former Prime Minister resigned from the leadership of his party, New Democracy.

At the same time, the most conscious of the movement among workers already know that the next step would be difficult because government would go for a new round of negotiations and at the same time because of the blackmails that the EU and the bourgeois class would continue to make against the people.

MORE:

“Tsipras Never Expected To Win Sunday’s Referendum Let Alone To Preside Over A Blazing National Revolt Against Foreign Control” “Syriza Has Been In Utter Disarray For 36 Hours”

Comment: T

The referendum was merely Act 1.

The EU leadership and much of the foreign left appear clueless as to what it means that the polarization of Greek society is gathering momentum.

The Greek working class stood up, came on stage, and carried the vote, along with help from small farmers and shopkeepers in regions outside the urban centers. Having felt and seen their own power, they will not easily be stuffed back into passivity. Too late for that. They are now beginning to act for themselves.

The Greek capitalist class, backed by the EU, united in opposition to a No vote.

If the Syriza regime now tries to force an acceptance of more poverty and misery, by agreeing to some new EU austerity plan, in defiance of the vote, and the

mobilized class that won it, there will be a demonstration of how an aroused working class takes a fight away from parliament and into the streets and workplaces. And into the Greek army.

Is that a certainty? Of course not. Is that a probability? For sure.

The splintering or collapse of the Syriza regime, caught now between pressure from below and pressure from above, and/or the collapse of Greek economic relations in the financial sphere, will tend to move events in the same direction, whether or not some new EU plan is accepted by the regime.

That is what the left has described in the past as a pre-revolutionary situation, although it would appear that few have a clue now about the direction in which events are tending.

Should the Greek general staff, some of whom have political ties to the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party, attempt a military solution, they will bring on revolutionary class warfare. What Greek soldiers do then will be decisive.

Hopefully, there are forces in Greece who do see the material reality of what is before their eyes, and are preparing accordingly, inside and outside of the Greek armed forces.



People celebrating the 'No' victory - 5 July Photo: IBL / Rex Shutterstock

07 Jul 2015 By Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, Athens; Telegraph Media Group Limited

Like a tragedy from Euripides, the long struggle between Greece and Europe's creditor powers is reaching a cataclysmic end that nobody planned, nobody

seems able to escape, and that threatens to shatter the greater European order in the process.

Greek premier Alexis Tsipras never expected to win Sunday's referendum on EMU bail-out terms, let alone to preside over a blazing national revolt against foreign control.

He called the snap vote with the expectation - and intention - of losing it.

The plan was to put up a good fight, accept honourable defeat, and hand over the keys of the Maximos Mansion, leaving it to others to implement the June 25 "ultimatum" and suffer the opprobrium.

This ultimatum came as a shock to the Greek cabinet. They thought they were on the cusp of a deal, bad though it was. Mr Tsipras had already made the decision to acquiesce to austerity demands, recognizing that Syriza had failed to bring about a debtors' cartel of southern EMU states and had seriously misjudged the mood across the eurozone.

Instead they were confronted with a text from the creditors that upped the ante, demanding a rise in VAT on tourist hotels from 7pc (de facto) to 23pc at a single stroke.

Creditors insisted on further pension cuts of 1pc of GDP by next year and a phase out of welfare assistance (EKAS) for poorer pensioners, even though pensions have already been cut by 44pc.

They insisted on fiscal tightening equal to 2pc of GDP in an economy reeling from six years of depression and devastating hysteresis. They offered no debt relief.

The Europeans intervened behind the scenes to suppress a report by the International Monetary Fund validating Greece's claim that its debt is "unsustainable".

The IMF concluded that the country not only needs a 30pc haircut to restore viability, but also €52bn of fresh money to claw its way out of crisis.

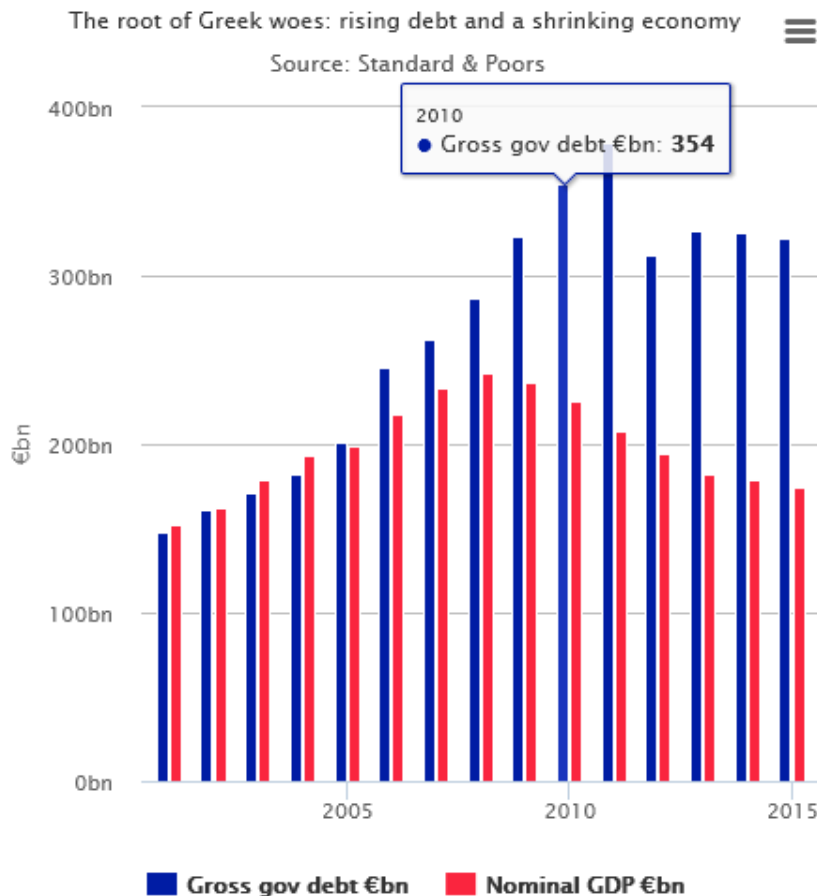
They rejected Greek plans to work with the OECD on market reforms, and with the International Labour Organisation on collective bargaining laws. They stuck rigidly to their script, refusing to recognise in any way that their own Dickensian prescriptions have been discredited by economists from across the world.

"They just didn't want us to sign. They had already decided to push us out," said the now-departed finance minister Yanis Varoufakis.

So Syriza called the referendum.

To their consternation, they won, igniting the great Greek revolt of 2015, the moment when the people finally issued a primal scream, daubed their war paint, and formed the hoplite phalanx.

[Hoplites were citizen-soldiers of Ancient Greek city-states who were primarily armed with spears and shields. Their main tactic was the phalanx formation. The hoplites were primarily free citizens—propertied farmers and artisans... In the modern Hellenic Army, the word hoplite (Greek: οπλίτης) is used to refer to an infantryman. Wikipedia. T]



Mr Tsipras is now trapped by his success. "The referendum has its own dynamic. People will revolt if he comes back from Brussels with a shoddy compromise," said Costas Lapavitsas, a Syriza MP.

"Tsipras doesn't want to take the path of Grexit, but I think he realizes that this is now what lies straight ahead of him," he said.

What should have been a celebration on Sunday night turned into a wake. Mr Tsipras was depressed, dissecting all the errors that Syriza has made since taking power in January, talking into the early hours.

The prime minister was reportedly told that the time had come to choose, either he should seize on the momentum of the 61pc landslide vote, and take the fight to the Eurogroup, or yield to the creditor demands - and give up the volatile Mr Varoufakis in the process as a token of good faith.

Everybody knew what a fight would mean. The inner cabinet had discussed the details a week earlier at a tense meeting after the European Central Bank refused to increase liquidity (ELA) to the Greek banking system, forcing Syriza to impose capital controls.

It was a triple plan. They would "requisition" the Bank of Greece and sack the governor under emergency national laws. The estimated €17bn of reserves still stashed away in various branches of the central bank would be seized.

They would issue parallel liquidity and California-style IOUs denominated in euros to keep the banking system afloat, backed by an appeal to the European Court of Justice to throw the other side off balance, all the while asserting Greece's full legal rights as a member of the eurozone. If the creditors forced Grexit, they - not Greece - would be acting illegally, with implications for tort contracts in London, New York and even Frankfurt.

They would impose a haircut on €27bn of Greek bonds held by the ECB, and deemed "odious debt" by some since the original purchases were undertaken by the ECB to save French and German banks, forestalling a market debt restructuring that would otherwise have happened.

"They were trying to strangle us into submission, and this is how we would retaliate," said one cabinet minister.

Mr Tsipras rejected the plan. It was too dangerous. But a week later, that is exactly what he may have to do, unless he prefers to accept a forced return to the drachma.

Syriza has been in utter disarray for 36 hours.

On Tuesday, the Greek side turned up for a make-or-break summit in Brussels with no plans at all, even though Germany and its allies warned them at the outset that this is their last chance to avert ejection.

The new finance minister, Euclid Tsakalotos, vaguely offered to come up with something by Wednesday, almost certainly a rejigged version of plans that the creditors have already rejected.

Events are now spinning out of control.

The banks remain shut. The ECB has maintained its liquidity freeze, and through its inaction is asphyxiating the banking system.

Factories are shutting down across the country as stocks of raw materials run out and containers full of vitally-needed imports clog up Greek ports. Companies cannot pay their suppliers because external transfers are blocked.

Private scrip currencies are starting to appear as firms retreat to semi-barter outside the banking system.

Yet if Greece is in turmoil, so is Europe. The entire leadership of the eurozone warned before the referendum that a "No" vote would lead to ejection from the euro, never supposing that they might have to face exactly this.

Jean-Claude Juncker, the European Commission's chief, had the wit to make light of his retreat. "We have to put our little egos, in my case a very large ego, away, and deal with situation we face," he said.

France's prime minister, Manuel Valls said Grexit and the rupture of monetary union must be prevented as the highest strategic imperative. "We cannot let Greece leave the eurozone.

"Nobody can say today what the political consequences would be, what would be the reaction of the Greek people," he said.

French leaders are working in concert with the White House. Washington is bringing its immense diplomatic power to bear, calling openly on the EU to put "Greece on a path toward debt sustainability" and sort out the festering problem once and for all.

The Franco-American push is backed by Italy's Matteo Renzi, who said the eurozone has to go back to the drawing board and rethink its whole austerity doctrine after the democratic revolt in Greece. He too now backs debt relief.

Yet 15 of the 18 governments now sitting in judgment on Greece either back Germany's uncompromising stand, or are leaning towards Grexit in one form or another. The Germans are already thinking beyond Grexit, discussing plans for humanitarian aid and balance of payments support for the drachma.

Mark Rutte, the Dutch premier, spoke for many in insisting that the eurozone must uphold discipline, whatever the financial consequences. "I am at the table here today to ensure that the integrity, the cohesion, the underlying principles of the single currency are protected. It is up to the Greek government to come up with far-reaching proposals. If they don't do that, then I think it will be over quickly," he said.

The two sides are talking past each other, clinging to long-entrenched narratives, no longer willing to question their own assumptions. The result could be costly. RBS puts the direct financial losses for the eurozone from a Greek default at €227bn, compared with €140bn if they bite the bullet on an IMF-style debt restructuring.

But that is a detail compared with the damage to the European political project and the NATO alliance if Greece is thrown to wolves against the strenuous objections of France, Italy and the US.

It is hard to imagine what would remain of Franco-German condominium. Washington might start to turn its back on NATO in disgust, leaving Germany and the Baltic states to fend for themselves against Vladimir Putin's Russia, a condign punishment for such loss of strategic vision in Greece.

Mr Lapavitsas said Europe's own survival as civilisational force in the world is what is really at stake.

"Europe has not shown much wisdom over the last century. It launched two world wars and had to be saved by the Americans," he said

"Now with the creation of monetary union it has acted with such foolishness, and created such a disaster, that it is putting the very union in doubt, and this time there will be no savior. It is the last throw of the dice for Europe," he said.

MORE

“The Class Struggle Is Getting Really Acute Here”

“No, Till The End Was Our Banner And That Is The Meaning Of The Vote”

“Nobody Could Take Seriously Syriza’s Bullshit About Restarting The Negotiations”

From: ioannis aposperites via Marxism list
Subject The Greek working class overwhelmingly rejects austerity
Date: Jul 5, 2015

The proletariat won a victory today in Greece.

In spite of the terror crusade of the bourgeois parties and EU officials

In spite of Syriza’s ambivalence about the referendum: till Wednesday it was unclear whether the referendum was to take place or not.

In spite of Tsipras letter to the troika begging for any compromise and the declarations of retreat by top government officials, talking again about a deal as soon as in 48 hours after the referendum!

The level of the Greek working class was too high for the referendum.

The victory was visible in the streets: Working class people were asking for more NO leaflets for their friends.

I had phone calls at home from people i just knew who were asking questions about the no vote. It is the first time in my militant life since 1977 that the masses were looking for me to hear my opinion and not me for them.

And we in ANTARSYA had the right thing to say.

It was us who have something to say about the next day. People were asking us because nobody could take seriously Syriza's bullshit about restarting the negotiations.

We were the only political force speaking out a clear no to memoranda, whether right wing or left wing here and now.

No, till the end was our banner and that is the meaning of the vote

It is now clear enough that Tsipras wanted a stalemate result, a shy no vote to struggle for its government's survival.

And that he had dared call for a referendum because of the hesitation and ambivalence of the Greek bourgeoisie who refused to sacrifice capital (in tourism and pharmaceuticals industry and, above all, in shipping industry) refused to see itself slipping down in the imperialist chain.

But OXI, no got a 61.3% of the vote and that had already a seismic effect.

Samaras resigned from his party's presidency. He could not even wait until the election of a new leader.

KKE has lost at least two thirds of its January votes. Many of its members and cadres were overtly for the no vote. This is more than crossing the Rubicon for a Stalinist CP.

The government is stepping aside, hiding itself behind the bourgeois parties.

Late this night Tsipras declared that he will ask president Pavlopoulos to convene the council of the political leaders which will decide about the eventual negotiations.

Decide with whom? With ND's transitional president since Samaras resigned.

With the lords of terror, the bourgeois leaders who for a whole week were repeating "Armageddon" in every single phrase, who till yesterday were chanting that voting NO means NO to EU and euro and today have no shame to declare that after all, the NO vote of the people does NOT at all mean a rejection of the EU and euro.

The class struggle is getting really acute here, and this is not a third world country...

MORE

National Pride, Anger Toward 'Europe' Runs High Outside

**Athens Among Farmers And
Small Town Greeks:
“My Dignity As A Human Being
And As A Citizen Of This Nation
Has Been Brutally Crushed By
Europe”**

**“To Many Greeks, Especially Those
Outside Cosmopolitan Athens,
Feelings Of National Humiliation And
Dependency”**

**“They Have Taken A Proud Nation And
Turned Us Into Beggars. So I Say No.
That Matters More To Me Than Anything
Else”**

July 2, 2015 By Matina Stevis, Wall Street Journal [Excerpts]

ARGOLIS, Greece—In this fertile region of rolling hills covered in olive groves and citrus plantations, national pride is coming before financial considerations as people decide how they will vote in Sunday’s referendum on the country’s international bailout.

“My dignity as a human being and as a citizen of this nation has been brutally crushed by Europe,” said Andreas Mallios, a 50-year-old orange farmer, dragging on his cigarette at a roadside cafe.

“I’m a European, my currency is the euro, but I say, no more: I’m also Greek and I’m a man, and I’m voting against this blackmail.”

The outside world sees Greece’s conflict with its creditors—the other eurozone countries and the International Monetary Fund—as an economics argument about debt, austerity and reforms.

But to many Greeks, especially those outside cosmopolitan Athens, feelings of national humiliation and dependency are playing a bigger role.

If Greeks vote “no” to their creditors’ demands, leaving the country at grave risk of bankruptcy and euro exit, the wounded national pride of many rural and small-town Greeks will have been a decisive factor.



Citrus farmer Andreas Mallios, left, and Nikos Ntakaris, who owns a trucking business, at a roadside cafe in Argolis, about 80 miles east of Athens. Photo: EVANGELOS BOUGIOTIS/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Mr. Mallios used to get 28 euro cents per kilogram (about 15 cents a pound) for the fruit he sold to wholesalers. He now gets around 8 cents per kilo, because of Greece’s economic collapse.

His financial loss, he says, is nothing compared with a mounting sense that his country is under attack from external forces.

“National dignity within the European family means that there is a proper dialogue among equals, not having the finger wagged at you and being told how to vote,” he says. “I don’t want to be part of this Europe.”

Patriotic language and fear of foreign enemies, real or imagined, has long characterized Greek political discourse, whether of the ideological left, right or center, says historian Thanos Veremis, author of what’s widely viewed as the authoritative tome on modern Greek history.

“Even now, there’s still a populist game going on, over which political party is more patriotic,” Mr. Veremis said.

The government says a “no” vote would empower it to drive a tougher bargain for bailout funds with less austerity, while securing the country’s future in the euro. Greece’s creditors have said a “no” vote wouldn’t soften their demands.

Away from the bustle of the Athens metropolis—home to about a third of Greece’s 11 million people—the emotional message resonates most strongly.

“Professionally, it would serve me better to vote in favor of this agreement” with creditors, says Nikos Ntakaris, 53, whose trucks deliver agricultural goods from Argolis to the rest of the country.

“Right now, I can’t even pay for my 11 trucks’ gasoline, with the banks closed,” he says.

“But they have taken a proud nation and turned us into beggars. So I say no. That matters more to me than anything else.”

Syriza teamed up with the far-right Independent Greeks to form a majority government after elections in January, in an alliance some saw as peculiar given the distance between the two on the political spectrum.

But Mr. Veremis reckons they make a potent partnership that is successfully appealing to many Greeks’ emotions.

“Greece’s is the patriotism of the downtrodden people who have been hard-hit by a conspiracy of powerful players, and therefore their only way of taking revenge is blowing themselves up along with the citadel,” he says, alluding to patriots in the war of independence against the Turks who chose death over surrender.

Dimitris Panagopoulos, a 50-year-old farmer, says Greece’s creditors are punishing the Greek people for choosing a government European leaders don’t like.

“There’s more to life than money,” he said. “I’m voting no on Sunday. I’d rather hold my head up high.”

Nationalist ire is especially directed against Germany, against which Greece fought in both world wars, and which many here feel is becoming their master.

“Germany wants a servile Greece,” says Petros Vlassis, a 60-year-old retiree.

As Europe’s biggest economy, Germany has been the driving force behind the stringent austerity and economic overhauls that creditors have imposed as the price of Greece’s rescue loans since 2010.

Posters adorning roads nationwide show a stern-faced German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble with the slogan: “For five years he’s been sucking your blood, now tell him NO.”

“We want our true allies in Europe and the world to remember that we fought by their side against a country that twice tried to annex Europe,” says Mr. Vlassis.

“What did we fight for? Not this.”

FORWARD OBSERVATIONS



“At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. Oh had I the ability, and could reach the nation’s ear, I would, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke.

“For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder.

“We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake.”

“The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppose.”

Frederick Douglass, 1852

Ask for work. If they do not give you work, ask for bread. If they do not give you work or bread, then take bread.”

– Emma Goldman

Some Hidden History of The 4th of July



Photo by Mike Hastie

From: Mike Hastie
To: Military Resistance Newsletter
Sent: Friday, July 03, 2015
Subject: Some Hidden History of The 4th of July

This is Hoan, a 21-year-old Vietnamese woman who lives in Ho Chi Minh City. She is a Third Generation victim of Agent Orange. She and a group of other Agent Orange survivors traveled to the United States in 2008 to raise the awareness of Vietnam's struggle to receive compensation from our government's use of Dioxin during the war. Their tour involved speaking in ten American cities. I took this picture of Hoan while the group was visiting in Pittsburgh. They were viewing a monument near an American Legion building. When I saw the American flags next to the building, I thought this image was appropriate to its true criminal past.

**Mike Hastie
Army Medic Vietnam
July 3, 2015**

Photo and caption from the portfolio of Mike Hastie, US Army Medic, Vietnam 1970-71. (For more of his outstanding work, contact at: hastiemike@earthlink.net) T)

One day while I was in a bunker in Vietnam, a sniper round went over my head. The person who fired that weapon was not a terrorist, a rebel, an extremist, or a so-called insurgent. The Vietnamese individual who tried to kill me was a citizen of Vietnam, who did not want me in his country. This truth escapes millions.

Mike Hastie
U.S. Army Medic
Vietnam 1970-71
December 13, 2004

ATTICA! ATTICA!



From: Clancy Sigal
To: Military Resistance Newsletter
Sent: Sunday, July 05, 2015
Subject: ATTICA! ATTICA!

I grew up identifying not with cops or G-men but with escaping prisoners.

Blame family circumstance and movies like "I Was A Prisoner of a Chain Gang", "Each Dawn I Die" and "Brute Force" where convicts are the heroes and the warden and his guards the villains. Or at least that's how I saw them. How can a criminal be bad if Spencer Tracy or Burt Lancaster plays him, or even in "White Heat"? ("Made it Ma! Top of the World!") Cagney's epileptic, mom-fixated psychotic

In real vs. reel life I wasn't sentimental about thugs. That's why the excellent "Godfather" movies turn me off. I was raised in a labor union culture where Pacino's "Michael Corleone" and his mafiosos and Meyer Lansky's were strike breakers hired by employers to bust the heads of my parents.

Both of them - yes, each served jail time - carried the physical scars of run-ins with gangsters-for-hire.

Even so, the lines were often blurred because if we had the money we'd hire those ex-cons to guard us against the ex-cons the boss paid for. I got used to seeing broken-nosed "gunsels" at our dinner table such was the criminal-to-union overlap. Not bad guys - if you could buy them off.

On the other hand the really top-tier criminals - the Capones, Murray "The Camel" Humphreys, Dean O'Banion - always worked for the boss to break our legs.

My dad was run out of town by Al's brother Ralph Capone; Detroit's Purple Gang of Jewish extortionists was our enemy.

In those days before sound systems an organizer had to have a loud voice and pack a weapon.

As I grew up and became respectably employed in the film industry I saw how lines blurred in Hollywood too.

For years the main stagehands union was controlled by organized crime. Movie executives gladly paid \$50k to 100k annually to buy labor peace until finally Fox's Spyros Skouras went to jail for it.

The star-struck mobster Mickey Cohen had a haberdashery as a business front just down the Strip from my talent agency and served a movie clientele, offering discounts to "special friends" (like me) who could slip him into the premieres and parties he loved.

So when I read about the Dannemora escapees Richard Matt (two murders, one cut-up body) and David Sweat (shoots a cop 15 times and runs him over) hacksawing from the "escape proof" Clinton prison at Dannemora, "New York's Siberia", my first thought is, the unhappy guards will take their revenge by cracking down on the "honor block" which makes a stab - no pun - at making prison marginally liveable.

So it comes to pass, a dozen or so prison officials are sacrificially fired or forcibly retired, and the poor schmucks behind bars lose their hot plates and walk-around privileges because a lady guard got steamed up for a couple of criminals who promised to off her husband as a p.s. to their getaway.

Being a prison guard must be a shitty job. Except perhaps in my California where prison guards are kings of the hill through their intimidating, rich union, the all-powerful California Correction Peace Officers Association (CCPOA).

Elsewhere prison guards make about \$45,000 a year. Here in California, adding overtime and the absurd "walk time", up to \$100,000.

Despite moves supported by left and right, from the Koch brothers to liberal think tanks, to depopulate America's vastly overcrowded prison system, CCPOA and its allies spend a fortune to lobby for more prisoners leading to more prisons that hire more guards meaning more dues paying members.

It's why California with its nearly 200,000 prisoners is known as the "Golden Gulag".

Take a pleasant sunshiny drive north from San Diego on Highway 101 and all you'll see are side-of-the-road prisons - Soledad, Salinas, the infamous Pelican Bay - 23 new ones built in the past few years. Towns without jobs beg for prisons.

Although amended, we still have the medieval "three strikes law" that cages many non violent offenders (druggies, meth makers, car thieves, etc.) for 25 years up to life.

We're in a horse race with Texas to see who can win the Prison Championship Stakes. Right now we're even steven.

Consolingly, at least we're not Baltimore where four female guards in the City Jail were impregnated at the same time by inmate Tavon White who basically ran the place.

Poor Joyce Mitchell at Dannemora, at most all she got was (maybe) a kiss and a kiss off.

YOUR INVITATION:

Comments, arguments, articles, and letters from service men and women, and veterans, are especially welcome. Write to Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657 or email contact@militaryproject.org: Name, I.D., withheld unless you request publication. Same address to unsubscribe.

“The Capitalist Production Process Is Therefore A Process Which Absorbs Unpaid Labour,

**Which Makes Of The Means Of
Production Means For The
Absorption Of Unpaid Labour”**

**“The Necessary Labour Time
Materialised In A Pair Of Trousers
Is Equal Let Us Say To Twelve
Hours, While The Wage Received
By The Journeyman Is Equal To
Six Hours”**

**“The Service Which The Journeyman
Employed By A Master Tailor
Provides For This Capitalist Does Not
Consist In The Transformation Of
Cloth Into Trousers”**

**“The Service With Which He Provides
The Capitalist Consists Therefore In The
Fact That He Works Six Hours For
Nothing”**

From Karl Marx, Theories Of Surplus Value; International Publishers; New York, 1952

In order that it may produce a commodity, labour must be useful labour; it must produce a use value, be manifested in a use value.

And consequently only labour which manifests itself in commodities, that is, in use values, is labour with which capital is exchanged.

This is a self-evident premise. But it is not this concrete character of labour, its use value as such — that it is for example the labour of a blacksmith or a cobbler, spinning weaving, etc. — that constitutes its specific use value for capital and hence stamps it as productive labour in the system of capitalist production.

What constitutes its specific use value for capital is not its definite useful character, any more than it is the particular useful properties of the product in which it is materialised; but its character as the creative element of exchange value, that it is abstract labour; and not indeed that it represents simply a definite quantity of this general labour, but a greater quantity than is contained in its price, that is, in the value of the labour power.

The capitalist production process is therefore also not merely the production of commodities. It is a process which absorbs unpaid labour, which makes of the means of production means for the absorption of unpaid labour.

It follows from what has been said that the designation of labour as productive has absolutely nothing to do with the definite content of the labour, with its special usefulness, or with the particular use value in which it manifests itself.

The same kind of labour maybe productive or unproductive.

For example, Milton, who wrote *Paradise Lost*, was an unproductive worker.

On the other hand, the writer who turns out factory-made stuff for his publisher is a productive worker.

Milton produced *Paradise Lost* for the same reason that a silk worm produces silk. It was an activity of his nature.

Later he sold the product for £5.

But the literary proletarian of Leipzig who fabricates books (for example, *Compendia of Economics*) under the direction of his publisher is a productive worker, for his production is subordinated to capital in advance and takes place only because it increases that capital.

A singer who sells her song on her own is an unproductive worker. But the same singer, commissioned by an *entrepreneur* to sing in order to make money for him, is a productive worker.

For she produces capital.

Here there are various questions to be settled.

Whether I buy a pair of trousers or whether I buy the cloth and get a journeyman tailor to come to my house to make up this cloth into trousers for me, and pay him for his *service* (that is, his tailoring labour), is a matter of absolute indifference to me, in so far as what I am interested in is the pair of trousers.

If I buy the trousers from the capitalist tailor (“merchant tailor”) instead of taking the latter course, I do that because the latter course is more expensive; and the trousers cost less

labour, and are cheaper in consequence, if the capitalist tailor produces them than if I have them produced in the latter way.

But in both cases I transform the money with which I buy the trousers not into capital but into trousers; and in both cases what I am doing is using the money as mere means of circulation, that is to say, transforming it into this particular use value.

Here therefore the money is not functioning as capital, although in one case it is exchanged for a commodity, and in the other it buys labour itself as a commodity.

It functions only as money, and more precisely, as means of circulation.

On the other hand the journeyman tailor (who works for me at home) is not a productive worker, although his labour provides me with the product, the trousers, and him with the price of his labour, the money.

It is possible that the quantity of labour which the journeyman performs is greater than that contained in the price he receives from me. And this is even probable, since the price of his labour is determined by the price which the productive tailors receive.

But it is a matter of absolute indifference to me.

Whether, once the price is fixed, he works eight or ten hours, is of no interest at all to me.

What I am concerned with is the *use value*, the trousers; and naturally, whatever way I buy them, I am interested in paying as little as possible for them — but in one case neither more nor less than in the other — or in paying for them only their normal price.

This is an outlay for my consumption; there is no increase, but a diminution of my money.

It is absolutely not a means to enrichment, any more that any other kind of outlay for my personal consumption is a means to enrichment.

A disciple of Paul de Kock may tell me that without buying the trousers, as without buying bread, I cannot live and therefore also cannot enrich myself; that the trousers are therefore an indirect means or at least a condition for my enrichment.

In the same way the circulation of my blood and my breathing would be conditions for my enrichment.

But neither the circulation of my blood nor my breathing, in and by themselves, make me any the richer; on the contrary, both of them presuppose a costly assimilation of food, without which no poor devil could exist.

Consequently, the mere direct exchange of money for labour does not transform the money into capital and the labour into productive labour.

What is it then that gives this exchange its special character?

Wherein is it different from the exchange of money for productive labour?

On the one hand, in that the money is spent as money, as the independent form of exchange value, which is to be transformed into a use value, a means of subsistence, an object of personal consumption.

The money therefore does not become capital, but on the contrary, it loses its existence as exchange value in order to be dissipated and consumed as use value.

On the other hand, the labour interests me only as use value, as service, through which cloth is transformed into trousers; as the service which its concrete useful character provides.

In contrast to this, the service which the same journeyman employed by a master tailor provides for this capitalist does not consist in the transformation of cloth into trousers, but in the fact that the necessary labour time materialised in a pair of trousers is equal let us say to twelve hours, while the wage received by the journeyman is equal to six hours.

The service with which he provides the capitalist consists therefore in the fact that he works six hours for nothing.

That this takes place in the form of tailoring trousers only conceals the real relationship.

As soon as he is able to, the capitalist tailor therefore tries to transform the trousers again into money, that is to say, into a form in which the concrete character of tailoring labour has completely disappeared, and in which the service performed expresses itself in the fact that instead of six hours of labour time, expressed in a definite sum of money, there is now twelve hours of labour time, expressed in double that sum of money.

I buy the tailoring labour for the service it provides me with as tailoring labour, to satisfy my need for clothing, and therefore to serve one of my needs.

The capitalist tailor buys the labour as a means to making two thalers [a unit of German money] out of one.

I buy it because it produces a definite use value, provides me with a definite service.

He buys it, because it produces more exchange value than it costs, as a mere means to exchanging less labour for more labour.

Where the direct exchange of money for labour takes place without the latter producing capital — that is, when it is not productive labour — it is bought as *service*; which in general is nothing but an expression for the particular use value which the labour, like any other commodity, provides.

It is however a specific term for the particular use value of labour which provides this service in the form not of a *thing* but of an *activity* — which however in no way distinguishes it from a machine, for example a clock.

Do ut facias, facio ut facias, facio ut des, do ut des (I give that you may make, I make that you may make, I make that you may give, I give that you may give) are here forms that can be used completely indifferently of the same relationship; while in capitalist production the *do ut facias* expresses a quite specific relation between the objective value which is given and the living activity which is accepted.

For this reason, because the specific relation between labour and capital is in no way involved in these purchases of services, being either completely obliterated or altogether absent, they are naturally the favourite form used by Say, Bastiat and their consorts to express the relation between capital and labour.

The question how the value of these services is regulated and how this value is itself determined by the laws of wages is not relevant to the examination of the relation we are considering, and belongs to the treatment of wages.

It has been seen that the mere exchange of money for labour does not transform the latter into productive labour, and on the other hand that the content of this labour makes no difference at all.

The worker himself can buy labour, that is, commodities supplied in the form of services, and the expenditure of his wages on such services is an expenditure which is absolutely no different from the expenditure of his wages on any other kind of commodities.

The services which he buys may be more or less necessary, for example the service of a doctor or of a parson, just as he may buy bread or schnapps.

As buyer — that is, representative of money confronting commodities — the worker is absolutely in the same category as the capitalist where the latter appears only as buyer, that is to say, where there is no more in the transaction than the conversion of money into the form of a commodity.

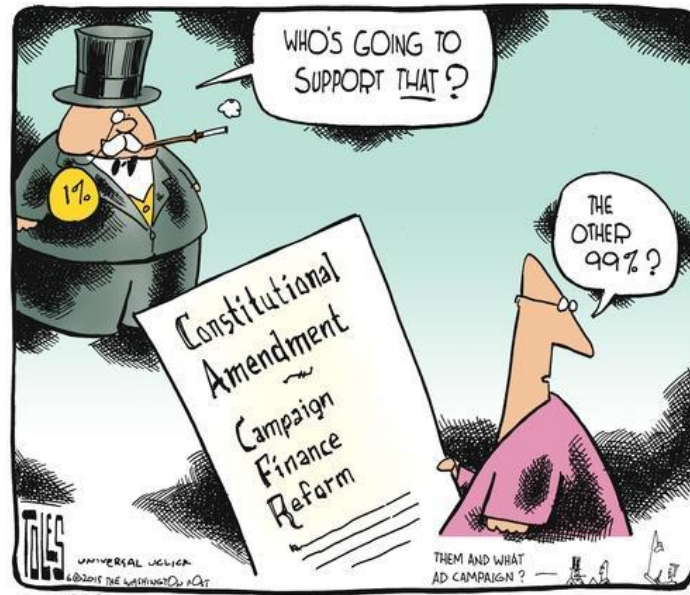
How the price of these services is determined and what relation it has to wages proper, how far it is regulated by the laws of the latter and how far it is not, must be considered in a treatment of wages, and are not relevant to our present enquiry.

If thus the mere exchange of money for labour does not transform the latter into productive labour, or what is the same thing, does not transform the former into capital, so also the content, the concrete character, the particular usefulness of the labour, makes absolutely no difference — as we have seen above, the same labour of the same Journeyman tailor is in one case productive, in the other not.

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DANGER: CAPITALISTS AT WORK



DO YOU HAVE A FRIEND OR RELATIVE IN THE MILITARY?



U.S. soldier in Bejjia village Iraq, Feb. 4, 2008. (AP Photo/Maya Alleruzzo)

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