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WORKERS AND OPPRESSED UNITE!

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Revolutionary Unity to Advance the Struggle for Liberation!

Open Letter to All Revolutionary Organizations and Activists at the WSF-Meeting in Tunis 24-28 March 2015

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, March 2015

In this open letter, the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) calls upon all revolutionary organizations and activists to work together on the basis of a joint strategy against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression.

We live in a world of increasing inter-imperialist rivalry, revolutionary uprisings, and counter-revolutionary threats. In this period of history, so revolutionary in nature, which commenced in 2008 with outbreak of the Great Recession, it is more urgent than ever to unite all authentic revolutionaries and to build new, truly revolutionary parties in every country and to strive for the foundation of a Fifth Workers' International.

Such a new *World Party of Socialist Revolution* must be built as a clear and unequivocal alternative to the current official leaderships of various camps – treacherous labor bureaucrats, leaders of the Social Democratic parties, heads of Stalinist parties, Bolivarianism, parties representing petit-bourgeois nationalism, and parties based on Islamism. These current leaderships consciously or unconsciously mislead the workers and oppressed. To replace such leaderships it is, first of all, urgent to openly denounce them. However, at the same time, it is absolutely necessary for revolutionaries to fight *inside* existing mass movements and to apply the united front tactic towards their leaderships.

In the context of today's complex class struggles and world political events, revolutionaries can only fight for the leadership of the liberation struggle if they pursue correct tactics and a clearly defined program. Time and again, we have seen that all centrist organizations, which purport to represent an alternative leadership, have failed miserably in their evaluations of which side to stand on when the barricades are drawn. In a world of increasing imperialist rivalry and tremendous class polarization, only an international revolutionary organization based on a solid program and encompassing an internationalist working class cadre can lead the working class along the correct path towards socialist revolution.

The RCIT calls upon all revolutionaries to take the following stands regarding current hotspots in the international realm:

* **Defend the Palestinian people against Israel, the Zionist Apartheid state!** In any conflict we stand for a military victory of the Palestinian resistance and the defeat of Israel! For an international workers' and popular boycott campaign against Israel! No political support for the Abbas/Fatah collaborationist leadership or for the bourgeois Hamas leadership! For the unrestricted right of return for all Palestinians and their descendents who have been expelled by the Zionists since 1948! For a Free, Red Palestine from the River to the Sea! No to the recognition of the Zionist state by the reformist *Party of the European Left*, the Stalinists or the CWI led by Peter Taaffee!

* **Down with the military dictatorship of General Sisi in Egypt**! Support the workers' strikes and mass protests against the dictatorship! Defend the Muslim Brotherhood against repression, but give no political support to their bourgeois leadership! Denounce the support of the Egyptian Communist Party for the Sisi regime! Shame on those pseudo-revolutionaries who failed to condemn the coup d'état on 3 July 2013 and who failed to defend the mass protests led by the Islamists when thousands of they were slaughtered by the army (e.g., Revolutionary Socialists/IST, IMT led by Alan Woods, 6 April Movement)!

* **Support the revolution in Syria**! Down with the Assad regime, a puppet of Russian imperialism! No to any intervention from US and EU imperialism! No to any collaboration with the imperialists! Support the rebels against the Assad regime but no political support for the pro-Western FSA or the Islamist leaderships! For workers' and popular councils and militias to organize the civil war against the Assad dictatorship! For international solidarity brigades! Defend the right of the Kurds to national-self-determination!

* **Defend the Sunni popular insurrection against the Iraqi army!** Down with reactionary sectarianism! Drive IS/Daash forces out of the resistance movement! Defend the Kurdish and Yazidi people against IS/Daash forces! Support the Kurdish people's right of self-determination! For a united and socialist Kurdistan!

* **Stop the counter-revolution of the old elite in Tunisia!** No support for the bourgeois, pro-imperialist government led by *Nidaa Tounes* or the bourgeois *Ennahda* party! Socialists must not form joint parties with petty-bourgeois-nationalist groups as we witness in the case of the *Front populaire pour la réalisation des objectifs de la revolution* (al-Jabha)! For an independent Workers' Party based on a revolutionary program!

* **Defeat General Haftar and his pro-imperialist clique in Libya!** Fight against the attempts of the imperialist powers and their lackeys to bring Libya under their control and to annihilate the achievements of the unfinished democratic revolution against the Gaddafi dictatorship! While currently the main enemy is the pro-imperialist General Haftar clique, socialists must work towards the formation of popular councils and militias which are independent from the Islamists!

* **Stop the derailment of the democratic revolution in Yemen into a sectarian civil war!** The popular uprising in Yemen in autumn 2014 against the government and its scandalous price hikes were absolutely justified. How-

ever, there now exists a danger that the country is being plunged into civil war between the petty bourgeois Shia Houthi movement and pro-Sunni groups. For independent workers' and peasant councils and militias across religious lines!

* **Defend democratic protests against the Erdogan regime in Turkey!** No support for the equally reactionary movement of Fethullah Gulen or for the CHP! For the right of national self-determination of the Kurdish people, including their right to an independent state!

* **Down with Obama's crusade in the Middle East!** Defeat the military intervention of US imperialism and their allies in all countries (Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, etc.)! Side with the resistance struggle against the US-led war of aggression even if it is led by Islamist forces! But give no political support to such leaderships! For the independent mass struggle led by the working class against the imperialists and their stooges! Denounce the social democrats, Stalinists, and centrists who either support the imperialist war of aggression or who remain neutral!

* **Defeat the colonial wars of French imperialism in Mali and the Central African Republic!** Solidarity with the resistance, while giving no political support to their petty-bourgeois Islamist Leaderships! Denounce the French "Communist" Party's (PCF) refusal to vote in parliament (on 14.1.2015) against the extension of France's participation in the imperialist war in Iraq!

* **For international mass mobilizations to defeat the US aggression!** For demonstrations, strikes, and direct actions in those countries which take part in Obama's crusade in the Middle East and all other countries!

* **Stop Islamophobic racism against Muslim migrants in Europe and North America!** Defend the Muslims against racist attacks! For self-defense units of Muslim and non-Muslim workers and youth to defend migrant living areas, schools, and mosques! Removing the ban on wearing the hijab or burka!

* **France: No to "l'unité nationale" with the Hollande Government and the Capitalists!** Down with the Police State! No to the deployment of soldiers on the streets of France! Denounce the PCF's support for the 11 January "national unity" demonstrations!

* ***"Je ne suis pas Charlie"* – We are NOT Charlie!** Oppose individual terrorism like the attack on the office of the French magazine *Charlie Hebdo*! But no solidarity with the sexism of *Charlie Hebdo* nor with its racism against Muslim people and their religion! The workers' movement should boycott the distribution of *Charlie Hebdo* – don't transport, don't sell, and don't buy this magazine! No to the solidarity of left-wing parties (PCF, FdG, NPA, LO) with the racist magazine *Charlie Hebdo*!

* **Full Equal Rights for Migrants!** For equal wages! Support the migrant's right to use their native language in public administration and schools! For full voting rights for migrants regardless of their passport!

* **Greece: No support for the reformist, pro-capitalist policy of the SYRIZA leadership!** Force SYRIZA to break up the popular front coalition with ANEL! For a SYRIZA minority government based on the support of mass struggles in the workplaces and streets! Cancel all debts! Expropriate the capitalists and in particular the so-called "50 families"! Nationalize the key corporations without paying compensation and place them under workers' control! Break all links with EU institutions and leave the Eurozone! Significantly increase the minimum wage! For a public works program in order to rebuild the country! For a workers' government based on action councils and armed workers' militia! For a workers' republic in Greece! For a United Socialist States of Europe! For a European-wide solidarity movement with the Greek people! Force the EU governments and banks to cancel Greece' debt!

* **No support for Ukraine's right-wing government or for the Donbass "people's republics"!** Both are fighting a civil war as proxies of imperialist powers (the US and EU vs. Russia, respectively)! Smash the fascists! For equal rights and the right of national self-determination for all national minorities like the Russophile minority in eastern Ukraine and the Crimean Tatars!

* **Support the national liberation struggle of the Chechen people against imperialist Russia!** For an independent workers' and peasant republic Chechnya! Condemn the support of Russia's Stalinist-chauvinist KPRF for Putin's war of oppression in Chechnya!

* **Down with all Great Imperialist Powers – the US, EU, Japan, China, and Russia!** No support for *any* imperialist camp! In the Ukraine, in East Asia, and in any other military conflict between these powers or their puppets, socialists must relentlessly remind the workers: The main enemy is at home! Turn the imperialist war into a civil war against your own ruling class!

* **Defend women's rights in India!** Mobilize against the reactionary rape culture! For armed self-defense units of women and progressive men to protect women! No to petty-bourgeois feminism – for a revolutionary working

class women's movement!

* **Defeat the reactionary provocations in Venezuela and Brazil!** Stop the coup d'état threats of the right-wing forces! But no political and electoral support for the Maduro and Rousseff government! Defend Venezuela against US imperialism! For independent working class struggle against the social attacks carried out by the Maduro and Rousseff government! Break the working class away from the Bolivarian leadership which defends the capitalist system and collaborates with imperialist China! For an independent workers' party based on a revolutionary program!
* **No support for the ANC government in South Africa!** Support NUMSA's and other union's break with the ANC and the pro-government faction in COSATU! Call for NUMSA to form a workers' party now! However, don't allow the NUMSA's leaders to derail the prospect of an independent class struggle into a remake of the "*Freedom Charter*" or the popular-frontist UDF, the failed program of ANC politics in the 1980s. For a new mass workers' party based on a revolutionary program! Denounce the Stalinist SACP which is part of the capitalist ANC government and which supports the repression of the militant workers' vanguard, as it did during the Marikana massacre!

The RCIT calls all revolutionaries to intervene in the class struggle and combine all necessary tactics with propagandizing for a program of working class power which can only be achieved by a socialist revolution. Such a program must be built on the methods outlined by Trotsky's Transitional Program of 1938:

* Build action committees in work places and in workers living areas! Purge the trade unions of bureaucrats and collaborators with the capitalists! For democratic rank and file control over the trade unions! Build revolutionary communist fractions inside the trade unions! Transform the trade union in militant instruments for the socialist liberation struggle of the working class!
* For a sliding scale of working hours until everyone is employed without loss of pay!
* For the right of self determination for all oppressed national groupings deprived of the right to secede!
* For revolutionary movements of women, migrants, youth, unemployed, and national minorities! For the right of the oppressed to caucus in workers' mass organizations and their movements!
* Build committees and action councils of the workers, peasants, and poor to organize the struggle!
* For armed workers and oppressed militias!
* Expropriate the capitalist class! Nationalize the large enterprises and banks under workers' control!
* For a workers' government allied with the peasants and urban poor and based on local councils and militias!
* Fight for new workers' parties and for a Fifth Workers' International based on a revolutionary program!

No future without socialism!
No socialism without revolution!
No revolution without a revolutionary party! ■

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General Sisi, Hollande, Obama: Hands Off Libya!
Defeat General Haftars' Imperialist Lackeys!
Down with the Daash-Gang of Killers! For a Workers' and Popular Government!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 26.2.2015

1.The recent barbaric decapitation of 21 Egyptian Copts by the Libyan followers of Daash ("*Islamic State*") and the imperialist-backed strikes against Libyan targets by the Egyptian air force have opened a new stage in the Libyan civil war. The European imperialists want to use the strengthening of Daash as a pretext for military intervention in North Africa so as to restore the order which began to be shattered there with the start of the Arab Revolution in January 2011. In this situation socialists must mobilize the working class and the oppressed masses to defend Libya against any aggression by the imperialist powers, as well as against reactionary lackeys like the Egyptian military dictatorship of General Sisi and the Tobruk-based forces of General Haftar.

2. Libya is suffering from the unfinished nature of the democratic revolution of the popular masses against the Gaddafi dictatorship in 2011. While the masses – led by about 200,000 rebels organized in numerous local militias – successfully overthrew the capitalist-bonapartist regime after an eighth month civil war, they failed to take political and economic power into their own hands. The RCIT supported the Libyan Revolution as a just popular insurrection against a barbaric state-capitalist dictatorship of the Gaddafi Clan. At the same time, we unconditionally opposed the limited air strikes by the Western imperialists. We called for a workers' and popular government based on popular action councils and militias. The lack of a revolutionary party created a situation in which power was initially shared and increasingly disputed between various sections of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces.

3. However, even this unfinished democratic revolution brought some gains for the workers and poor in Libya. Aside from getting rid of an omnipotent totalitarian state apparatus, the masses increasingly enjoyed the advantages of the right to strike and form independent trade unions. The workers' power to fight – particularly in the oil and port industries – was substantially increased by their widespread arming as a result of the civil war. This power was particularly painful for foreign corporations. The latter had hoped to continue their exploitation of the country's oil reserves, to which they had been granted substantial access under the Gaddafi regime after the latter opened the country to foreign investors in 2003.

4. The Western imperialists intervened in the civil war in 2011 by undertaking a number of air strikes, mostly directed against Gaddafi-loyalist forces. In this way, the imperialists hoped to gain political influence among the rebel forces. However, contrary to the fantasies of the Stalinists and other pro-Putin/Xi pseudo-"anti-imperialists" (more accurately dubbed *pro-Eastern social-imperialists*), NATO's limited intervention was neither the decisive factor in the Libyan Revolution nor did the Western imperialists succeed in subjugating the country. This became obvious when the US and European imperialists failed to install a loyal and powerful regime of lackeys. A particularly visible manifestation of this failure was the riots in Benghazi in September 2012, after the release of an anti-Islam film produced by right-wing racists in the US. In the course of these riots, the US American consulate was stormed and burned down, leaving the US ambassador to Libya, Chris Stevens, and a number of embassy officials and security forces dead. Since then, nearly all Western embassies and foreign companies have fled Libya.

5. Today most of Libya's oil fields and terminals are under attack or closed and hence the country is producing only an estimated 160,000 barrels of oil per day, down from its post-2011 peak of 1.5 million barrels per day. The country is importing around 75 percent of its fuel for domestic use. In addition, it faces chronic cash shortages, unpaid government salaries, electricity cuts, and soaring gasoline and food prices.

6. The impasse of the unfinished revolution led to a strengthening of bourgeois forces and increased efforts by the imperialist to stabilize Libya under its control. As a result, a full-scale civil war between two bourgeois camps began in May 2014. The pro-imperialist camp is dominated by remnants of the Gaddafi repression forces which have formed a coalition called *Amaliya al-Karama* ("Operation Dignity"). This coalition claims to be the legitimate government of the country. It is recognized and supported by the imperialist powers as well as the regimes of Egypt and the United Arab Emirates. However, it has only little support among Libya's population, symbolized by the fact that its "parliament", the *Council of Deputies*, has to convene on a car ferry in the port of Tobruk, a small town in the far east of the country. Aguila Saleh Issa, the President of this parliament, characteristically was a leading bureaucrat under Gaddafi. However, the real power house of this camp is General Khalifa Haftar and his militia which incorporates the remnants of Gaddafi's army. Haftar himself was a leading general under Gaddafi before he deserted and became a collaborator of the CIA. Significantly, in February 2015 the Tobruk-government suspended the law which barred Gaddafi officials from office. Its social bases are Arab Bedouins in the east of Libya as well as forces based in Zitan who have long-standing conflicts with the surrounding Amazighs national minority (also known as Berbers). The pro-imperialist *Amaliya al-Karama* alliance has welcomed the recent Egyptian air force attacks. In February 2015, Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thinni repeated his government's appeal to the great powers of the West for military intervention and called for strikes on Tripoli and Ben Jawad.

7. The rival camp is dominated by an unstable alliance of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Islamist forces called *Fajr Libya* ("Libyan Dawn"). This coalition controls the larger

cities including Tripoli and Misrata and the populous areas of the country, mostly located in the west. *Fajr Libya's* social basis is the smaller and mid-sized capitalists, like the merchants from Misrata, the urban population as well as non-Arab and religious minorities (like the Amazighs, the Tuaregs, and the small reformist Islamic sect called Ibadiyya). They are led by Prime Minister Omar al-Hassi's government and the *New General National Congress* based in Tripoli. Al-Hassi called the Egyptian raids "*terrorism*" and denounced them as a "*sinful aggression.*" *Fajr Libya* also opposes military intervention by the great powers of the West.

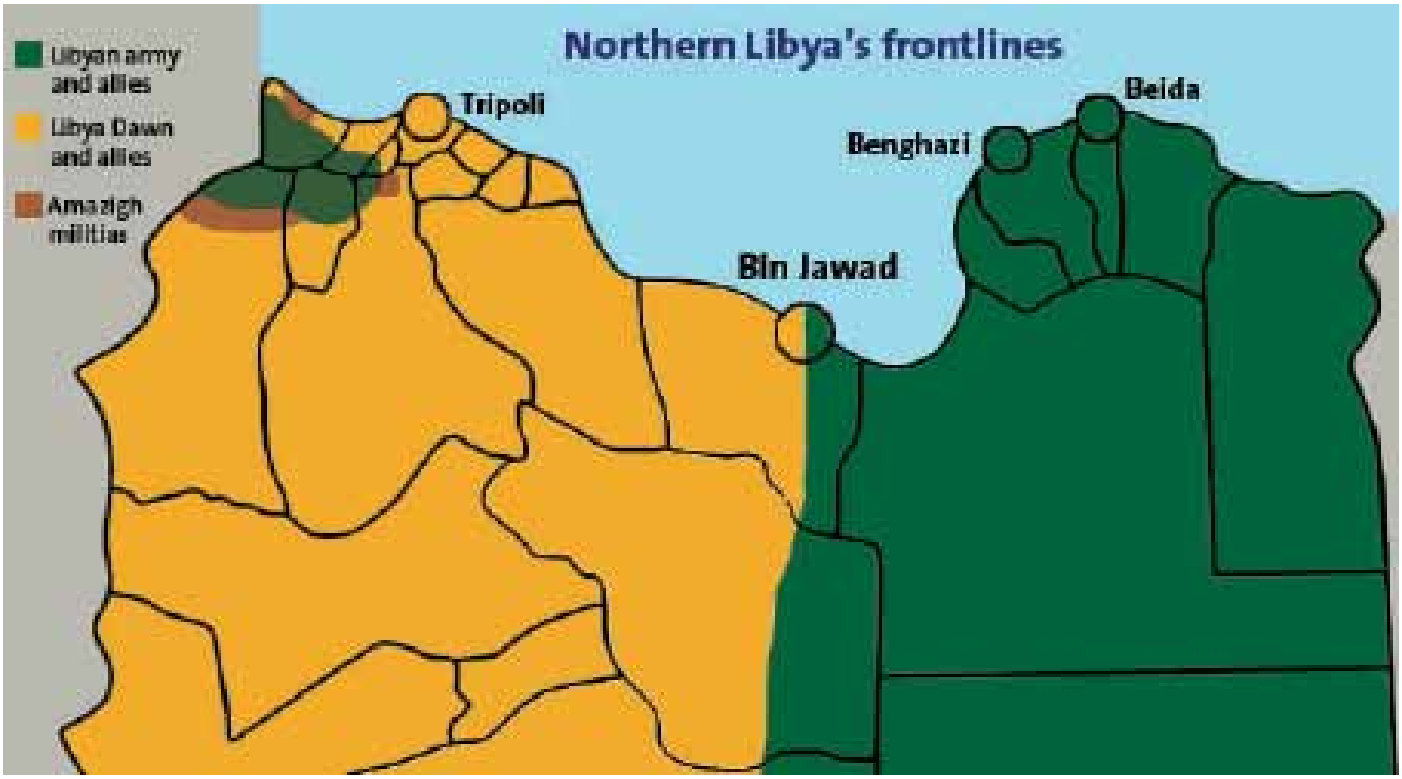
8. In addition, there are a number of smaller Salafi-Takfiri Islamist forces which have recently aligned themselves with Daash. They currently control the eastern town of Derna and temporarily took over Sirte. However, the Tripoli-based government deployed Misrata's 166 battalion and other rebel forces and expelled Daash from Sirte in mid-February.

9. General Sisi's military regime in Egypt tries to exploit the Libyan civil war to position itself as a key player in Middle East politics. Since the military coup d'état on 3 July 2013, Sisi's regime has murdered more than 6,000 people and thrown tens of thousands of people into prison. Regardless, or rather because of this, the dictatorship has received political and financial support from all key imperialist powers like the US, EU, Russia, and China. In addition, Sisi's dictatorship has also been unabashedly hailed by pro-Gaddafi forces in exile, Stalinists, as well as various centrists like Alan Woods' IMT. Just recently, the Sisi regime signed a $5.8 billion deal to buy French weaponry, including 24 Rafale combat jets, a multi-mission naval frigate, and air-to-air missiles. In an interview with France's *Europe 1* radio, General Sisi said in February "*there is no choice*" but to create a global coalition to intervene militarily in Libya.

10. Sisi's call for another imperialist war dovetails nicely with the recent war-mongering of European imperialists who have called for a military intervention in Libya. Italy's Interior Minister Angelino Alfano, in an interview with the Italian paper *La Republica,* urged NATO to intervene *"for the future of the Western world*." Taking advantage of the current hysteria about Daash, Alfano dramatically warned: "*ISIS is at the door. There is no time to waste.*" It is a clear that the European imperialists are striving for a massive military intervention in Libya in order to achieve what they failed in 2011: subjugating the country and imposing a colonial administration which would ensure imperialist exploitation of the country's rich oil reserves.

11. As we have emphasized in a number of past statements, this is just another act in the ongoing imperialist campaign to utilize the reactionary actions of Daash to intensify attacks by the Great Powers in the Middle East as well as to demonize and oppress Muslim migrants in Europe. Obama's crusade in Iraq and Syria, with the support of the European imperialists as well as their Arab lackeys, the ongoing US occupation in Afghanistan, France's war in Mali and Central Africa, Russia's continuous barbaric repression of the Chechen people – these are all acts of imperialist aggression against oppressed people of the semi-colonial world. The other side of this coin is the ongoing super-exploitation and national oppression of migrants in the imperialist metropolises. Among them Muslim migrants, in particular, have become targeted victims of racism, as we saw in the aftermath of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack. Revealingly, the "Communist" Party of France and their friends in the reformist *Party of the European Left* have failed to oppose the imperialist aggression, and most centrists cowardly refuse to support the military struggle of the – mostly Islamist-led – resistance against the imperialist occupants. Similarly, these groups supported the vile, pro-imperialist demonstrations in Europe on 11 January for "*national unity*" in support of the racist magazine *Charlie Hebdo*.

12. The RCIT unequivocally states that the main enemy of the Libyan people in the current situation is the pro-



imperialist camp of the Gaddafi remnants around General Haftar. We support the Libyan people's determined resistance against the European imperialists and the Egyptian regime's attempts to organize a military intervention. We call on the international workers' movement to fight against such flagrant aggression which can only serve the interests of the European monopolies and their greedy lackeys in the Middle East.

13. The Libyan people need a second revolution in order to achieve what they were striving for in 2011. Such a revolution must be led by the working class organized in action councils and popular militias. It must expel all factions of the bourgeoisie – Islamist as well as "secular" – expropriate the capitalists and nationalize all industries and banks under workers' control.

14. The RCIT reiterates its solidarity with the heroic mass protests in Egypt against the Sisi regime as well as with the Syria revolution. Finally, we reemphasize the importance of defending the Muslim migrants in Europe against the vicious hatemongering campaign fostered by the ruling class.

15. The RCIT proposes to fight for the following slogans:

** Defeat General Haftar's alliance of imperialist lackeys but give no political support to the Islamists!*

** No to reactionary sectarianism! Down with the Salafi-Takfiri Daash!*

** For independent workers' and popular councils and militias! For a workers' and popular government which expropriates the domestic bourgeoisie as well as the foreign monopolies! Nationalization of industry and banks under workers control!*

** Mobilize against any military aggression as well as economic sanctions by the Egyptian regime and the imperialist powers against the Libyan people! In case of any attack, we call for the defeat of the imperialists and their allies! Support the resistance against the imperialist aggression! For international mobilizations to defeat the imperialist and the Egyptian war-mongers!*

** Free all political prisoners in Egypt! Down with the show trials against resistance activists of the Muslim Brotherhood and other organizations! For international solidarity demonstrations and strikes against the repression in Egypt! Prepare for a general strike and an armed insurrection against the military regime! For a workers' government, with the support of the poor peasantry and the urban poor!*

** Defend Gaza! Defeat Israel! For an international boycott campaign against Israel! For a Free and Red Palestine!*

** Victory to the Syrian Revolution against the Assad Regime!*

** For a socialist federation of the people of the Maghreb and Mashriq!*

International Secretariat of the RCIT

For our analysis of the Libyan Revolution we refer readers to:

Michael Pröbsting: Liberation Struggles and Imperialist Interference. The failure of sectarian "anti-imperialism" in the West: Some general considerations from the Marxist point of view and the example of the democratic revolution in Libya in 2011, in *Revolutionary Communism* No. 5 (2012), http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/liberation-struggle-and-imperialism/

RKOB: After the collapse of the Gaddafi regime: Where now for the Libyan Revolution? in *Revolutionary Communism* No. 1 (2011), http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/libya-collapse-of-gaddafi-regime/

Michael Pröbsting: The intervention of the imperialist powers in Libya, the struggle of the masses against Gaddafi's dictatorship and the tactics of revolutionary communists, in *Revolutionary Communism* No. 1 (2011), www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/libya-revolutionary-tactics

For more RCIT documents on the imperialist aggression in the Middle East, see among others:

* RCIT: Defeat Obama's New Crusade in the Middle East! For an International Mass Movement to Defeat the Offensive of the Great Western Powers! Support the Kurdish Struggle for an Independent State! No to the Harassment of Muslims in Western Countries! 18.9.2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/obama-s-new-crusade/

* RCIT: Defend Iraq against another Aggression of US Imperialism! Support the Kurdish Right of Self-Determination against IS! Unite the Struggle against the US Attack with the Palestinian Resistance against Israel! 9.8.2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/defend-iraq-against-us/

* RCIT: Iraq: Defend the Sunni Rebellion against the Maliki Regime and US Imperialism! Down with all Reactionary Religious Sectarianism! For a Workers' and Peasants' Republic! 22.6.2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/iraq-sunni-rebellion/

Yossi Schwartz: Down With the New Imperialist Attack on Iraq and Syria! The Renewal of the Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Workers Movement, 2.10.2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-war-in-iraq-and-syria/

For additional RCIT analyses of Egypt's military dictatorship, as well as reports of solidarity activities, we refer readers to the following small selection of our articles on this issue:

RCIT: General Sisi – The Butcher of the Egyptian People – Sentences another 683 People to Death, 1.5.2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-mass-death-sentences/

RCIT: Egypt: Down with General Sisi's pro-Army Constitution!

Boycott the Referendum!, 12.1.2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/boycott-egypt-referendum/
RCIT: Egypt: International Solidarity against the Army Crackdown! August 14, 2013, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-international-solidarity/
Yossi Schwartz: Israel and the Coup in Egypt. Israel's primary concerns regarding Egypt are the possible fall of the military regime or a descent into civil war, Aug 21, 2013, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/israel-and-egypt-coup/
Michael Pröbsting: The Coup d'État in Egypt and the Bankruptcy of the Left's "Army Socialism". A Balance Sheet of the coup and another Reply to our Critics (LCC, WIVP, SF/LCFI), 8.8.2013, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism/
Yossi Schwartz: Egypt: Mobilize Resistance against the reactionary military regime! Down with the army's puppet-government! No political support for Morsi and the Muslim brotherhood! For independent working class mobilization with a revolutionary perspective! 27.7.2013, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-no-to-military-regime/
Michael Pröbsting: The Military's Coup d'État in Egypt: Assessment and Tactics. A reply to the criticism of the WIVP and the LCC on the meaning of the Military's Coup d'État and the slogan of the Revolutionary Constituent Assembly, 17.7.2013, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-meaning-of-coup-d-etat/
RCIT: Egypt: Down with the Military Coup d'État! Prepare Mass Resistance! July 8, 2013, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-down-with-military-coup-d-etat/
Nina Gunić: Military Dictatorship in Egypt: Report (with Photos & Video) on the Solidarity Demonstration on 25.1.2015 in Vienna, 29.01.2015, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/report-egypt-demo-25-1-2015/
RKOB: Egypt: Report with Videos from Demonstration in Austria against the Military Dictatorship on 20 April, 22.4.2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-solidarity-demo-in-austria-20-4-2014/
RKOB: Austria: Solidarity with the Resistance against the Military Dictatorship in Egypt! Report (with photos and video clips) of a rally on 25January to commemorate the third anniversary of the revolution in Egypt, 26.1.2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/solidarity-rally-for-egypt/

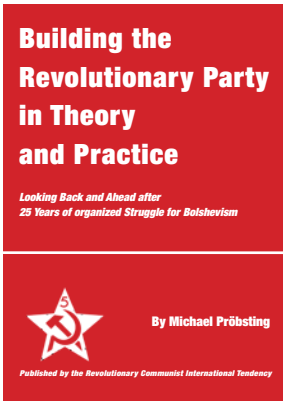
For our analysis of the Charlie Hebdo Attack and the Anti-Muslim Racism we refer readers to:
RCIT: France after the Attacks in Paris: Defend the Muslim People against Imperialist Wars, Chauvinist Hatemongering, and State Repression! 9.1.2015, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/statement-paris-attacks/
Michael Pröbsting: France: "Communist" Party fails to Vote in Parliament against Imperialist War in Iraq! 15.1.2015, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/french-pcf-iraq-war/
Michael Pröbsting: After the Paris Attack: Socialists must Join Hands with Muslim People Against Imperialism and Racism! Reformist and Centrist Forces try to derail the Workers Movement by Failing to Stand up for Solidarity with the Muslims and Against Imperialist War-Mongering! 17.1.2015, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/france-defend-muslims/
Michael Pröbsting: The Racist Character of Charlie Hebdo and the pro-imperialist campaign "Je Suis Charlie". Solidarity with Muslim People! NOT Solidarity with Charlie Hebdo! 17.1.2015, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 31, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/racist-charlie-hebdo/ ■

New Book!

Michael Pröbsting: Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice

Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new book. It's called *BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE*. The book's subtitle is: *Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of organized Struggle for Bolshevism*. The book is in English-language. It contains four chapters on 148 pages and includes 42 pictures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.
A few months ago, our movement commemorated its 25th anniversary. In the summer of 1989 our predecessor organization, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) was founded as a democratic-centralist international tendency based on an elaborated program. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) continues the revolutionary tradition of the LRCI. Below we give an overview of our history, an evaluation of its achievements as well as mistakes, and a summary of the lessons for the struggles ahead. This book summarizes our theoretical and practical experience of the past 25 years.
In Chapter I we outline a summary of the Bolshevik- Communists' theoretical conception of the role of the revolutionary party and its relation to the working class. In Chapter II we elaborate on the essential characteristics of revolutionary party respective of the pre-party organization. In Chapter III we deal with the history of our movement – the RCIT and its predecessor organization. Finally, in Chapter IV we outline the main lessons of our 25 years of organized struggle for building a Bolshevik party and their meaning for our future work.
You can find the contents and download the book for free at http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/ ■



Israel: Ten Years of Struggle against the Theft of Bil'in's Land – Solidarity and Struggle until Victory!

Statement by the Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine), 20.2.2015

We, members of the Internationalist Socialist League (ISL) in Israel/Occupied Palestine, as well as our comrades in the world-wide revolutionary communist organization with which we are affiliated, the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), wish to transmit to you today – residents of Bil'in and its neighboring villages, activists in the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), Anarchists against the Wall, and all the other activists, organized and independent, Palestinians, Israelis, and internationals – a message of solidarity and support for your just struggle until victory! We salute you!

We also wish to transmit our sincerest condolences to the families of the victims, especially members of the Abu Rahma family – Baasem, Jawaher and Ashraf, who sacrificed that which was most precious to them to stop the theft of land and oppression of Palestinian villagers by the Zionist apartheid regime. We bow our heads in respect to the dead and their families and express the hope that their sacrifice will not have been in vain.

Achievements of the Past Ten Years of Struggle

After ten years of struggle against the theft of village lands via the building of the Apartheid Wall, there is no better time to review the achievements and formulate a plan and vision to continue the struggle until victory – the return of all the lands stolen from the village and of all stolen Palestinian lands from the River to the Sea.

1. For ten years, every Friday, week after week, unrelentingly and in all weather, the residents of Bil'in and nearby villages, together with the activists mentioned above as well as many others, have come to protest using non-violent means against the Apartheid Wall. This, despite the opposition of the brutal Zionist military regime and its barbaric repression of the demonstrations.

This, in itself, is a considerable achievement, taking into account that, in the rest of the Palestinian arena, the Palestinian people has found it so difficult to organize itself towards a mass popular struggle, e., a third intifada, and that other struggles, such as that of Sheikh Jarrah, have almost entirely petered out. There is no doubt that the persistent struggle of Bil'in will serve as an inspiration of courage and determination for a future mass struggle – one which is absolutely necessary to end the Zionist apartheid regime in all of Palestine.

2. In the legal arena, the villagers succeeded in changing the route of the wall and in regaining some 700stolen dunams of land. However, about 1,000additional dunams remain in the hands of the Apartheid regime.

3. Your struggle contributed greatly in the efforts to isolate Israel internationally. Video, pictures, and testimonies from these demonstrations in the village and films inspired by your struggle have been presented on every possible stage and have exposed the true face of the State of Israel as a cruel and thieving apartheid regime. In particular, the contention that the suppression of the Palestinian people and the theft of their lands are necessary measure to preserve the security of Israeli Jews has been exposed as a barefaced lie.

4. Your struggle has effectively demonstrated the strength, but also the limitations of the tactic of nonviolent struggle. For years, the methods adopted by the Palestinian national liberation movement were criticized internationally. It was argued that the use of the tactics of armed struggle resulted in many casualties and yielded achievements which were far too meager to justify the number of dead, wounded, and disabled.

Non-violent confrontation, critics argued, draws its inspiration from the struggles that took place under the leaderships of Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and Nelson Mandela, and will bring about achievements which are more far-reaching and enduring. Some have also argued that this was the key to the collapse of the apartheid regime in South Africa and its replacement by a democratic regime which adheres to the UN Charter of Human Rights.

For ten years the struggle in Bil'in has been non-violent, except for the primarily symbolic throwing of stones by village youth, but also by undercover provocateurs intentionally implanted by the Israeli army to provide the military with an excuse to violently and quickly disperse the protests. Ten long years have taught us that encouraging expectations and making promises about the potential of non-violent struggle were largely unfounded – exaggerated at best and possibly even reckless. Just like the armed struggle, the non-violent struggle extracted its price in victims and its achievements against the apartheid regime have proved to be only very partial.

The main reason for this is that this non-violent struggle

is being waged against an enemy who does not speak the language of non-violence, and who sees all resistance to its oppression, including that done on the basis of "freedom of expression," as an act of terrorism no different than the firing of rockets or the stabbing of civilians in a bus. We need look no farther than how the activities at the UN by the head of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, are dubbed by the Israeli government "diplomatic terrorism," and how Arab members of Israel's Knesset, defending the rights of the Palestinian people mostly in words, are referred to by the same government as "supporters of terrorism" and "terrorists."

Between Non-violent and Armed Struggle – The Nakba Continues

While it is not possible to make light of the world-class achievements of your nonviolent tactics, here in Palestine it is even less possible to ignore a number of simple facts which actually strengthen the arguments of supporters of armed struggle: it was *not* a non-violent struggle that led to the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai; it was *not* a non-violent struggle that led to Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon; it was *not* a non-violent struggle that brought Israel to withdraw from the Gaza Strip; and it certainly was *not* a non-violent struggle which resulted in Israel's recognition of the existence of the Palestinian people, and their right to self-determination.

On the other hand, every Arab achievement of armed struggle was soon countered by increased repression and an accelerated land grab at the expense of the Palestinian people: the peace treaty with Egypt (1979) and subsequent withdrawal from Sinai bequeathed to Israel both diplomatic and military room to continue to hold onto the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to further populate these areas with armed settlers and to invade Lebanon (1982) in an attempt to purge the remaining nests of the Palestinian resistance within its borders. The peak of this violence, but by no means its end, was the massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in September, 1982.

Israel's bleeding, forced withdrawal from Lebanon after 18 years of occupation at the hands of Hizbollah (2000) in fact allowed her to suppress the second Palestinian intifada in full force and re-invade the liberated areas in the West Bank (2002) and to almost totally bring down the Palestinian Authority. This, in turn, accelerated the transformation of the PA into Israel's partner and the PLO into its agent in suppressing Palestinian resistance in the West Bank and Gaza.

Following her withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, in the wake of the Second Intifada, and the evacuation of 8,000 settlers (2005) Israel was able to add an additional 20,000 settlers to the West Bank while laying siege to Gaza by land, sea, and air. The aim of this siege was and remains to starve the people of Gaza into submission and to prevent any desire or ability on their part to effectively resist the Zionist occupation. And when, despite all this, resistance persisted, the result was three brutal campaigns against Gaza (2006, 2008/9, and 2014).

There is no escaping the recognition that the mere desire and ability of the Palestinian people to continue to resist, to continue to struggle for the right to live in equality, welfare, and security on their land and to exercise their just right to self-determination throughout all Palestine, a struggle which has continued from the 1930s until the present, this perseverance constitutes an heroic chapter in human history and has inspired billions of sons and daughters of oppressed people all over the world.

But heroism and the pride it engenders are not enough. Time does not stand still, and with each passing day the Palestinian people approach the fate of indigenous peoples who did not survive the exploits of white European colonialism – of which the Zionist movement is another example – such as the American Indians and Australian Aborigines. The comparison of the Zionist entity with the apartheid state of South Africa may be true on a moral and declarative plane, but in practice it is misleading. While the purpose of the apartheid regime was to use the black African natives as cheap labor to develop its economy to a level unknown on the African continent, the purpose of the Zionist racist regime is to cleanse the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea of Arabs. Historically, this has been done both by military means, as in 1947-48 and 1967, and by economic measures such as the purchase of property and land through front companies and various types of crooked deals.

Revolutionary Socialist Struggle – The Only Way to Bring Down the Zionist Apartheid Regime and Liberate all Palestine!

First of all, so there can be no possible doubt, we emphasize that the choice of tactics, whatever is deemed appropriate at any given stage, is exclusively the right of the oppressed who themselves are conducting the struggle, and not that of any external factor. In the present context, these are the residents of Bil'in and the neighboring villages. This basic position is absolutely clear to both the Israeli and Palestinian members of the Internationalist Socialist League (ISL) and to the revolutionary communist tendency (RCIT) with which we are affiliated.

We will stand alongside the Palestinian people in the struggle to liberate their land and achieve their national independence in any way they shall choose. However, we believe that it would be harmful to the struggle if we were not to share with our allies the cumulative historical experience of the world revolutionary workers' movement which has, from its inception, championed the liberation of all humanity from all forms of oppression.

We therefore say openly that, as long as the State of Israel exists, the Zionist land grab as part of its unrelenting attempt to rid Palestine of its Arab and other non-Jewish inhabitants, will not end. Historical experience shows that a solution to the Palestinian question lies only in a revolutionary toppling of the Zionist apartheid regime and its replacement by a multinational democratic country belonging to all its citizens – Arabs, Jews, and migrant workers – throughout all of Palestine, from the river to the sea.

In our opinion, the reason that the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Movement is not currently conducting the struggle in this direction is neither based on tactical or strategic considerations, but rather on considerations of class. The leaderships' economic ties and business relations with their financiers in the Arab world, Europe, and America, and even with Zionist capitalists, tie their hands and do not allow them to act, except for reaching for the crumbs of

self-determination while consciously relinquishing claim to about 80 percent of the land of the Palestinian people as well as the right of return. Moreover, both directly and indirectly, the current leadership has been obliged to prostitute itself to the apartheid regime and to bribe or suppress their own sons and daughters, the Palestinian people, and thereby prevent them from continuing to fight.

Therefore, we say that *only the working class can lead the fight to victory*, because only the working class is untainted and free from all of these interests. Only the working class can form a true alliance with the peasants, the *fellahin*, with small business owners, with youth, students, and other oppressed groups like women and sexual minorities. Only the working class can place a *revolutionary* socialist party at the head of the struggling Palestinian masses; a party which will take part in the founding of a new workers' international; a party which will understand when and how and to utilize both non-violent and armed tactics. Only the working class can form an alliance of all the oppressed of the region, from Iran to the Maghreb, led by the workers of Egypt, who have proved in practice their strength and resourcefulness in the struggle against a violent regime no less repressive than the Zionists. With such an alliance, even the military strength of Israel can be overcome.

Therefore, the state which will be established in the wake of the collapse of Zionist apartheid will be none other than a multi-national workers' state from the river to the sea. In this state will live Arabs, Jews, migrant workers, and Palestinian refugees returning to their homeland, living a life of abundance, justice, and freedom of the kind that only a socialist society can bequeath to human beings. This state will take part in the building of a socialist federation of the entire Middle East and will assist in building a world socialist society.

If you share our vision, you are not alone! Join us!
For the liberation of all the lands of Bil'in!
For a third intifada – a popular, democratic uprising under the leadership of the working class!
For the right of return of Palestinian refugees to their homeland!
For the release of all Palestinian political prisoners!
For a Free, Red Palestine!
For a Socialist Federation of the Middle East!
For the founding of a revolutionary workers' party for all Palestine!
For the founding of an world-wide revolutionary workers' party – The Fifth International! ■

Pro-Israel forces tried to bring Johannes Wiener RCIT leader before the court for one of his pro-Palestine speeches

Elections in the shadow of a coming Intifada: Vote for the United Arab Party But Don't Trust the Petty-Bourgeois Leadership!

Statement by the Internationalist Socialist League, 10.02.2015

1. On March 17th, citizens of Israel will vote for the Knesset – the Israeli Parliament. We view the Knesset as an undemocratic organ of the Zionist apartheid state. Voting for it cannot ever change this fact. In ideal circumstances the correct position would be to boycott these elections in favor of establishing a constituent assembly of all residents of Palestine – Jews, Arabs, Palestinian refugees and immigrant workers (from the river to the sea). Sadly, this is not the case today.

2. Recent rapid developments in the political and social atmosphere under the rule of the right-wing Netanyahu government have led to the unification of the Arab parties in Israel, a move which we strongly support but at the same time have no illusions in. This Joint Arab List is but a technical block designed to meet the electoral threshold. All parties are allowed to maintain their full independence.

The aforementioned developments are mainly: the raising of the electoral threshold designed to ethnically cleanse the Knesset of Palestinian representatives, upsurge of racist law-making, upsurge of street violence and lynching of Arabs, protest busting, employment dismissals of Palestinians and progressive Jews, daily police racist and deadly brutality, as well as the July-August massacre of more than 2,300 Palestinians.

3. This historical unity of the leftist, nationalist and Islamic leaderships of the Palestinian citizens of Israel is an essential move, partly due to the left's weakness towards the upsurge of Zionist-fascism and Zionism in general, its reformist outlook and (Jewish) middle class orientation, its tailing of the bureaucracy in the Histadrut, as well as its hesitance towards the very forging of the Unity of Arabs parties – all of which are obstacles on the road to socialism. Socialist revolutionaries must struggle to replace the middle class leadership with a revolutionary class conscious one.

4. In order to expose the ineffectiveness of the aforementioned leaderships, revolutionaries should put pressure on the Unity of Arabs parties, first and foremost, to stay together and not break up after the elections.

Secondly, to expose the undemocratic character of the Zionist apartheid parliament instead of serving it as a fig leaf, take a clear and correct position on the Palestinian national liberation struggle – mainly support the full realization of the right of return and breaking with the imperialist partition plan for Palestine in favor of a One Democratic State vision.

Thirdly, to offer hope to the youth and all of those willing to struggle and sacrifice for justice, equality and freedom for Palestine, an alternative to both merely-symbolic pacifist protests as well as ineffective individual terrorism. This alternative must come in the form of mass mobilizations in the streets, villages and neighborhoods through mass meetings and democratic struggle (and self-defence) committees.

And lastly, to reach out to all the oppressed groups in Israel (women, youth, ethnic/religious minorities, LGBT), mainly the massive number of immigrant workers who also suffer brutally under Zionist racism, as well as every oppressed Jewish group willing to break away with Zionism – like Jews of Arab (Mizrahim), African and USSR origin as well as Ultra-Orthodox Jews (Haredim).

5. Only the unity of working class and oppressed, led by a revolutionary party of the most consciously advanced workers, can complete the national-democratic tasks abandoned and betrayed by the bourgeoisie (both big and petit), and lead the way to socialism. It is essential to build such a party both on the national and international level. Join us to build the 5th International!

Down with Zionist Apartheid and its Race-Laws!
Organize Mass Meetings to Discuss Future Action!
Organize Democratic Self-Defence Against Fascist Attacks!
Free all Palestinian Political Prisoners!
Victory for the Third Intifada!
For a Full Right of Return!
For a Multi-National Workers' State in Palestine from the River to the Sea!
For a Socialist Federation of the Middle East!
For a Revolutionary Workers Party!
For a New Fifth International! ■

Egypt: Down with the Military Dictatorship! Report on the Solidarity Demonstration on 25.01.2015 in Vienna

By Nina Gunić (Austrian Section of the RCIT), 29.01.2015

Numerous demonstrations took place in Egypt as well as around the world on the fourth anniversary of the uprising against the Mubarak regime. In Egypt, the repression apparatus attacked mass protests with extreme brutality and killed at least 20 people including the 17-year old girl Sondos Reda Abu Bakr in Alexandria as well as Shaimaa al-Sabbagh, a progressive activist and mother. They are new symbols for the heroic resistance of the Egypt people against the military dictatorship of General Sisi.

Around 600 people from the Egypt migrant community demonstrated in Vienna in solidarity with the resistance. – despite sleet and biting cold The Austrian section of the RCIT supported the demonstration as the only non-Egypt organization.

Several speakers, including Ibrahim Ali – the leader of the Egyptian community – condemned the military dictatorship of General Sisi as well as the collaboration of the imperialist great powers.

Equal rights for muslims

Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, addressed the demonstrators as the second speaker after Ibrahim Ali and enjoyed popularity for his message. He said: ◎*The generals, the rulers, the super rich oppress freedom for the Egypt people by any means. They do everything in their power to smash and kill the working people in Egypt. (…) We have seen in the past years that the rulers are waging a war against the working people in Egypt. And not only in Egypt! The rulers are waging war against the Muslim people in many countries. They are waging war against all people who stand for freedom, democracy and social justice. There is also an increasing Muslim-baiting in Austria against our brothers and sisters. The government tries to make Muslims second-class citizens with the new „Islam Law". We say – and I say as a non-Muslim, as an Austrian and as a communist: Down with the new „Islam Law"! Equal rights for Muslims!*" (See the video of his speech at the link below.)

Our struggle in solidarity with the democratic resistance in Egypt against the military dictatorship is part of our revolutionary strategy. We see this struggle as closely interlinked with the struggle against the imperialist domination as well as the oppression of Muslim migrants in Europe. (*) The liberation of the working class and the oppressed people is only possible if they smash imperialism and capitalism through an international socialist revolution! Long live international solidarity.

(*) See on this RCIT: Perspectives for the Class Struggle in Light of the Deepening Crisis in the Imperialist World Economy and Politics. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation and Perspectives Ahead (January 2015), Theses 39-74, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-january-2015/

See photos and a video of the speech of Michael Pröbsting here: http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/aegypten-25-01-2015/ ■

Demonstration in Solidarity with the resistance of the Egypt people against the dictatorship of general Sisi

For Women's Liberation - against Imperialism!

Call for the international day of struggle of working women on 8th March

By Nina Gunić, International Women's Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 7.3.2015

1. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) sends its greetings to all fighters for the liberation of women who are oppressed by class society and imperialism. On this particular day, the international day of struggle of the working woman on 8 March, we commemorate the heroic pioneers of women's liberation. We remember the murdered women textile workers who were detained on 8 March 1908 during a strike in a New York cotton textile factory by their employer who were miserably burned alive after he set the building on fire. Their heroic strike against the exploitation by the capitalists, in which 129 of them paid with their lives, has been honored every year on the 8 March for 106 years now. (The same horrible fate befell 146 women workers from the New Yorker factory *Triangle Shirtwaist* in March 1911.) Likewise, we commemorate the work of Clara Zetkin, the communist leader and pioneer of women's rights. It was she who advocated the example of US female workers who fought on 8 March 1909, one year after the murder of the 129 heroines, with mass demonstrations and strikes for the rights of women. Thanks to Clara Zetkin these demonstrations have become an international event annually since 1911. We hold high the banner of the proletarian women's movement, which was Zetkin's life's work. This bright banner must still be carried to the farthest corners of the world to help all our class sisters to engage in struggle against oppression and exploitation.

2. The RCIT greets the combatants, who courageously encounter the imperialist beast worldwide. The super-exploitation in semi-colonial countries, which is based on the role of monopolies in the world economy and their constant pursuit of profit, shapes the lives of billions of the oppressed in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, wider parts of Asia as well as Eastern Europe. A tiny minority of the largest 147 multinational corporations control 40% of the world economy and if one takes the 737 most powerful monopolies, they have 80% of the wealth in their hands. They exploit at breathtaking speed the people of the semi-colonies, especially women. Their life is full of deprivation; working-class women are often expected – after a 15-hour average workday, which includes violence and rape by the masters of the factories – to look after their families. The poor female peasants and female urban poor are suffering from starvation while they work to increase even more the profits for the corporate bosses and landlords. On top of all this we have to add the wars of the great powers which annihilate the hopes of women for a better future, let alone for real freedom and equality. But the brutal oppression and exploitation of women cannot prevent millions of them engaging in heroic resistance against their imperialist masters.

3. Female factory workers fought heroically in the past year in many parts of the world. The female workers of the Taiwanese shoe factory *Yue Yuen*, 70% of them women, went on strike for more than two weeks for a fair wage and improved working conditions. These 40,000 employees in the Chinese industrial city of Dongguan are terribly exploited by piece work for minimum wages. At the beginning of the strike these female workers had no trade union organization. Their heroic struggle against the CEOs of Nike, Adidas and other powerful corporations produced severe problems for their capitalist masters. Like their class brothers and especially class sisters in Cambodia, they faced not only the factory owners but the entire capitalist government in their country as class enemies. In Cambodia 39 female workers were arrested and five of them were executed by the military police. In Cambodia amongst the 600,000 textile workers, 90% of which are women, thousands have gone on strike against declining wages. These low wages made Cambodia a target for imperialist corporations, many of whom also come from China. Working-class women have stood up bravely against the corporate bosses, demanding the right to organize, higher wages and better protection against the toxic fumes that make them unconscious and ill. They fought street battles with Cambodia's military police and many have been arrested in Dongguan. These are just a few of the countless heroic proletarian fighters worldwide.

4. The poor female peasants also fought heroically in the past year against the increasing land grab that is taking place now not only by big landowners but also by multinational corporations. In Liberia, women and men of the Jogbahn clan have successfully fought to keep the British palm oil company *Equatorial Palm Oil* from grabbing their land. This demonstrated once more that the interests of the working women and poor women peasants have nothing in common with the interest of bourgeois women. After all, it is the President of Liberia, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who has brought these same multinationals into the country for a number of years. Equally impressive are the Brazilian Indians, such as the Guarani, who try to fight against land grabs. Their spokeswoman, Marinalva Manoel, was raped and murdered because her voice had become too loud and her campaign too successful. These are just two of the many examples of heroic resistance struggle of the poor peasants worldwide.

5. Women fought heroically with arms in hands in the past year as part of the various resistance movements that oppose dictatorships and imperialist interventions. The women of Gaza, who are organizing as combatants in Hamas and other resistance organizations, have shown unwavering courage in their struggle against the overpowering apartheid state of Israel in the bloody war of extermination last summer, 2014. Fighters such as Um Jafar and Guevara are known female faces of the rebels in Syria, who oppose the dictatorship of Assad. More and more women are joining the rebel units, including the militia of the "*Saut al-Hak*" ("Voice of Justice"). Around the

world, more and more women join anti-imperialist liberation movements.

6. The increasing participation of women of the oppressed classes in the liberation struggle is also the reason why reactionary regime and imperialist states are trying more and more to attract women to their cause (e.g. Assad's so called "*Lionesses*" or Israel's female soldiers). Thus our enemies hope to counterbalance the great popularity of the liberation struggle amongst the female part of the oppressed peoples. Whether female thugs in the service of the rulers, women in company boardrooms, at the top of racist movements or even of a corrupt regime – they are nothing but enemies of every class-conscious worker and oppressed woman. This is not altered by the fact that some of these enemies of real women's liberation fighters call themselves "feminists".

7. The RCIT stands for the real liberation struggle against the oppression of all women, which is united with the struggle against capitalism and the imperialism. This real liberation struggle is led by the proletarian women and men in the world and is based on the oppressed masses. The movement, which can be generally grouped under the term feminism, consists of only two camps which are opposed to the interests of the proletariat: the camp of the *bourgeois women's movement* and the camp of the *petty-bourgeois women's movement*. Both of them are, in different ways, obstacles on the road of the authentic liberation struggle.

8. Bourgeois feminism is a great enemy of real women's liberation. It put itself at the service of imperialism early on in its history. The *suffragettes* were the most radical current in the bourgeois women's movement. They carried out suicide attacks to draw attention to their concerns. But when the imperialist First World War began in 1914, they became enthusiastic defenders of *their imperialist* homeland and were willingly enlisted to support the imperialist war. Today middle-class feminists like Alice Schwarzer in Germany, who has expressed sympathy for the racist PEGIDA demonstrations and who is a long-standing supporter of imperialist wars and occupations against the alleged "*Islamist threat*", stand in this tradition. These bourgeois feminists have also welcomed the pro-imperialist mobilizations after the attacks on the racist French magazine *Charlie Hebdo*. They regularly justify imperialist wars and occupations – which take place e.g. in Afghanistan and Iraq – using the "argument" of the women's liberation to support the bombing campaign in Iraq and Syria. They are camouflaging their service for the imperialists with claims that it is in the interest of the entire female gender. This is nothing more than an appeal to working-class women and other oppressed to betray their own class interests in order – as it is demonstrated by the bourgeois women's movement – to serve the imperialist powers.

9. Petty bourgeois feminism is not the fight for real women's liberation. It currently often stands at the forefront of mass mobilization of oppressed women – such as the urban poor, the rural poverty and many workers – in India and in several Latin American countries. But it shrinks from a real break with the ruling class and their capitalist system. Petty-bourgeois feminists often try to collaborate with representatives of the bourgeois women's movement. It is therefore a potential gateway for these reactionary elements in the mass movements of the oppressed. In Chile a strengthened petty-bourgeois women's movement has opened the road for a number of bourgeois women to get positions within the government apparatus. This government has – contrary to the original demands of the petty-bourgeois women's movement – only recently decided to disburse family subsidies only to women who are prepared to undergo regularly gynecological examinations. In India too, petty bourgeois feminists were at the forefront during the mass protests against gang rape. As in the past, one of their key demands is the expansion of

the police force, which leads to an increasing repression of the oppressed classes. An ongoing project of petty-bourgeois feminists, for many years, is the so-called *self-help groups* for women who killed their daughters in need. These self-help groups are now transformed into control units that systematically denounce all women to the police, who do not admit to having killed their daughters. In the best case, petty-bourgeois feminists give support for female bourgeois careerists; at worst they are open supporters of the bourgeois apparatus of repression. Only the proletarian road of the revolutionary women's movement represents the interests of the oppressed women, and all other exploited and oppressed in the world. Such a revolutionary proletarian women's movement must therefore also be part of the struggle for a revolutionary new Fifth Workers' International, a world party of the proletariat and all the oppressed.

10. The RCIT advocates the formation of such a world party, as well as for the construction of a revolutionary women's movement. We greet all female and male fighters for the liberation of women who are particularly oppressed in the class society and by imperialism and we urge them to join with us. Let us fight together for a revolutionary program for women's liberation!

For full equality in workplace

** Equal pay for equal work! Massive support for the conversion of part-time to full-time employment for women!*
** For a public employment programme to create the conditions for the socialisation of housework and simultaneously eliminate unemployment among women!*
** For the formation of trade unions, especially for female workers in semi-colonial countries! Build women's commissions in the unions to deal with the specific discrimination of women, both at work places as well as with sexism in the labor movement!*

For full equality in the society:

** An end to all forms of legal discrimination against women - whether in the workplace, in access to education or at the polls!*
** For the massive construction of free, well-equipped 24-hour child-care facilities! For a wide range supply of affordable and high-quality public restaurants and laundry facilities! Our goal is the socialisation of housework!*
** Free access to free contraception and abortion on demand regardless of age and no matter in what month of pregnancy the woman is!*
** Down with all laws and public campaigns on religious dress codes! For the right to wear religious clothing, independently whether it is a form of Muslim veiling, the Dastar of the Sikhs etc. is! But also against any compulsion to wear these garments!*

Stop violence against women

** Fight against violence against women! For the expansion of public women safe houses, controlled by women's organisations! For the formation of self-defence units by the workers' and women's movement against sexist violence!*
** An end to the paternalism by the state and religious institutions: everyone should be able to realise his or her sexuality without coercion and regulations, as long as this takes place with the mutual consent of the partners.*
** Complete equality for lesbian (as well as for gay and transgender people) in the marriage law, right to have children, the public showing of their affection, etc.!*
** No criminalisation of the sexuality of young people by statutory age restrictions! However, we are in favour of strict laws against rape and domestic violence, to protect children from abuse. Domestic violence perpetrators should be held accountable by neighbourhood and school committees.*

Consistent struggle against the imperialist beast and for the liberation of the semi-colonies

** Expropriate the multi-national corporations which exploit the semi-colonial countries and put them under workers' control! This particularly applies also to all factories (their "business partners"), which are nothing more than local stooges of such corporations. Therefore: Nationalisation of the imperialist banks and corporations under workers' control!*
** For the formation of trade unions which, especially with the help of women's commissions, disclose the crimes against women (rape, abuse, etc.) and fight against that!*
** Cancel the debt of all semi-colonial countries of Latin America, Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe! Instead, the imperialist states must compensate the semi-colonial world for the plundering of their natural and human resources! For workers' tribunals in the semi-colonial countries that are supported by the international workers movement to identify the crimes of the corporations to the people in the semi-colonial countries as well as to the environment and to make their owners accountable!*
** Smash the IMF and the World Bank!*
** No to protectionism in the imperialist countries against the commodities of poorer countries! Abolition of the NAFTA and the EU's common agricultural policy and similar protectionist weapons of imperialism! On the other hand, however, we defend the right of 'third world' countries to protect their markets from cheap imports from the imperialist countries.*
** For an international emergency plan to rescue the starving and to fight against the consequences of climate change – funded from the profits of the banks and corporations in rich countries!*
** Immediate ban on the purchase of land by multinational corporations and hedge funds! Immediate confiscation of all non-agriculturally used land owned by large landowners! Abolition of all patents of capitalist monopolies in agriculture!*
** For the expropriation of the big landlords, the church and the multinationals! For the nationalisation of the land under the control of workers and poor peasants! The land to those who cultivate it! The local democratic actions council representatives of the poor and landless peasants have to decide the question of the allocation and use of the land! Promotion of voluntary agricultural cooperatives and the formation of larger state production units!*
** Where the infrastructure of the semi-colonies is still too weak: formation of village collectives to share the childcare and housework and hence to enable women to full employment!*
** Imperialist Great Powers: Hands off Syria, Libya, Iraq, Afghanistan, etc! Victory to the resistance struggle! Immediate end to all wars and occupations, withdrawal of all troops (including so-called "humanitarian operations") and dissolution of all local imperialist facilities! Against any form of interference – militarily, economically or politically!*

Forward to the revolutionary world party! For the building of a revolutionary women's movement! ■

The Minsk Agreement and the Civil War in the Ukraine

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 20.2.2015

The second Minsk Agreement, which was the result of intensive negotiations between Merkel, Hollande, and Putin, is neither the first nor will it be the last agreement that attempts to resolve the civil war in the Ukraine. This agreement does nothing more than codify the present military and political relation of forces characterized by a substantial advance of the pro-Russian Donbass republics and a chronic weakness of the pro-Western Poroshenko regime.

This development is reflected in Kiev's catastrophic loss of the strategically important town of Debalcevo which connects the capital cities of the two Donbass republics Donetsk and Lugansk. While President Poroshenko initially boasted that Debalcevo had become a "*Ukrainian Stalingrad*," the forces he stationed there – about 8,000–9,000 soldiers – had to capitulate after only a few days of fierce fighting during which 1,200–1,500 pro-Kiev soldiers were killed, many more were wounded, and up to 500 were taken prisoner. The Kiev forces in the inferno at Debalcevo had to abandon all of their artillery, the majority of their armor, as well as significant stores of ammunition. (1)

US and EU Imperialism Utilize the Reactionary Euromaidan Movement to Expand their Sphere of Influence

Let us first briefly recapitulate the developments which led to the present situation. In the summer of 2014, Ukraine's right-wing Kiev government launched a massive offensive against the so-called "people republics" in the eastern Donbass region. These republics emerged as a result of the local popular uprising against the pro-Western Euromaidan regime – a coalition of neoliberals, right-wing chauvinists, and fascists – which came to power in late February. US and EU imperialism actively promoted this takeover in order to replace the former pro-Russian Yanukovych government with a loyal pro-Western regime. This development is hardly surprising. On the backdrop of the accelerating rivalry between the great powers in the West and the East (mainly the US, EU, Japan, Russia and China), all imperialists try to advance their area of influence and to weaken those of their rivals.

The currently ruling regime led by President Poroshenko and Prime Minister Yatsenyuk is a right-wing neoliberal, pro-US/EU regime which – primarily – represents the oligarchs. In fact, Poroshenko himself is one of the richest oligarchs of the country and is widely known as the *Chocolate King* because of his large-scale confectionery business. His regime has a bonapartist-authoritarian character while nominally preserving a limited bourgeois democracy. While this government is not fascistic, it has integrated a number of Nazis in the state apparatus, since the latter played a key role in the Euromaidan takeover in the spring of 2014.

The Kiev regime is a complete lackey of Western imperialism. It is dutiful in subordinating the Ukraine to the dictates of the IMF and has applied for membership in NATO and the European Union. It is in the process of selling off the country's industry to Western corporations. Symbolic for this is the appointment in 2014 of Robert Hunter Biden, the son of US Vice President Joe Biden, to the board of the Ukrainian energy company Burisma Holdings.

Another manifestation of the Kiev government's pro-Western colonial character is the fact that three of its ministers were not even Ukrainian citizens until their appointment in December 2014. Natalie Ann Jaresko is a US investment banker who currently serves as Ukraine's Minister of Finance. Another US lackey is Alexander Kvitashvili, a former Minister of Health in the republic of Georgia under the pro-Western president Saakashvili. Finally, Aivaras Abromavičius, Kiev's Minister of Economy and Trade, is a Lithuanian-Ukrainian manager and investment banker.

Naturally, the current regime has a number of contradictions and faces several obstacles as a result of its latest military defeats in the civil war and the pressures by the US and EU imperialists. These defeats and the resulting need for the Poroshenko regime to sign humiliating agreements strengthen the extreme right-wing and fascist war party on the Ukrainian side. In addition, the tremendous social crisis resulting from the country's economic collapse accelerates the political tensions. As a result, there have been a number of conflicts inside the government as well as clashes between the government and fascists. Fascist forces led by Dmytro Yarosh, the leader of the Pravy Sektor and the Azov Battalion, have already called for the creation of a parallel General Staff commanding military units disloyal to President Poroshenko. It is said that up to 17 battalions, of albeit limited military strength, are already obeying them. (2)

Given the continuing military setbacks of the Kiev regime it is likely that the internal tensions and conflicts will substantially increase in the coming period.

A Popular Uprising in the Donbass Region which was Hijacked by Russian Imperialism

As we have outlined in previous documents, the uprising in the Donbass region in the spring of 2014 started as a *spontaneous reaction* to the right-wing takeover in Kiev. It was a democratic uprising because it was driven by the justified fears of the people in the east that they would be discriminated against by the new regime because of the latter's hatred for the Russian-speaking population in the east of the country. This hatred was manifested in one of the new regime's first acts: the abolition of Russian as an official language. These legitimate fears of oppression

were reinforced by the fact that the new regime included a number of open supporters of the Nazi-collaborator in WWII, Stepan Bandera. In addition, given the fact that the Donbass region is the industrial heartland of the Ukraine, the uprising had a proletarian character from the start.

Given the popular and democratic character of the uprising, the RCIT supported it during its first phase. We combined this support with sharp criticism of the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Donbass republics and a socialist program for expropriation of the oligarchs, national self-determination for all minorities, and working class power.

However, from the beginning the popular insurrection was hampered by the lack of significant revolutionary party which could have provided the masses with a socialist perspective. As a result, the Donbass leadership became dominated by Greater Russian chauvinists (including many Russian politicians and militia leaders). They worked to transform the Donbass republics into territory controlled by Russian imperialism. This process was contradictory because the uprising had a spontaneous character and remained chaotic and decentralized for a long time. One wing of Russia's monopoly capital, the "Eurasians" – who advocate an aggressive foreign policy to expand the Russian empire – supported the uprising as much as they could from the beginning and actually pushed for a full military Russian intervention. However, the Putin government, as such, did not follow a consistent line in its foreign policy.

The situation changed qualitatively when, in July-August 2014, the Ukrainian army gained huge military advances and brought the Donbass republics close to defeat. At that moment the Putin government decided to massively intervene. Moscow replaced the leadership of the People's Republics and put in charge Russian as well as pro-Russian politicians from the Donbass region who had a history of being loyal instruments of Moscow. In addition, the Putin government deployed thousands of troops in the eastern Ukraine thereby tipping the balance of forces and helping the Donbass republics regain substantial ground. In early September, Moscow imposed a ceasefire. The August intervention of the Russian imperialist state marked a qualitative turning point, as we have outlined in the RCIT's analysis of these events. (3)

From that moment on, the uprising has been transformed into one which is predominantly a tool of an imperialistic Russian foreign policy. This change has had important consequences for revolutionaries. From then, Marxists must continue the struggle for democratic rights, against the austerity attacks of the Kiev regime, and against the fascist threat without making a military bloc with the Donbass separatists. Instead, they have to pursue a dual defeatist position, i.e., to wage a struggle on two fronts: against the imperialist bourgeoisie of the US and EU and their Kiev marionette, as well as against Russian imperialism and their stooges at the head of the Donbass republics. Today, socialists have to combine the struggle for democratic and social rights and against the oligarchs and imperialist interference in the Ukraine and Donbass with an internationalist perspective for creating independent workers' republics and a voluntary federation between them.

The Minsk Agreement Reflects the Status of Forces on the Ground

The Minsk Agreement and the subsequent developments fully confirm the RCIT's analysis. It showed that while the US and EU imperialists basically share the same interests, there are also some contradictions between them. The EU's core powers – German and French imperialism – want a pacification of the civil war (a) in order to ensure an effective economic exploitation of the Ukraine and (b) in order not to damage too seriously the interests of the European monopolies which are already suffering from the escalation of economic sanctions against Russia. US imperialism on the other hand, whose economic stakes are much smaller in Eastern Europe and Russia, has a vested interest in exploiting the Ukrainian civil war in order to exacerbate the conflict with Russia. This, again, will make the European Union more dependent and subordinate to Washington given the EU's relative military weakness. In contrast to the US, neither Germany nor France could take on Russia militarily. So while Berlin and Paris hope to pacify the civil war via the Minsk Agreement, Washington wants to escalate the civil war and threatens a massive arming of the pro-Kiev Ukrainian forces.

In the short term, the fall of Debaltsevo does not necessarily annul the Minsk Agreement. Already during negotiations, Putin and the separatist representatives called upon the encircled Ukrainian troops to capitulate. (4) However, Poroshenko refused and even denied that his troops were encircled. As a result, the separatist forces, with the consent of Moscow, continued to advance towards Debaltsevo and finally succeeded in taking over the city. At the same time, until now the ceasefire has mostly been observed in the other areas along the front.

For several reasons, the Minsk Agreement was also a tactical success for Putin and the Donbass leadership. First, Kiev had to accept the international recognition of a line which reflects the rebel advances since the first Minsk Agreement was concluded in September 2014. Second, while the agreement does not recognize the formal independence of the Donetsk and Lugansk republics, it obliges Kiev to undertake constitutional reforms until the end of 2015 which would lead to widespread autonomy of the Donbass within the framework of nominally unitary Ukraine. It also includes the participation of the Donbass local self-governments in the nominating process for the office of prosecutor general and the courts in these regions. In addition, under the most recent Minsk Agreement, the currently existing Donbass militia is recognized as a law enforcement organization. Furthermore, Kiev recognized cross-border cooperation between the Donetsk and Lugansk regions with regions of the Russian Federation. (5)

Proxy War of Great Powers

In addition, the Minsk Agreement demonstrates once again the character of the military conflict in the eastern Ukraine as a proxy war of rival Great Powers. It is not the separatist leaders and the Kiev government which negotiated the agreement, but rather the leaders of the two biggest Western European imperialist nations opposite Russian imperialism on the behalf of the former. As we

have elaborated in our study of the civil war, this very fact demonstrates that the nature of the Donbass republics has been transformed and that their leadership has become agents of Russian imperialism – while the leaders in Kiev were agents of Western imperialism from their first day in power.

The RCIT has been criticized by various pseudo-Marxists for its analysis of Russia as a great imperialist power. (See the documents listed in the appendix.) Our opponents claim that Russia is a semi-colonial capitalist country. However the Ukrainian civil war shows once more how absurd this criticism is. As a matter of fact, Russia – with the support of imperialist China and their BRICS bloc – has been able to withstand the combined pressure of US and EU imperialism for more than a year. It was able to annex Crimea and to bring the east Ukraine under its control. Naturally, we can't know what future developments in this conflict will bring and – as has happened many times in history – great powers can also loose such conflicts and proxy wars. However, the past 12 months have shown that this is not a conflict between a weak country and the combined forces of world imperialism but rather a conflict reflecting the rivalry between two blocs of great powers.

Perspectives

Finally, it is important to recognize that, after nearly a year of discrimination, following the fascist massacres and the brutal war of the Kiev regime, it is extremely unlikely that the Donbass population will want to remain part of the same state. (6) Under such conditions, it is necessary to combine the struggle for working class power in the Ukraine, Donbass, and Russia with the call for the right of national self-determination for the Russian-speaking regions in the eastern Ukraine, including the right to form their own state.

It is very likely that the current situation following the latest Minsk Agreement will only last for a short period. One likely possibility is that it will be superseded by a new outbreak of civil war. However, this development could take a few months, since the Kiev forces, which are pathetically organized, whose soldiers are suffering from low morale, and which have to make good their massive losses of heavy arms, need some time to once again become battle-ready. In addition, one can assume that the separatist forces will also need time to recover from the very heavy fighting during the last two months. Another possibility, advocated by Moscow, is a resolution by the UN Security Council and a possible stationing of UN troops in the puffer zone.

Whatever will be the course of future developments, it is decisive that revolutionaries in the Ukraine and internationally take an independent, working class position in this conflict. They should fight both against Western as well as Russian imperialism as well as their proxies. They should combine this struggle with a socialist perspective of independent class struggle culminating in a program for workers republics.

We can summarize the RCIT program in the present situation in the following main slogans:

** Down with the reactionary, pro-Western imperialist regime in Kiev! Down with the Putin regime and its puppets in the Donbass republics!*

** For the right of national self-determination for the Russian-speaking regions including the right to form their own state! For a voluntary socialist federation of workers' republics!*

** Build workers' and popular councils and militias to defeat the reactionary regime in Kiev and Donetsk!*

** Down with US/EU imperialistic expansion towards the East! No to Russian imperialism!*

** Expropriate all oligarchs! For the nationalization of industries and the banks under workers' control!*

** Neither Brussels nor Moscow! For an independent workers' republic!*

Footnotes:

(1) See Colonel Cassad: The Debalcevo encirclement. Details, 19 February 2015, http://cassad-eng.livejournal.com/121733.html

(2) See Colonel Cassad: Yarosh and war, 13 February 2015, http://cassad-eng.livejournal.com/117396.html

(3) See Michael Pröbsting: The Uprising in East Ukraine and Russian Imperialism. An Analysis of Recent Developments in the Ukrainian Civil War and their Consequences for Revolutionary Tactics, 22.October 2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/ukraine-and-russian-imperialism/

(4) See e.g. Ian Traynor: Ukraine ceasefire aims to pave way for comprehensive settlement of crisis. If fragile agreement holds, ambitious political measures including a new Ukrainian constitution and special status for rebel-held areas should follow, 12 February 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/12/ukraine-ceasefire-aims-pave-way-comprehensive-settlement-crisis; see also Ivan Nechepurenko: Debaltseve was fatal flaw in Minsk agreement on Ukraine, The Moscow Times, 18. February 2015, http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/debaltseve-was-fatal-flaw-in-minsk-agreement-on-ukraine/516193.html

(5) On the content of the Minsk Agreement see e.g. Russkiy Malchik: Minsk-2 ceasefire: Preliminary analysis, 12. February 2015, http://newcoldwar.org/minsk-2-ceasefire-preliminary-analysis/; Marko Bojcun: Minsk II: Land for a ceasefire, but not for peace, 12.2.2015, http://observerukraine.net/2015/02/12/minsk-ii-land-for-a-ceasefire-but-not-for-peace/; Gleb Bazov: Minsk Agreement 2.0, News.Kremlin.Ru, 12. February 2015, http://slavyangrad.org/2015/02/12/minsk-agreement-2-0-february-12-2015/#more-4940

(6) See e.g. Courtney Weaver: School lessons and shelling forge new identity in east Ukraine, Financial Times, 13 February 2015 http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/e53188e8-b392-11e4-9449-00144feab7de.html

Appendix:

For our analysis of the civil war in the Ukraine, we refer readers to:

Michael Pröbsting: The Uprising in East Ukraine and Russian Imperialism. An Analysis of Recent Developments in the Ukrainian Civil War and their Consequences for Revolutionary Tactics, 22.October 2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/ukraine-and-russian-imperialism/

RCIT: After the Fascist Pogrom in Odessa: Advance the Struggle against the Counterrevolution in the Ukraine! Commemoration for the Fallen Fighters in the Struggle against the Counterrevolution! All Out for the International Day of Antifascist Solidarity on 8 May! 6.5.2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 23, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/after-odessa-pogrom/

RCIT: Counterrevolution and Mass Resistance in the Ukraine, 17.4.2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 22, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/mass-resistance-in-ukraine/

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(MAS, Russia): Ukraine: Rivalry between Imperialist Powers escalates after Right-Wing Coup: Stop the Imperialist Saber-Rattling! 2.3.2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 21, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/ukraine-war-threats/

MAS: Ukraine/Russia: The victory over the imperialist colonialism is impossible without the proletarian revolution! in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 21, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/mas-declaration-5-3-2014/

RCIT and MAS: Right-Wing Forces Take Power in the Ukraine: Mobilize the Working Class against the New Government! 25.2.2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 19, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/right-wing-coup-in-ukraine/

MAS: No to the Terror of the Bandera-Fascists! Stop the Repression against the Communists of Ukraine! 22.2.2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 19, http://www.nuevomas.blogspot.co.at/2014/02/no-to-terror-of-bandera-fascists-stop.html

RCIT: "Ukraine: Neither Brussels nor Moscow! For an independent Workers' Republic!" 18.12.2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 18, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/ukraine-neither-brussels-nor-moscow/

For an outline of our approach to the complex issues of progressive struggles and imperialist interference see:

Michael Pröbsting: Liberation struggles and imperialist interference. The failure of sectarian "anti-imperialism" in the West: Some general considerations from the Marxist point of view and the example of the democratic revolution in Libya in 2011, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 5, September 2012, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/liberation-struggle-and-imperialism/

On imperialism in general and Western imperialism in particular, we refer readers to:

Michael Pröbsting: *The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism*, 2013, 448 pages, (The book has 448 pages and includes 139 Tables and Figures), http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/; in March 2014 the publishing house PROMEDIA published a shortened German-language translation of this book (see: http://www.mediashop.at/typolight/index.php/buecher/items/michael-proebsting---der-grosse-raub-im-sueden; The title is: *Der Grosse Raub im Süden. Ausbeutung im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*). A summary of the book can be read here: http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/great-robbery-summary/

Michael Pröbsting: Imperialism, Globalization and the Decline of Capitalism, Originally published in the Book Richard Brenner, Michael Pröbsting, Keith Spencer: The Credit Crunch - A Marxist Analysis (2008), http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-and-globalization/

On Russian imperialism:

Michael Pröbsting: Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and the Rise of Russia as a Great Power. On the Understanding and Misunderstanding of Today's Inter-Imperialist Rivalry in the Light of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism. Another Reply to Our Critics Who Deny Russia's Imperialist Character, August 2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russia/

Michael Pröbsting: Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire – A Reply to our Critics, 18 March 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 21, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/

Michael Pröbsting: Russia and China as Great Imperialist Powers. A Summary of the RCIT's Analysis, 28 March 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 22, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-china-and-russia/

Michael Pröbsting: More on Russia and China as Great Imperialist Powers. A Reply to Chris Slee (Socialist Alliance, Australia) and Walter Daum (LRP, USA), 11 April 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 22, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-slee-on-russia-china/

On inter-imperialist rivalry:

In addition to the publications on imperialism listed above, we refer readers to:

RCIT: On the 100th Anniversary of the Outbreak of World War I: The Struggle against Imperialism and War. The Marxist Understanding of Modern Imperialism and the Revolutionary Program in Light of the Increasing Rivalry between the Great Powers, Revolutionary Uprisings, and Counterrevolutionary Setbacks, 25.6.2014, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/struggle-vs-imperialism-war/

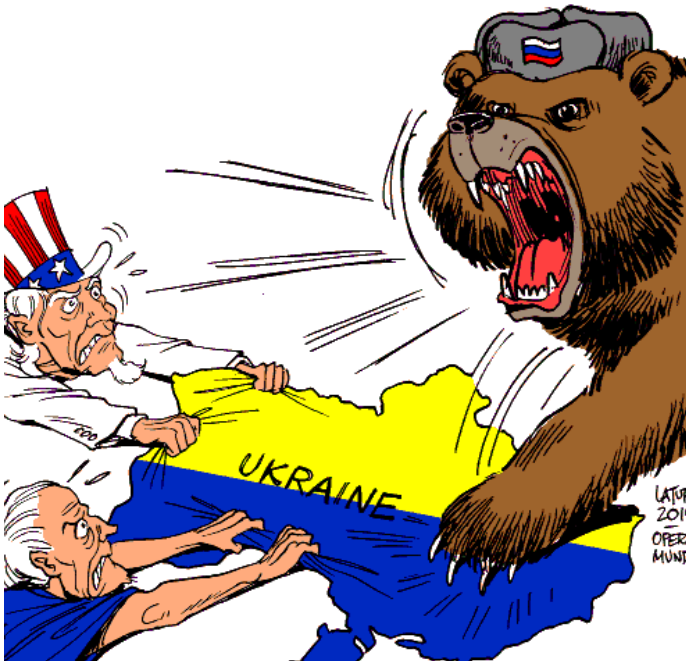
RCIT: Escalation of Inner-Imperialist Rivalry Marks the Opening of a New Phase of World Politics. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation Adopted by the RCIT's International Executive Committee, April 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* (English-language Journal of the RCIT) No. 22, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-april-2014/

RCIT: Aggravation of Contradictions, Deepening of Crisis of Leadership. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation Adopted by the RCIT's International Executive Committee, 9.9.2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 15, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-september2013/

RCIT: The World Situation and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Communists. Theses of the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, March 2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 8, www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-march-2013

Michael Pröbsting: China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4, http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4

Michael Pröbsting: No to chauvinist war-mongering by Japanese and Chinese imperialism! Chinese and Japanese workers: Your main enemy is at home! Stop the conflict on the Senkaku/Diaoyu-islands in the East China Sea! 23.9.2012,in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 6, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/no-war-between-china-and-japan/ ■



Greece: No to the Surrender of the SYRIZA Leadership! Break with the EU! For a Workers Government!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 26.2.2015

1. Negotiations with the EU (Troika) are now concluded. The leadership around Tspiras has betrayed the interests of workers and the poor of Greece yet again. SYRIZA was elected on a mandate not to implement neo-liberal austerity policies. SYRIZA has ignored their mandate of no austerity policies and carried out the wishes of the EU. Tspiras has agreed that privatisations and austerity measures, agreed by the last government, will be not be reversed unilaterally by the SYRIZA government if they have – according to the EU, ECB and IMF – "*negative consequences for the budget, economic growth or financial stability.*" During the election campaign the SYRIZA leadership promised a substantial debt cancellation. SYRIZA has now gone back on its word and now recognises the legitimacy of all debts and has undertaken to repay them. While the "*Troika*" has been renamed to "*Institutions*", the essence of the regime remains: the Greek government must present their entire economic and social programme to the European powers for approval. Moreover the Tspiras leadership has promised the EU leaders that SYRIZA will now privatise the State Utility PPC and the network operator ADMIE. So Tspiras and his advisers return from their meetings with the *International Monetary Fund*, the *European Central Bank* and the *European Commission* accepting their demands for privatisation of public enterprises, having offered no opposition whatsoever to the EU financiers. Imperialist predators, companies in China and Italy, are eager to take advantage of the privatisation of the PPC and ADMIE. The sale of a proportion of state assets is just the beginning of the privatisations of state owned companies which Tspiras has agreed to. (1) The agreed extension of financial support from the EU of 240 billion Euros is sufficient reward for the imperialist sharks waiting in the wings. (2) This was reflected by the soar of the Greek stock market by 10% at the conclusion of the negotiations. (3).

2. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) has warned in its statements of the imminent betrayal of SYRIZA. We stated this already well before the election of the 25th January. (4) The broad support amongst sections of the population for a SYRIZA government – opinion polls reported 65%-80% (5) – is based on SYRIZA's campaign promises included a refusal to carry out the required cuts in public services and privatisations insisted upon by the EU governments. The RCIT's warnings, not to put any false illusions in election promises by SYRIZA, have been confirmed with the criminal popular front policy which SYRIZA has conducted by its alliance with the racist right wing party ANEL as well as the recent election of a leading politician of *Nea Dimokratia* (ND), the main conservative party of the Greek bourgeoisie, as the new President of Greece. Prokopis Pavalopoulos, nominated by of SYRIZA as President, was for five and half years Minister of the Interior in the conservative Karamanlis Government, known for numerous scandals and corruption. Indeed, the Tsipras leadership does not miss an opportunity to demonstrate to the Greek and European bourgeoisie their service as lackeys!

3. The *Left Platform* – the left wing of SYRIZA which assembles about 1/3 of the party's parliamentary faction – has protested only moderately against Tsipras criminal policy until now. For example it voted in parliament for SYRIZA's coalition with the right wing racists as well as for the election of a conservative President. However the resentment among SYRIZA activists is reflected in the conflicts inside the party's leadership and parliamentary faction. SYRIZA MEP Manli Glasoz, a 94 resistance fighter against the Nazis in the 2nd World war, is typical of many responses to the Tspiras leadership "*From my part I apologize to the Greek people for having assisted in this illusion. Before we continue in the wrong direction, before it's too late, let's react. Above all, the members, the friends and supporters of SYRIZA, in urgent meetings at all levels of the organization, have to decide if they accept this situation. Some people say that in an agreement you also have to make some concessions. But as a matter of principle, between the oppressor and the oppressed there can be no compromise, as there can be no compromise between the slave and the tyrant. Freedom is the only solution.*" (6)

4. In particular, resistance is forming against the latest deal with the European Union. Even Finance Minister Yanis Varoufakis gave an interview in which he said "*our position is very simple: the sellout of the family silverware [i.e. Greek state assets] in humiliating prices, and in a way that does not provide growth-momentum for the economy, needs to stop.*" The minister of Energy Panagiotis Lafazanis finished even bidding process for the state energy company PPC. At the same time we must not forget that it was Finance Minis-

ter Vardoulakis, who warned against the radical utopia to abolish capitalism. According to Vardoulakis we should rather apply the principle: "*… a repugnant European capitalism whose implosion, despite its many ills, should be avoided at all costs.*" He continues: "*If this means that it is we, the suitably erratic Marxists, who must try to save European capitalism from itself, so be it.*" (7) There are now more critical voices even in the highest circles in the party. But these left wing leaders argue over the details of the sell out because basically they support the cooperation with the EU and the continuation of austerity in Greece. The unpredictable Marxist proves to be predictably a supporter of capitalism instead.

5. The central task is now to build a left-wing, revolutionary faction inside SYRIZA amongst the rank and file activists, who will continually fight against the adaption of the Tspiras leadership to the bourgeoisie. This faction should be composed of all honest activists and fighters in SYRIZA who want to implement an authentic proletarian policy inside SYRIZA. This left wing should carry out sharp criticism of the right-wing course of the leadership. All MP's of the *Left Platform* must vote against anti-worker policies. Manlis Glasov's call for assemblies of the rank and file should be supported and used to deal a blow against the treacherous policy of Tspiras leadership. It is high time to build a left-wing opposition which is willing to break with the party leadership und to unite with all revolutionary forces inside and outside of SYRIZA to build a new, revolutionary workers party.

6. To build such a left wing on a solid foundation it is necessary to organise politically the most advanced sections in the party on the basis of a revolutionary alternative and to put a number of demands to the Tspiras leadership. Only by this united front policy can we build amongst the popular masses of the Greek population. The danger is that if socialists fail in this task, the fascists forces of '*Golden Dawn*' will profit from this and grow massively. Socialists must be aware of the wrong tracks of the left-reformist and centrist forces who seek to disarm the working class and disorient it. The workers vanguard must prepare for a new phase of struggle for proletarian power leading to the seizure of power and the beginning of a socialist revolution.

The RCIT is calling for support for the following demands:

** Immediate termination of all negotiations with the EU including the IMF, ECB etc.! For Greece to immediately leave the EU!*

** For a broad pan-European movement of solidarity with our Greek class brothers and sisters organised by the workers movement in Europe. For the cancellation of all debts of Greece through strikes and a general strike!*

** SYRIZA to sever its alliance with ANEL and end all popular front policies! No support for Nea Dimokratia or other non-proletarian parties!*

** For the building of Action Committees for the struggle against the memorandum policy. For mass demonstrations, for a general strike and for factory occupations!*

** For a Workers Government based on action committees in proletarian districts and villages! For properly trained defence guards to protect workers and their families! All workers parties and trade unions – GSEE, ADEY, PAME, KKE, SYRZA, DIMAR and ANTARSYA – must support such a government!*

** No to further privatisation! Any privatisations carried out to be redeemed and put back under state control! Expropriate the super-rich in Greece including the owners of major shipping companies! Create a single state bank under workers control!*

It is necessary to build a revolutionary party in Greece. This revolutionary party must fight for a way out of the capitalist crisis. It must orientate towards an armed uprising of the masses. We need a socialist revolution in Greece and throughout Europe.

We appeal to all honest revolutionaries in Greece and elsewhere who want to implement this policy to join the RCIT.

Footnotes:

(1) Left wing nagging on Greek deal, Tsipras walks tightrope, 25 February 2015, http://www.thetoc.gr/eng/politics/article/left-wing-nagging-on-greek-deal-tsipras-walks-tightrope

(2) Gabriele Steinhauser: Doubts Shadow Greek Bailout, Wall Street Journal, 25 February 2015, http://www.wsj.com/articles/greek-bailout-extension-approved-by-eurozone-finance-ministers-1424764737

(3) ibid

(4) See numerous statements of the RCIT like "Greek Elections: SYRIZA Wins … and Forms an Alliance with Reactionary Racists!, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/greece-syriza-anel", "Greece: Which perspectives after SYRIZA's election victory?, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/after-the-greek-elections", "Elections in Greece: Vote SYRIZA but Don't Trust the Tsipras Leadership!, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/greece-election-statement", "Greece: The lack of leadership. Perspectives of the revolution! www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/greece-revolution-or-tragedy", and many other at www.thecommunists.net

(5) Isidoros Diakides: Greek drama: A preliminary review of the first four weeks of the SYRIZA government, http://links.org.au/node/4305

(6) Manolis Glezos: Glezos denounces Greek loan agreement as "illusion", 22 February 2015, http://roarmag.org/2015/02/glezos-greek-bailout-illusion/

(7) Yanis Varoufakis: How I became an erratic Marxist, www.theguardian.com/news/2015/feb/18/yanis-varoufakis-how-i-became-an-erratic-marxist ■

Cartoon by LATUFF 2015

Freedom and Self-Determination for Kosova!

Down with the Government of Isa Mustafa Hashim Thaçi, Lackeys for the Rich and Imperialism!

Johannes Wiener and Ime Berisha, Austrian Section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 31.01.2015

In Kosova, during the last few weeks, there have been increasingly severe clashes between police and demonstrators. Police have used tear gas and water cannon against the masses of protesters, who tried to take over and occupy government buildings, resulting in the smashing of all the windows on the lower floor of the Kosova parliament. According to official figures, thus far 56 policemen and dozens of protesters have been injured in street battles and more than 100 demonstrators have been arrested. Among those detained by police was the mayor of Prishtinë, Shpend Ahmeti.

The protesters justifiably took to the streets to vent their anger against the racist statements of the (Serbian) Labor Minister of Kosova, Jablanović who dubbed as "*savages*" the mothers of Albanian victims of the war and other demonstrators. The demonstrators attempted to prevent a group of Serbs from accessing an Orthodox monastery in Gjakova, alleging that some of them were war criminals. During the Independence War, a series of war crimes were committed against Albanians in Gjakova.

The demonstrators also demanded nationalization of the Trepca mines, rich in deposits of lead, zinc, cadmium, silver, gold, and other metals. The Trepca mines are still not controlled by the state of Kosova. The Serbian government in Belgrade claims that 50% of the mines are owned by the Serbian Development Fund, and that the remaining half are owned by Serbian companies. Currently, some of the mines are under Serbian control while others are controlled by the Albanians. The Trepca mines lie along the border between the south of Kosova, with an Albanian majority, and the north inhabited by Serbs.

National Oppression

The Serb minority constitutes only 4–8% of the residents of Kosova, while Albanians represent 88–92% of the population; 4–5% belongs to other ethnic minorities (Bosniaks, Gorani, Roma, Turk, Ashkali, etc.). The Serbian minority in the north of Kosova does not recognize the government of the overwhelming Albanian majority in Prishtinë and refuses to cooperate with it in any way. Instead, they remain faithful to the Serbian government in Belgrade and do not accept the independence of Kosova. However, the overwhelming majority of Kosova want its independence and are prepared to defend it. This is not surprising, given the horrific crimes that Serbian militarism and fascism have committed not only against the Albanians of Kosova, but also against the Bosniaks.

This suppression began with the occupation of Kosovo by Serbia in 1913 and continued until the end of the Serbian occupation in 1999. During this time, the Albanians always constituted the majority of the population and demanded an end to their national oppression.

In mid-January, Kosova's parliament was scheduled to ratify the transfer of ownership of the Trepca mines entirely into the hands of the state. However, the vote was

Protests against the gouvernment in Pristina

postponed, most probably due to vast pressure exerted by both the US embassy and the Serbian government. Currently, Serbia does not recognize the independence of Kosova and sees it simply as a breakaway Serbian province.

The workers and oppressed of Kosova who have taken to the streets are justifiably demonstrating against the government of Isa Mustafa, who is not defending the tiny state's independence but rather is collaborating against the interests of the working class and all the people of his country.

Perspectives for the Movement

The RCIT is clearly on the side of the protesters and their demonstrations. These protests are a step in the right direction! It is extremely important that the militant demonstrations be linked with workers' strikes, thereby forcing the LDK-PDK-SL government to its knees. The movement should be oriented towards the masses, and *not* the corrupt parliament of Kosova, dependent as it is on EU and US. Therefore, committees should be established in Kosova's factories, neighborhoods, and villages, to decide which steps the movement should take. Such committees should be like the town hall meetings that took place last March during the uprisings in Bosnia. But, unlike what took place in Bosnia, they should *not* be oriented to the university and the intellectuals, but to the working class, the youth, the unemployed, and the poor peasants!

As such workers' or people's committees gain influence, they should, step by step, begin addressing issues of management and production, as well as fighting corruption and the local Mafia. They should expect nothing from the government of Kosova, which is corrupt and only serves EU and US imperialism. The Trepca mines should immediately be nationalized without compensation and placed under the control of the working men and women. They should be run for the prosperity of the people of Kosova and *not* for the profits of a few large corporations. In addition, the property of all foreign corporations should immediately be nationalized under the control of men and women workers.

No to Nationalism!

Foster no hatred against Serbs! Even if, in the name of the Serbian nation, horrible crimes have been committed against the Kosova Albanians, nationalism is not the solution. This will only drive Serbian working men and women even further into the arms of the Serbian nationalists. The main problem is not anti-Serbian bias among Albanians, but Serbian racism turned against Albanians and other non-Serbs. We are for an internationalist policy that assures all nations and national minorities equal rights, while not remaining silent about the crimes of Serbian nationalism! For the Albanian working men and women, the rich and the corrupt Albanian politicians are neither friends nor allies! We are for a movement of the Serbian working class which is directed against Serbian nationalism, and which recognizes the crimes committed in their name and assures all the peoples of the Balkans full rights and the redress of grievances. Long live international solidarity with all oppressed!

The negotiations of Kosova with the EU and Serbia should be discontinued. Kosova is an independent state and no province of Serbia – this point is non-negotiable. No to EU membership – freedom and self-determination must not be subordinated to the interests of the EU's major corporations. For the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops! KFOR does not protect Kosova against Serbia, but ensures that Kosova remains subordinate to the EU and US imperialism. Any aggression of Serbia against Kosova should be met by arming the people to defend their independence!

Left-Nationalist Party *Vetevendosje*

Today, the movement in Kosova is primarily organized by the left-nationalist *Vetevendosje* (self-determination) party. We call on *Vetevendosje* not to enter into any deal with the government and on the other hand not to stoke hatred against the Serbs. The rank and file members of *Vetevendosje* need to adopt a truly socialist perspective, i.e., one in which it is the workers and the poor who gain power for themselves. Only then can self-determination of the masses of Kosova truly be achieved.

True socialism has nothing to do with Stalinism or Titoism, but rather is the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky in which the desires and rights of oppressed peoples are always respected. You, workers and oppressed of Kosova, are in the forefront of the struggle for national self-determination of all oppressed peoples!

For the convening of a Kosova-wide conference of militant, revolutionary activists! Such a conference should establish a revolutionary socialist organization, based on the points detailed above. The RCIT seeks the closest possible cooperation and international union with all revolutionaries in Kosova!

For a free, truly independent, and red Kosova!

Sources:

http://www.tageswoche.ch/de/2015_05/international/678927/

http://news.yahoo.com/37-injured-kosovo-protest-against-serbs-savages-jibe-202150014.html

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Austria: Solidarity Campaign with Muslim Migrants Attracts Wide Attention

Report of the Revolutionary Communist Organization LIBERATION (Austrian Section of the RCIT), 10.2.2015

As we recently reported, the Austrian section of the RCIT is deeply involved in a solidarity campaign with Muslim migrants in this country and throughout Europe who are facing a huge wave of Islamophobic racism. (1) Our campaign, "*Equal Rights for Muslims*," involves activities which target the many forms of discrimination against Muslim migrants in Austria.

"*Equal Rights for Muslims*" has gained much renown, having become very popular among Muslim migrants themselves as well as among many progressive Austrian workers and youth. As we have previously reported, this popularity led to a situation in which the umbrella organization of the Muslim migrant associations nominated our comrade, Michael Pröbsting – International Secretary of the RCIT, as one of their two speakers at a recent mass demonstration against racism. While the left-reformist and centrist bureaucrats repeatedly tried to block Pröbsting from speaking by any means available, ultimately they had to give in and allow him to be among the speakers. (2)

One of the solidarity actions of our "*Equal Rights for Muslims*" campaign has become particularly well known. Comrades of the Austrian section – among them Marek Hangler, one the section's leaders and the organizer of our campaign – visited a mosque which had been vandalized by local Nazis who desecrated the place by graffitying swastikas on it. Our comrades were warmly welcomed and helped the Muslim brothers and sisters remove the swastikas. This action was widely reported. In fact, the Turkish Radio and TV-Station TRT (which is the Turkish equivalent of the BBC in Britain) published a report with excerpts from an interview they conducted with Marek Hangler. (3)

In addition, *KURIER*, one of the large daily papers in Austria, also dedicated an entire article to Marek Hangler and our other comrades' action. (4)

All this publicity is a clear sign that our solidarity campaign addresses a central issue of the current political situation: the ongoing imperialist offensive against the popular masses in the Middle East and against the Muslim migrants in Europe aimed at increasing the super-profits from their exploitation. (5)

Sources:

(1) See RKO BEFREIUNG: Austria: Mass Demonstration Stops Right-Wing Racist March against Muslim Migrants. Report (with Photos and Videos) from a Hugely Successful Intervention by the Austrian Section of the RCIT, 4.2.2015, www.rkob.net, http://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/austria-mass-demo-against-islamophobia/

(2) See the video of comrade Pröbsting's speech at http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/anti-pegida-2-2-2015/. You can view photos from the demonstration at http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/anti-pegida-2-2-2015/

(3) See http://www.trtturk.com/video/detay/avusturyali-gencten-ornek-davranis-9104.html

(4) KURIER: "Pegida ist in Österreich obsolet", 05.02.2015, http://kurier.at/chronik/wien/pegida-ist-in-oesterreich-obsolet/112.000.838

(5) On this, see RCIT: Perspectives for the Class Struggle in Light of the Deepening Crisis in the Imperialist World Economy and Politics. Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation and Perspectives Ahead (January 2015), Theses 39-74, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-january-2015/ ■

Rebecca Stauder (left) and Marek Hangler (right), organizers of the solidarity campaign and leaders of the RKOB

Resignation from Socialist Fight (Britain) and Joining the RCIT

A Statement by Laurence Humphries (27.02.2015)

Note by the Editorial Board: The following statement of comrade Laurence Humphries has been sent to Socialist Fight, a small centrist group in Britain.

* * * * *

Comrades, I formally resign from the Socialist Fight Group and the LCFI. I have returned by Post all financial documentation (Cheque Books, Paying Books statements etc.) to comrade Gerry Downing at his London address. I have joined the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and therefore I will not be attending the Socialist Fight Central Committee Meeting to be held on Saturday March 7th in London. I will be part of the RCIT delegation attending the open sessions of the 2nd Socialist Fight Conference on April 11th and 12th.
My reasons for resignation are as follows.
1. Characterisation of Russia and China as Semi Colonial Countries: Socialist Fight is wrong to call for an Anti-United Imperialist Front which is nothing more than a Social Imperialist position (supporting one Imperialist Bloc Russia and China). The RCIT has used comprehensive empirical evidence and the Marxist method to show that Russia and China are new rival powers of imperialism. The RCIT advocates revolutionary dual defeatism. Which means that they refuse to support any of the imperialist Powers in the Conflict. (Russia, China, USA, EU Countries and Japan). [1]
2. Greece and SRIZA: The LCFI's statement on Greece was a sectarian statement by refusing to give critical support to Syriza instead advocating voting for OKDE and EEK small Pseudo-Trotskyist organizations. The RCIT correctly applied the United Front tactic in giving Syriza a critical vote in the coming Elections. The RCIT again called for the development of a left wing formation inside Syriza with the possibility of an entry tactic in Syriza together with the following slogans:
a) Cancel all Debts, b) Nationalise Key Corporations without paying compensation, c) Leave the Euro Zone, d) Increase the Minimum wage, e) Equality for all Migrants (Full Citizen rights –right to have their native Language), f) For a Workers Government based on workers Councils which will organise the workers and Popular Masses and establish an armed Workers militia. [2]
3. Ukraine: The LCFI Statement on the Minsk ceasefire is very confusing and wrong. The RCIT has shown that the Donbass and Donetsk republics were heavily infiltrated by Russian agents deployed by Putin. "*From early April onwards a wave of Russian politicians and fighters joined the uprising and – irrespective of their inner conflicts – increasingly centralized and took over the uprising.*". [3] You assert: "*We do not call for the overthrow of the Donbass leadership in the circumstances of this civil war until they have exposed themselves as anti-working class AND collaborators with imperialism and the class has grown in strength and class consciousness to overthrow them with a revolutionary socialist leadership that can appeal to the working class in western Ukraine, in Russia and the whole region and the world to rally to their cause and the cause of international socialism.*" [4]. This is adaption to Russian chauvinism. The social imperialist line which the LCFI advocates is support for Russian imperialism whereas the RCIT advocates the dual defeatist position for the defeat of all imperialist forces whether they are east or west. Concrete demands are "*The central task was to build councils of action based on regular mass assemblies in places of work and Neighbourhoods, equally such democratic mass organisations should control the workers and popular Militias*".[5].
4. Brazil: In Socialist Fight no 18 there was a statement by Liga Communista, the LCFI section in Brazil, which advocated 'a United Popular Front' and not an Anti-Imperialist United Front. The RCIT section in Brazil (Corrente Communista Revolucionara) advocated a United Front and called "*the rank and file workers of the PT and CUT [to] force their leaderships to break all associations with the PMDB and the other bourgeois allies and mobilize for the expropriation of big business, the media, and the banks, and their placement under workers' control*". [6]. "The united front is in clear opposition to the rotten method of popular frontism as practiced

Bolshevik Leaders Vladimir Lenin and Leo Trotsky

by various leftist organizations, either covertly like the PSOL or overly like the LC.". [7]. who campaigned for a vote for Roussef, the PT candidate in the Presidential Elections. The CCR took a defeatist position and campaigned for a no vote or null vote in the Presidential Elections.

5. Socialist Fight in Britain remains a centrist group on the periphery of the working class which adapts to the labour aristocracy, the upper stratum mostly organised in Trade Unions in Britain, and this usually involves supporting rank and file candidates against the bureaucratic apparatus. It has very little contact with the middle or lower stratum of workers many who are not organised in trade unions and are either migrants or from layers of workers from the global south. The RCIT has demonstrated in practice through its sections in Pakistan and Sri Lanka that it can attract workers, poor farmers and peasants from the south which now comprises the biggest proletarian base in the world.

For all these reasons I join the RCIT and will commit my resources to build a section in Britain. I call other comrades in Socialist Fight to join me in this task.

Footnotes:

(1) See on this RCIT: On the 100th Anniversary of the Outbreak of World War I: The Struggle against Imperialism and War, 25.6.2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No 24, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/struggle-vs-imperialism-war/ as well as RCIT: Russia as a Great Imperialist Power. , 18 March 2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No 21, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-russia/

(2) RCIT: Elections in Greece: Vote SYRIZA but Don't Trust the Tsipras Leadership! 22.1.2015, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No 31, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/greece-election-statement/

(3) RCIT: The Uprising in East Ukraine and Russian Imperialism, 22.10.2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No 28, http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/ukraine-and-russian-imperialism/

(4) Socialist Fight: The Minsk Agreement and the fall of Debaltseve, 22.2.2015, in: Socialist Fight No. 19, http://socialistfight.com/2015/02/23/the-minsk-agreement-and-the-fall-of-debaltseve/

(5) RCIT: The Uprising in East Ukraine and Russian Imperialism

(6) Corrente Comunista Revolucionária (RCIT Brazil): Brazil: Right-Wing Opposition threatens with a Coup d®État, 18.11.2014, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No 31, http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-coup-danger/

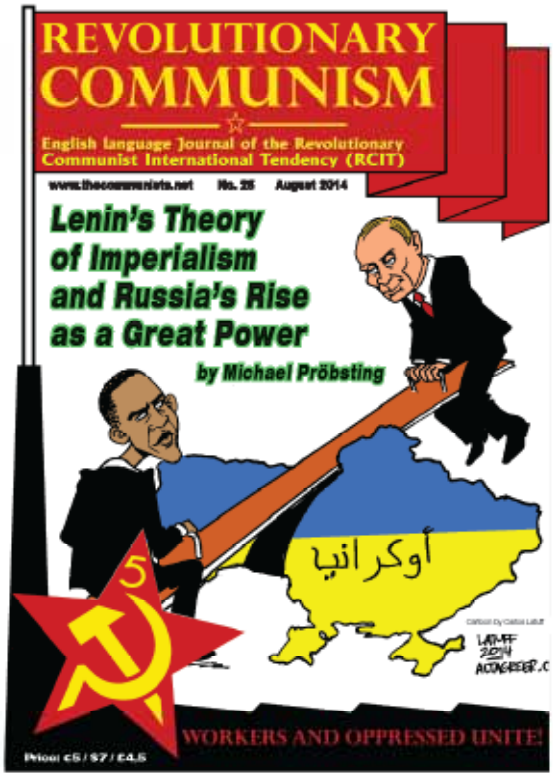
(7) ibid ■

Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT during a protest in Solidarity with the resistance against Sisi

NEW RCIT PUBLICATIONS ON RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM!

Russia as a Great Imperialist Power

By Michael Pröbsting, March 2014



Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and the Rise of Russia as a Great Power

By Michael Pröbsting, August 2014

Liberation Struggles and Imperialist Interference

The failure of sectarian "anti-imperialism" in the West: Some general considerations from the Marxist point of view and the example of the democratic revolution in Libya in 2011

By Michael Pröbsting, Autumn 2012

Below we are republishing one of our earlier essays which deals with the complex relationship of national and democratic liberation struggles in which imperialist powers interfere. The essay analyzes this question from both a theoretical as well as historical point of view, and defends the Marxist approach to such situations against various petty-bourgeois criticisms. The latter half of the essay applies the authentic Marxist method utilized by the RCIT to examine concrete events which took place during the popular uprising in Libya.

This essay was originally written and published in the autumn of 2012. Naturally, since then there have been more cases of conflicts and liberation struggles in which imperialist powers have attempted to interfere (Syria, Ukraine, etc.). Using the same method which we outline in this essay, these more recent cases have been analyzed by us to derive the appropriate tactics that should be adopted by revolutionary Marxists, and have been published in earlier editions of the RCIT's journal Revolutionary Communism. Therefore, we will not deal specifically with these more recent cases, but refer our readers to the respective statements published earlier.

We should only add here that, since the original writing and publication of the article, events in Libya have completely confirmed our analysis. As is well-known, those pseudo-"anti-imperialists" who defended the dictator Gaddafi at the time of the popular uprising against him and his regime – who behind their "anti-imperialism" are actually hiding their pro-Russian and pro-Chinese social-imperialism – predicted that NATO's military intervention would transform Libya into a Western colony. Contrary to these fantasies, the unfinished democratic revolution in Libya led to the killing of the US ambassador and the flight of the embassies of all the great Western powers from the country. These events do not deny the setbacks and difficulties for the completion of the revolution caused by the competing petty-bourgeois and bourgeois leaderships of nationalist and Islamist persuasions. Only the formation of a revolutionary party which can lead the working class on the road of class struggle to the socialist revolution can push aside these obstacles.

Our decision to republish the essay at this time, following some English language editing, is due to our conviction that the method of analysis described herein is a vital resource which allows revolutionary Marxists to correctly evaluate extremely complex political and military situations and to derive the appropriate tactics in world increasingly torn by imperialism's attempts to interfere in struggles for liberation.

* * * * *

The new historic period which dawned in 2007/08 with the start of the largest economic crisis of the capitalist world since 1929 has also witnessed deep ruptures and changes in the political and military arenas. The revolutionary character of this historic period is expressed in the dramatic acceleration of class contradictions, and some of the most important features of this period are the Arab Revolution which started in early 2011 and the emergence of a new imperialist Great Power – China.

This acceleration and deepening of class contradictions only exacerbates the dramatic crisis of lack of leadership for the working class and the oppressed. For more than six decades – since the political and organizational collapse of the Fourth International in 1948-53 – the proletariat is without a world party of socialist revolution. Consequently, during these years the numerous struggles and revolutions of the workers and oppressed in the semi-colonial, Stalinist, and imperialist countries were consistently mislead by petty-bourgeois leaderships. The latter, it goes without saying, had no interest in overthrowing regimes and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This crisis of leadership is particularly pronounced in the new historical period through which we are living because, like in the case of the Arab Revolution, struggles are increasingly characterized by a seemingly contradictory constellation of forces: just democratic revolutions and national liberation struggles are mingled with the interference of this or that imperialist power. This phenomenon is even more prominent because of the intense rivalry between the great imperialist powers –the US, the EU, China, and Russia – is increasingly influencing a number of conflicts in the South. As a result, we can only expect that, during this new historical period, democratic liberation civil wars and national defensive wars of semi-colonial countries will increasingly be intertwined, in one way or another, with imperialist interests, interference, and rivalry.

It is therefore incumbent that workers' organizations and activists implement a correct understanding of Marxist principles when concretely analyzing a given war or conflict. Only in this way will it be possible to develop sound revolutionary tactics in the interest of the international working class.

The Arab Revolution and the imperialist interference in it, for example, created much confusion in the ranks of progressive movements. Many such movements adapted themselves to the pressure of pro-Western propaganda, while others joined the counter-revolutionary camp of the Gaddafi or Assad regimes, incorrectly seeing them as "anti-imperialist." We have already dealt with a number of these positions and arguments in our book on the Arab Revolution. [1]

In the following article we want to expound in further detail the Bolshevik-Communist approach to the combined tasks of analysis and the derivation of tactics, and to defend this approach in light of various arguments put forth

by pro-regime, anti-revolution, and ostensibly "anti-imperialist" camp. Specifically, we will counter various arguments and myths regarding the Libyan Revolution.

We are anti-imperialist because we take the stance of the working class … and not the other way around

Let us start by briefly presenting the general method by which the RCIT approaches national democratic liberation struggles in semi-colonial countries accompanied by imperialist interference. We have summarized our method in our programme *The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto*: "*Particularly, where authoritarian regimes or the military openly trample on democratic rights, mass movements rise and fight with determination for their rights. Other states and even great imperialist powers try to exploit such domestic crises and are only too happy to expand their influence. The Bolsheviks-Communists support any real movement of the popular masses against the suppression of democratic rights. We reject any influence of reactionary forces and defend the national sovereignty of semi-colonial countries against imperialism. This can not mean that revolutionaries renounce the support of revolutionary-democratic movement. In reality, the imperialist meddling is no help for the revolutionary-democratic struggle, but threatens to undermine it. That is why we have supported progressive liberation struggles of the masses against dictatorships, but at the same time rejected sharply imperialist interventions. (E.g. the struggle of the Bosnians 1992-95, the Kosovo Albanians in 1999, the uprising against the Gaddafi dictatorship in Libya in 2011). Only when the imperialist intervention is becoming the dominant feature of the political situation, revolutionaries must subordinate the democratic struggle to the fight against such an intervention.*

Similarly, this is the case in the still-existing degenerated workers states (such as Cuba or North Korea). We support real mass movement against the ruling bureaucracy (such as those in Eastern Europe, China and the USSR, 1989-91) and advocate for political revolution. However, we defend the achievements of the workers' state (planning, state ownership, foreign trade monopoly, etc.) against any attempt for the introduction of capitalism." [2]

Let us now elaborate this approach. Many leftists fail to understand the correct relationship between anti-imperialism and international working class solidarity. We are anti-imperialist precisely *because* we consistently support the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples desiring liberation, the biggest enemy of which is imperialism. *Our anti-imperialism is a consequence of our fundamental position on the class struggle and not an overriding principle, which hovers above the class struggle*.

This is why Marxists are capable of coming to positions dependent on the class interests of the international working class which are entirely independent of imperialist and petty-bourgeois "public opinion." This is why we don't get confused when the imperialist and petty-bourgeois "public opinion" supports a just national or democratic liberation struggle. Unlike Pavlov's dog, Marxists don't reflexively place a minus sign anywhere Western imperialists make a plus sign. We do, however, make sure that we develop an independent class position.

Our method dictates that, during such just democratic or national liberation struggles, we are on the side of the liberation fighters (who are mostly under bourgeois or petty-bourgeois leaderships) and support their military victory. We sharply distinguish between these progressive liberation struggles and the interests of the imperialist powers. While we support the former, we totally oppose the latter. Therefore, we Bolshevik-Communists reject any imperialist interference and call for the defeat of the imperialist forces.

Public opinion in the imperialist world must not be the starting point for developing a position towards a war!

Sectors of the centrist left in the West defend a sectarian version – or let us better say, a caricature – of anti-imperialism. They don't examine a given struggle in its totality with all its various and often contradictory factors. Instead, they try to assess what is the official position of Western imperialism. They usually do this by looking at so-called public opinion, i.e., the rhetoric of the bourgeois officials and media. And where Western public opinion puts a plus sign, the sectarian place a minus sign. In other words, they reflexively sympathize with the side of a given war which Western public opinion despises.

As a result, the sectarians reach *one and the same* position in all *different* kinds of wars: the Iraq war of 1991; the Bosnian war of 1992-95; the Kosova war of 1999; the Afghanistan war of 2001; the Iraq war which started in 2003; and the Libyan civil war of 2011. This approach is completely in error. *For Marxists, imperialist public opinion, while a factor which has to be taken into account, is neither the starting point nor the most important factor in determining revolutionary positions!* It seems that various sectarians have forgotten this very basic truth! This failure often leads them to scattered thoughts and to claims by others that we Marxists are "opportunists" and "capitulate to the pressure of imperialism."

Let us provide a few historical analogies. Russian imperialism was fully sympathetic to the Slavic national liberation struggle in the Balkans against the Ottoman Empire in 1912/13, because of its own expansionist class interests. However, Lenin and the Bolsheviks did not conclude that, because of this Russian support, revolutionaries should not support the national liberation struggle of the Slavs. Similarly, what conclusions did Trotsky and the Fourth International arrive at from the fact that imperialist and petty-bourgeois public opinion in Western Europe and Northern America was strongly in favor of the Republican antifascist government in Spain in 1936-39, or for the national liberation struggle of the Chinese toilers under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership against Japanese imperialism from 1937 onwards? In no way did Trotsky and the Fourth International succumb to imperialist and petty-bourgeois "public opinion" but rather based their critical but unconditional support for the Republican antifascist government or the Chinese struggle on an independent and internationalist working class viewpoint.

Marxists must never start by asking: "*How can we, as revolutionaries, fighting in Western imperialist countries best oppose the pressure of 'our' bourgeoisie?*" To do so is one-sided. It also opens the door to serious mistakes and would ultimately degenerate to "anti-imperialism for dummies." Rather, one must start by asking "*what is the independent position which advances the interest of the international working class and oppressed peoples?*" In other words, how can we

strengthen the working class struggle, organizations, and consciousness? This is the *only* legitimate method for approaching questions of class struggle. Without using this method, one would quickly descend to the level of leftists in imperialist countries who start and end their thinking based on the question of how to oppose their own bourgeoisie.

Trotsky explained this approach very well in an article in which he polemicized against the sectarian method:

„*In ninety cases out of a hundred the workers actually place a minus sign where the bourgeoisie places a plus sign. In ten cases, however, they are forced to fix the same sign as the bourgeoisie but with their own seal, in which is expressed their mistrust of the bourgeoisie. The policy of the proletariat is not at all automatically derived from the policy of the bourgeoisie, bearing only the opposite sign – this would make every sectarian a master strategist; no, the revolutionary party must each time orient itself independently in the internal as well as the external situation, arriving at those decisions which correspond best to the interests of the proletariat. This rule applies just as much to the war period as to the period of peace.*“ [3]

How do we approach various forms of imperialist military interventions?

In what respect can we speak of different forms of imperialist military intervention? Let us illustrate this by presenting some examples from the past two decades. What was the difference on the one hand between the Iraq wars in 1991 and 2003, and on the other hand the wars in Afghanistan in 2001, in Bosnia 1992-95, in Kosova 1999, and in Libya 2011? What is at the heart of our consistent approach, seeing how we defended Afghanistan in 2001 even though the Taliban is certainly not less dictatorial than Gaddafi, while in the case of Libya we continued to support the democratic revolution against Gaddafi even after the imperialist West began its limited military campaign against his regime? The sectarians accuse us of capitulation to “bourgeois-democratic public opinion in the imperialist countries.” However, was there really a difference in the imperialist and petty-bourgeois ”public opinion” in the two cases? One can hardly maintain that public opinion was less hostile towards the Taliban than towards Gaddafi. Quite the contrary. The imperialist governments all had conducted publicized meetings with Gaddafi and thus had to hastily remove the photographs from their official websites in which one could see Sarkozy, Berlusconi, Blair, etc. shaking hands and exchanging jokes with the Libyan dictator.

What, indeed, was the difference between the Iraq wars in 1991 and 2003, and the war in Afghanistan in 2001 in contrast to the wars in Bosnia (1992-95), Kosova (1999) and Libya (2011)? Actually, the answer is pretty straightforward. As historical materialists, we always first look at such conflicts from a class perspective. The war in Bosnia began in April 1992 as a national liberation struggle of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Izetbegovic bureaucracy against the threatening oppression by the chauvinist Serbian state. From 1987, the Milosevic regimes in Serbia had initiated a virulent campaign of Serbian chauvinism which in particular targeted the Kosova-Albanians, but also most other nationalities in Yugoslavia. Via this campaign the Serbian bureaucratic caste wanted to secure its dominance during the process of capitalist restoration. The Croatian bureaucracy tried to counter these moves by tightening the oppression of their Serbian minorities in Krajina and Slavonia. Increased national oppression was made part and parcel of the capitalist restoration in order to divert the attention of the masses from its social consequences. It was on this background that the series of Balkan wars began in 1991, wars in which various imperialist powers attempted to intervene.

The same pertains to Kosova which on the one hand has a history replete with murderous oppression by the Serbian state since its annexation by the latter in 1913, as well as many national liberation struggles which subsequently broke out there. The most recent of these began in March 1998. [4] The Libyan and the Syrian Revolutions in 2011 also began as democratic revolutions, being part of the Arab revolutions against the bourgeois dictatorships. So, contrary to the interpretation of the sectarians, these civil wars started not due to conspiracies of imperialism, but as authentic liberation struggles of the workers and peasants.

In contrast to the above examples, the wars in Iraq in 1991 and 2003 and in Afghanistan in 2001 were different. In Afghanistan in 2001, no progressive mass struggle was taking place – the local civil war of the so-called United Front of Ahmad Shah Massoud against the Taliban bore no progressive potential. The national liberation struggle of the Kurdish people against the Baath regime in Iraq did have a just and progressive character, but given its local nature in the north of Iraq, it did not become the dominant factor in the political situation.

Related to this is yet another important difference between the two types of wars: The Iraq wars of 1991 and 2003, and the 2011 war in Afghanistan *were not cases of imperialistic interference in ongoing liberation struggles. Rather, they were outright imperialist attacks aimed at subjugating this or that nation.*

One must examine these wars concretely. For example, in Bosnia and Kosova the imperialist war goals were not to conquer and subjugate Serbia, but rather to contain the spread of the national liberation struggle and thus stop the destabilization of the region. In the case of Kosova, one should recall that shortly before the war, in the spring of 1997, there was an armed mass uprising in Albania. A successful liberation struggle in Kosova would have had tremendous potential for inspiring a similar liberation struggle among the oppressed Albanian minorities in Macedonia and Montenegro.

Of course, imperialist interference *can* change the character of a national liberation struggle. But this is not necessarily and always the case. In our book on the Arab Revolution, we refer to historical cases in which the imperialist powers interfered in two military encounters: (1) the Chinese national liberation struggle of the 1930s and 40s; and (2) the mass guerilla movements in Eastern Europe against the Nazis during World War II. For example, in the latter case the British sent arms and officer to the Stalinist partisans of Tito, while in the former case the US even sent military aircraft with American pilots to support the bourgeois force of Chiang Kai-chek. Did such cases of imperialist interference lead the revolutionaries of the Fourth International to stop supporting these struggles? No, and they would have been terribly wrong had they done so!

The key is always to concretely analyze whether a given

democratic or national liberation struggle becomes entirely subordinate to the imperialist maneuvers and no longer possesses any significant internal dynamic of a workers and peasant liberation struggle. If this is the case, Marxists must change their position and give up critical support for the given national liberation struggle.

However, even in this case one has to be continually alert and re-analyze the dynamic situation at hand, with its potential for transformation, which in turn might oblige a necessary change in position. For example, when the Shiite workers and peasants in Southern Iraq rebelled against Saddam Hussein in March 1991, both we Marxists *and* the imperialists understood the profound class significance of this insurrection, recognizing it as a genuine democratic revolution of the workers and peasants. Therefore, while the Baathist army crushed the insurrection, the US troops and imperialist and petty-bourgeois "public opinion" cried crocodile tears about the poor Iraqis being slaughtered by the evil regime of Saddam Hussein. Nevertheless, they stood idly by and sighed with relief when the uprising was crushed. And we Bolshevik-Communists? [5] We defended the Iraqi army against the US troops but we also defended the Shia masses against the Baathist army. In this case, both the imperialists and the LRCI/RCIT changed their positions, not due to any inconsistency but because the struggle had changed its character. Just the opposite can also happen: Marxist can first support a democratic revolution, but later withdraw their support. Only such a concrete and dialectical approach allows Marxists to elaborate an independent and internationalist working class position. This means developing a perspective which always focuses on how to advance working class struggles, organizations, and consciousness, and which is totally oblivious to imperialist and petty-bourgeois "public opinion."

Let us deal briefly with another historic example. Which positions should Marxists have developed in 1953, 1956, 1968, and 1980-81 when the workers rebelled against the Stalinist bureaucracy in Eastern Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland? Naturally, imperialist and petty-bourgeois "public opinion" in the West was verbally in favor of these workers' uprising because they hoped to weaken the Stalinists by tactically exploiting these struggles. But only the Stalinists and living caricatures of Trotskyism, like the Spartacists, came to the wrong conclusion that, because of the Western "public opinion," one should defend the bureaucratic dictatorship against the workers. For authentic Marxists, of course, the starting point was not imperialist and petty-bourgeois "public opinion" in the West, but rather independent proletarian class interests. We, therefore, critically but unconditionally supported the revolutions in the East. While we supported these – unfortunately defeated – workers revolutions, at the same time we unequivocally opposed any form of imperialist attack against the Stalinist regimes of Eastern Europe.

Consequences for military tactics

So we see that, when implementing the same independent, internationalist working class line, in different situations one will reach very different conclusions due to objective factors and class interests. Or in other words, the same, consistent *strategy of permanent revolution* leads, for different types of wars, to different tactics. Only a mechanistic bonehead should be surprised by this.

Where the working class and the oppressed are not engaged in a direct struggle for power, i.e., outside of a revolutionary situation, the task of overthrowing a given regime is subordinate to the task of the defending a semi-colonial country (or a degenerated workers state) against an imperialist attack. On the other hand, when we have the mobilization of the working class and the oppressed in a direct struggle for power, as is the case in a revolutionary situation, a civil war, etc., Bolshevik-Communists fight for the victorious outcome of this class struggle. At the same time, we combine this support with uncompromising opposition to any imperialist attacks against the regime to be toppled.

The Second World War is a model for such a contradictory situation which illustrates well the application of a combined, dialectical approach to military tactics. During this war, the revolutionary Marxists of the Fourth International defended the Soviet Union against German imperialism – despite the former's alliance with Western imperialism. At the same time, they sided with the colonial peoples against their imperialist occupiers – despite the Stalinists' support for the British and French occupiers, and despite the Allied imperialists' support for the Chinese resistance against Japanese imperialism. The Fourth International also sided with the national liberations partisan armies against German imperialism in Europe and took a defeatist position against both imperialist camps in their conflict with each other.

So we see that, in such contradictory situations, in which several wars are actually taking place in the context of supposedly single war, it would be both wrong and disastrous to pursue the same tactic for all the various wars or "sub-wars." Quite the contrary – in such cases, Marxists must call for diverse military tactics.

Only when imperialist forces threaten to conquer a given semi-colonial country (or a degenerated workers state) and when, at the same time, the working class is not

strong enough to take power, only then does it becomes necessary to subordinate the struggle against the regime in defense of the semi-colonial country (or a degenerated workers state) in question.

This is why we supported the national liberation struggle of the Bosnian people against the Serbian restorationist bureaucracy in 1992-95 while opposing any NATO attacks. This is why we supported the uprising of the Kosova-Albanians in 1997-99 while at the same time opposing NATO's war against Serbia. This is why during the Gulf wars of both in 1991 and 2003 we said "*Defend Iraq! Defeat Imperialism!*" When the imperialist assault against Afghanistan started on 7th of October 2001 we called for the military victory of the Afghan resistance despite the Taliban leadership. And we called for the Hezbollah-led resistance in Lebanon 2006 and the Hamas-led resistance in Gaza 2008/09, both against the Israeli Apartheid state.

Such complications, amalgamations of different and contradictory interests in a given military conflict are likely to increase in the future. Why? Because of the increasing rivalry between imperialist powers. Due to this rivalry, all imperialist powers are more and more motivated to interfere in local conflicts and civil wars and to exploit them so as to advance their influence and increase their profits. Unfortunately, this trend is completely ignored by many sectarians who fail to recognize that in addition to the old imperialist powers – in North America, Western Europe, and Japan – there are also new, emerging imperialist powers, in particular Russia and China. [6]

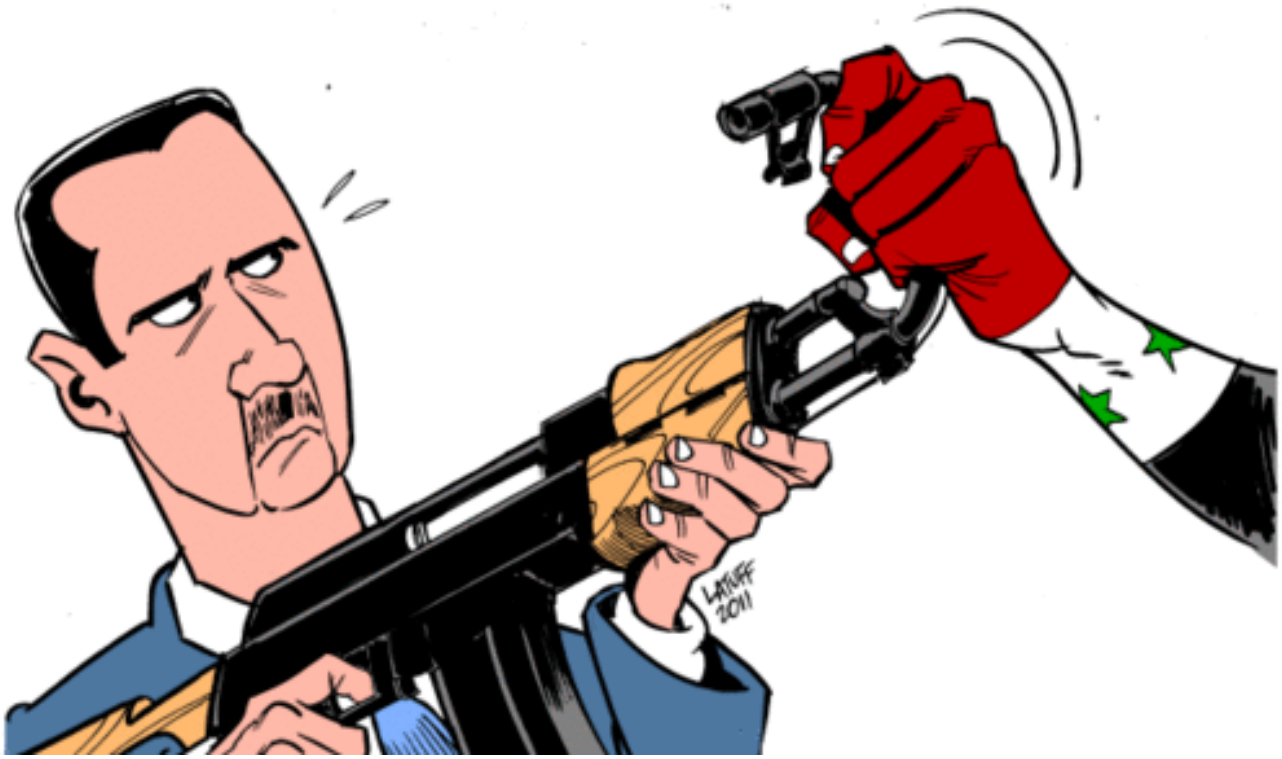
In our study of Chinese imperialism, we explained various possible consequences of this increasing rivalry between imperialist powers like the US and China using the example of possible future wars in the South China (or East) Sea region.

"*Which position should the working class take in a military conflict between China (or the USA) with one of the smaller East Asian countries? Here we have to take into account the fact that countries like Vietnam, the Philippines, and Taiwan etc. are not imperialist powers. They are rather semi-colonial capitalist countries. (…) As we said in our program it is the Marxist principle to defend such semi-colonial countries against imperialist powers.*

However it is not sufficient to state the Marxist principles on wars. In real life all forms of combinations, alliances, amalgamations of different interests etc. are possible and indeed are an important aspect of the class struggle. In formulating the correct revolutionary tactic Marxists have to combine the application of the Marxist principles of the class approach to wars with a concrete analysis of every war in its peculiarity and totality.

Concerning the South China (or East) Sea this means the following: Countries like the Philippines or Taiwan have had close alliances with US imperialism for many decades – or more concretely they are semi-colonies of the USA. Given these facts it is quite possible that there can be a war for example between the Philippines and China as it nearly happened in the summer of 2012. Concretely in this case the Philippine military forces acted in closest accordance with the US armed forces. In such a war we would have formally an imperialist power (China) on one side and a semi-colonial country (Philippine) on the other side. However in fact it would be a proxy war in the case of the Philippines, i.e. they would act as an extension of US imperialism. Thus the working class should not rally to defend the Philippines but should take a position of revolutionary defeatism as they would do in an inner-imperialist war.

However not all wars in the region are necessarily proxy-war. Vietnam for example – whose people heroically defeated first Japanese, then French and finally US imperialism in its liberation wars in the 20th century – has a history of being bullied by China. One just needs to remember the reactionary assault of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy on Vietnam in co-ordination with US imperialism in 1979. In principle Vietnam has a right to use the East Sea for fishing no less than China. Its resistance against being expelled from the Sea so that imperialist China can exploit it alone is justified. Hence Bolshevik-Communists could take in such a war a revolutionary defensist position on the side of Vietnam and a defeatist position concerning China." [7]



Cartoon by LATUFF 2011

The Marxist classics on contradictory factors in wars

It is true that imperialist powers have historically tried to utilize democratic struggles for their own ends and interfere in them. Such interference must be opposed by Marxist forces. But as Lenin said, in the epoch of imperialism the big powers will always try to interfere and utilize national and democratic conflicts. However, this fact should not lead Marxists to automatically adopt a defeatist instead of a revolutionary-defensist position in such conflicts. Rather, the position taken by Marxists should depends on which factor becomes dominant – the national, democratic liberation struggle or the imperialist war of conquest.

„*Britain and France fought the Seven Years' War for the possession of colonies. In other words, they waged an imperialist war (which is possible on the basis of slavery and primitive capitalism as well as on the basis of modern highly developed capitalism). France suffered defeat and lost some of her colonies. Several years later there began the national liberation war of the North American States against Britain alone. France and Spain, then in possession of some parts of the present United States, concluded a friendship treaty with the States in rebellion against Britain. This they did out of hostility to Britain, i.e., in their own imperialist interests. French troops fought the British on the side of the American forces. What we have here is a national liberation war in which imperialist rivalry is an auxiliary element, one that has no serious importance. This is the very opposite to what we see in the war of 1914-16 (the national element in the Austro-Serbian War is of no serious importance compared with the all-determining element of imperialist rivalry). It would be absurd, therefore, to apply the concept imperialism indiscriminately and conclude that national wars are "impossible". A national liberation war, waged, for example, by an alliance of Persia, India and China against one or more of the imperialist powers, is both possible and probable, for it would follow from the national liberation movements in these countries. The transformation of such a war into an imperialist war between the present-day imperialist powers would depend upon very many concrete factors, the emergence of which it would be ridiculous to guarantee.*" [8]

In another article, Lenin compared imperialist interference in national liberation struggles for their own ends with the interference of sections of monopoly capital in democratic struggles within imperialist countries. In both cases, Lenin argued, it would be wrong to refuse support for theses struggles because of this interference:

„*On the other hand, the socialists of the oppressed nations must, in particular, defend and implement the full and unconditional unity, including organisational unity, of the workers of the oppressed nation and those of the oppressor nation. Without this it is impossible to defend the independent policy of the proletariat and their class solidarity with the proletariat of other countries in face of all manner of intrigues, treachery and trickery on the part of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations persistently utilise the slogans of national liberation to deceive the workers; in their internal policy they use these slogans for reactionary agreements with the bourgeoisie of the dominant nation (for example, the Poles in Austria and Russia who come to terms with reactionaries for the oppression of the Jews and Ukrainians); in their foreign policy they strive to come to terms with one of the rival imperialist powers for the sake of implementing their predatory plans (the policy of the small Balkan states, etc.). The fact that the struggle for national liberation against one imperialist power may, under certain conditions, be utilised by another "great" power for its own, equally imperialist, aims, is just as unlikely to make the Social-Democrats refuse to recognise the right of nations to self-determination as the numerous cases of bourgeois utilisation of republican slogans for the purpose of political deception and financial plunder (as in the Romance countries, for example) are unlikely to make the Social-Democrats reject their republicanism."* [9]

This methodological approach was later defended and developed by the Trotskyists. In our journal *Revolutionary Communism* we have re-published an excellent article from Rudolf Klement, a secretary of Trotsky and a leading member of the Fourth International, on "*Principles and Tactics in War*". In this article Klement elaborated the position of the Trotskyists and defended it against their sectarian critics:

"*Class struggle and war are international phenomena, which are decided internationally. But since every struggle permits of but two camps (bloc against bloc) and since imperialistic fights intertwine with the class war (world imperialism—world proletariat), there arise manifold and complex cases. The bourgeoisie of the semi-colonial countries or the liberal bourgeoisie menaced by its "own" fascism, appeal for aid to the "friendly" imperialisms; the Soviet Union attempts, for example, to utilise the antagonisms between the imperialisms by concluding alliances with one group against another, etc. The proletariat of all countries, the only internationally solidarity—and not least of all because of that, the only progressive—class, thereby finds itself in the complicated situation in wartime, especially in the new world war, of combining revolutionary defeatism towards his own bourgeoisie with support of progressive wars.*"

Klement defends a dialectical approach, arguing that "*the proletariat, especially in the imperialist countries, requires, in this seemingly contradictory situation, a particularly clear understanding of these combined tasks and of the methods for fulfilling them.*" Later, at the end of his article, he goes on to emphasize: "*Thus we see how different war situations require from the revolutionary proletariat of the various imperialist countries, if it wishes to remain true to itself and to its goal, different fighting forms, which may appear to schematic spirits to be "deviations" from the basic principle of revolutionary defeatism, but which result in reality only from the combination of revolutionary defeatism with the defence of certain progressive camps.*" [10]

It is this concrete, dialectical method which the Marxist classics developed and which we apply today to the different types of wars which occur in a world situation characterized by increasing contradictions and rivalry.

The civil war in Libya and the arguments of sectarian "anti-imperialism"

In the second part of this article we want to deal with one of the most recent examples of sectarian confusion: the condemnation of the Libyan Revolution in 2011 in the name of "anti-imperialism." The RCIT supported the popular uprising since it was a democratic revolution against the reactionary bourgeois dictatorship of Gaddafi. We argued that revolutionaries should fight inside the rebel movement against the bourgeois leadership of the TNC, since the later tried – together with NATO imperialism – to contain the revolution and reduce it to the regime-change. We called for the deepening of the revolution by the formation of workers' and popular councils and militias and

its transformation of the democratic into a socialist revolution. We therefore emphatically opposed the NATO attacks.

In the summer of 2011, we in the RCIT summarized our position as follows:

"*Therefore it is important for activists to connect several tasks of the revolutionary struggle together:*

** Participation in the mass struggle against the Gaddafi regime on the basis of a revolutionary program for the proletarian seizure of power.*

** Fight within the insurgent masses against the bourgeois rebel leadership of Abduljalil, al-Esavi Jebril, etc.*

** For the establishment of councils of workers, peasants, and the oppressed.*

** For the establishment of an independent workers' and people's militia to enter the fight against the Gaddafi regime independently of the bourgeois leadership.*

** For international solidarity with the rebels in Libya. For international brigades and weapons for the fight against Gaddafi's troops.*

** At the same time, however, fight against NATO! For the defeat of the NATO armed forces! For direct actions of the workers' movement, especially in the NATO countries and in the countries where the imperialist forces and their accomplices have bases, in order to impede their military action and if possible to prevent them."* [11]

However, the sectarian "anti-imperialists" sided with the reactionary Gaddafi regime and supported it against the popular revolution. Examples of organizations which adopted such a reactionary position are the Liaison Committee of the *Liga Comunista* (Brazil), the *Revolutionary Marxist Group* (South Africa) and *Socialist Fight* (Britain) [12] or the *ICL/Spartacists*, the *Internationalist Group/LFI* of Jan Norden or the Stalinist group "*Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist)*".

On the class character of the Gaddafi state

As we demonstrated in an article on the Libyan Revolution, sectarians tended to ignore the class character of the Gaddafi regime. [13] Often the Gaddafi regime was simply characterized as "anti-imperialist." One of the most bizarre past examples of this was the praise for Gaddafi's "revolution" by the WRP of Gerry Healy. The WRP claimed that "*Gaddafi has politically developed in the direction of revolutionary socialism and he has shunned the palaces and harems of some other Arab leaders. (…) For this reason he has become the undisputed leader of the Libyan people and his name is now synonymous with the strivings of the oppressed in many countries.*" [14] The sectarian groups cited above also misunderstood the class character of the Gaddafi regime.

For us in the RCIT, the Gaddafi regime was a *state-capitalist, bourgeois-bonapartist dictatorship*. As did several other semi-colonial regimes, it managed to achieve certain room for maneuvering thanks to the huge oil resources.

The truth behind the often praised social achievements of Gaddafi's state was that the regime used the huge oil rent – in addition to its leaders accumulating vast personal wealth and the creation of an overblown security apparatus – for the conservation of the Libyan class-based society. As is typical of parasitical, semi-colonial bourgeoisies, it didn't invest the billions and billions of oil dollars it re-

ceived to create a domestic industry and, with it, a significant domestic working class. Instead, the regime retained as much of this wealth as was possible to both enrich those at its head and conserve the country's traditional tribal structure thereby avoiding the proletarization of its society. Why? Because the reactionary Gaddafi regime wanted to avoid a confrontation with a strong domestic working class.

Of course, Gaddafi's Libya needed many workers. As a result, it applied the kind of "solution" which the imperialist bourgeoisies have for decades to increase their industrial reserve army for super-exploitation: it imported migrants. So like the parasitic Gulf dictatorships, the Gaddafi regime super-exploited at least 682,000 migrant workers (2010) who constitute nearly 29% of the entire labor force of 2.37 million! [15] There are other statistics which even speak of 1.5 or even 2.5 million migrant workers in Libya. [16] If one takes into account that, in semi-colonial countries, the working class constitutes only part of the entire labor force (since this category also includes the petty-bourgeoisie, the salaried middle class, etc.), we can safely assume that in Libya – like in the Gulf States – the migrants constituted an even greater share of the working class.

Therefore, to a large degree the Gaddafi regime was based on the super-exploitation of the migrant sectors of the working class. Despite the "socialist" rhetoric of the Gaddafi regime, the migrant workers had no right to join a trade union. The "anti-imperialist" Gaddafi had the same approach to the migrant workers as the corrupt oil rent regimes of the Gulf region.

Another "progressive" argument in defense of the Gaddafi regime was the modernization of the country after "the colonel" came to power in 1969 via a coup d'état. This is undoubtedly true, as is testified to by the country's urbanization level of 85.5%. However, the same is true for all the reactionary Gulf monarchies and the entire Middle East! Thus Libya's level of urbanization slightly exceeds that of Saudi Arabia (82.3%) and Jordan (83.4%) but lags behind those of Lebanon (86.3%), Kuwait (98.4%), and Bahrain (95.9%). In fact, accelerated urbanization in recent decades is a world-wide phenomenon driven by the capitalist process of proletarization and in no way reflects specific efforts on the part of the Gaddafi regime. [17]

Despite the "anti-imperialist" and progressive credentials of the Gaddafi regime as perceived by the sectarians, the country was fully integrated in the capitalist world economy and the imperialist order. Its economy was completely dependent on oil exports to the world market from which it derived about 95% of its trade revenues and up to 70% of its annual GDP. [18]

The "socialist" Gaddafi regime also had important foreign investments in the imperialist world, particularly in Italy. There it owned a 7% share of the largest bank (UniCredit). [19] It also owned shares of the aircraft and armament corporation Finmeccanica, the energy corporation Eni, the car producer Fiat, and the major football club Juventus Turin. All in all, in 2010 Libya had an FDI outward stock of 13.3 billion US-Dollars – higher than of many other semi-colonies and 21% of its GDP for that year. [20]

In addition, during the 2000s Libya also intensified its collaboration with the Western imperialist powers. After it opened its economy for imperialist foreign investment, Libya had more imperialist foreign investments than many other semi-colonial countries – the FDI inward stock in 2010 was 19.3 billion US-Dollars which is 31% of the GDP for that year (62.4 Billion US-Dollar). [21]

This collaboration included its dealings with several US corporations, among them: ConocoPhillips, the third-largest US oil company, which holds a 16.3% share in Libya's important Waha concessions; Marathon Oil (which holds another 16% share); Hess (8% share); and Occidental, the fourth-largest US oil company. [22]

Gaddafi also developed close political ties with the imperialist powers. In 2005, his regime joined the US initiated „*Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Partnership*" which includes eleven African so-called "*partner countries*": Algeria, Burkina Faso, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal. This alliance organizes annual joint military exercises under the code name "Flintlock." [23]

The Gaddafi regime promised the European Union to suppress the flow of migrants reaching Europe from Libya. In October 2010, this "anti-imperialist" leader signed a deal "*to combat the flow of illegal migrants to Europe*" for which he received 50 million Euro. [24] The CIA, too, seemed to feel that it could do business with Gaddafi, so they collaborated with him in the torture of "terror suspects"! [25]

All of this collaboration with Western imperialism was in addition to Gaddafi's well-known murderous suppression of the slightest resistance by the Libyan people. Despite the sectarians' praises for Gaddafi's regime, it was a bloody bourgeois dictatorship against which the working class and the popular masses had every reason to rise up!

Gaddafi certainly understood his class position better than many of these "anti-imperialists." When the Tunisian workers and poor took to the streets against the Ben Ali dictatorship in Tunisia, Gaddafi lectured them. Gaddafi openly expressed solidarity with Ben Ali and attacked the Tunisian people for overthrowing him! *The Electronic Intifada* issued a report about a speech made by Gaddafi: "*Gaddafi turned to pay homage to Ben Ali, whom he refers to as "Zine": 'I do not know anyone from Bourguiba [Tunisia's first post-independence president] to Zine, but Zine for me is the best for Tunisia. He was the one who gave Tunisia pride of place [in terms of economic growth]; I don't care whether you like him or not, whether you're against him or not; I tell you the truth, regardless; do you think that Zine gives me money, glory or any kind of reward for saying this? He gives me nothing, but I tell you the truth. I'm usually candid with the Arab public, pointing out the truth to them. No one is better than Zine at the moment. What I wish is not for Zine to remain in power till 2014 [which is one of the concessions/promises Ben Ali made in his third and last speech before his flight to Saudi Arabia] but for him to remain in power for life, okay! If anyone close to Zine is corrupt or if Zine himself is corrupt, they should stand trial. Bring your evidence and try them; this is usually a normal practice. But it's inadmissible that whenever there is corruption, we burn our country and kill our children at night. Ala Tunis al-salaam.'*" [26]

True, there were repeatedly conflicts between the Gaddafi regime and US/EU imperialism. When US president Reagan bombed Tripoli in 1986, we unconditionally defended Libya. However as we said in the summer of 2011, this does not alter the bourgeois class character of the regime: "*The Gaddafi regime has always been a state capitalist bureaucratic dictatorship. Like several other regimes in the semi-colonial world, Tripoli was also temporarily in conflict with the*

major imperialist powers. But this does not alter its bourgeois character. Similarly, the war between the west and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein in Iraq changes nothing about the bourgeois capitalist class character of the latter." [27]

Are the workers and youth today in a better or in a worse position than under the Gaddafi dictatorship?

The sectarian "anti-imperialists" claim that in Libya the counter-revolution – i.e., NATO imperialism and its agents, the supposedly "racist" rebels – won the civil war. Consequently they consider the outcome as a defeat for the working class.

We, on the other hand, contend that the Libyan Revolution ended in a *partial victory* for the working class and the oppressed because it defeated the bourgeois-bonapartist Gaddafi regime. True, the bourgeois, pro-imperialist leadership around the TNC has tried to hijack this unfinished democratic revolution and turn it into a democratic counterrevolution. However, this process is far from completed. What we have today in post-Gaddafi Libya is a crisis-ridden regime divided by various factions. The country is divided not only by power struggles but also – and to a large degree because of – the pressure of the masses. What we have today in Libya is a *partial dual power situation.* What does this *partial dual power situation* consist of?

1) Between 125,000 and 200,000 men (in a country of about 5-6 million people!) are organized in around sixty armed militias under no central control. [28]

2) The masses have repeatedly toppled various hated figures of the new regime by means of demonstrations, strikes (including localized general strikes), riots, and armed actions.

3) The workers have formed new trade unions and are organizing themselves in rank and file structures. They have more rights and power than under the Gaddafi regime.

While the old state apparatus has been thoroughly shattered and debilitated, it repeatedly tries to reconstitute itself by integrating NTC leaders with remnants of the old Gaddafi regime (which shows exactly how reactionary this "anti-imperialist" regime was!). But the armed militias have repeatedly attacked leading figures of the new regime. For example on 8 May of this year, two hundred militiamen opened fire with anti-tank guns on the prime minister's Tripoli office, forcing al-Keib to briefly take flight. A number of times militiamen have sided with workers and youth who protested in the streets. This clearly demonstrates that, today, there are more opportunities for the workers and oppressed to fight for their rights against the regime than under Gaddafi.

In Misratah, one of the heroic centers of the revolution and one of the most important industrial towns, the workers and militias staged a three day general strike "*for bread and a decent health system, against the inflation and against those who want to expropriate our fight: the TNC.*" During the strike they destroyed the local headquarters of the TNC. On the streets of Misratah and other towns one can see the anti-imperialist slogan written on the walls: *"Today in Libya, tomorrow in Wall Street!"* There have been many strikes in Benghazi where an independent trade union federation is said to have been formed. Youth organizations are repeatedly demonstrating in Benghazi, protesting against the new government and former Gaddafi functionaries. In January of this year, these protests forced Abdel-Hafidh Ghoga, the transitional council's deputy chief, to resign.

In Misratah and Tripoli the port workers are organizing in rank and file assemblies and are calling for the continuation of the revolution and the ousting of all former Gaddafi managers and directors, as are the oil workers. Many workers' strikes have been reported from Benghazi. [29]

Another positive consequence of the Libyan revolution is the progress of the national liberation struggle of the Tuareg people in Mali who founded the Azawad Republic, even though this achievement is endangered by the Islamist movement *Ansar Dine*. [30] Again, in our opinion, this demonstrates that the partial victory of the democratic revolution in Libya has been advantageous for oppressed people.

So, contrary to the sectarian "anti-imperialists," we maintain that today the working class and the oppressed are in a better position to fight for their interests and for the continuation of the revolution than they were under the Gaddafi dictatorship – despite the unfinished character of the revolution and indeed its bourgeoisification.

Of course, all this can change and indeed will change if the working class does not overcome its crisis of leadership. But this is also the case in Greece and in all countries around the world in which there have been unfinished revolutions. This is why overcoming the crisis of leadership is vital.

But this cannot be achieved if one confuses a revolution with its leadership; if one joins the counterrevolution because of the mistaken leadership of the revolution! It can only be accomplished by joining the revolutionary masses and fighting inside their ranks against the bourgeois leadership.

It is also revealing that the revolutionary masses obviously do not wish to bring back the old regime nor do they desire to turn to the Jamahiriya. Except for some tribes related to him, the masses are still sick with hatred for Gaddafi. Today, the main contradictory line of the class struggle in Libya is not between the popular masses and the rebels, but between the pro-rebel popular masses and organized militias on the one hand and the new regime of the TNC on the other.

Why did NATO intervene militarily?

But, the sectarian "anti-imperialists" argue, why did NATO intervene militarily in Libya if not to get rid of Gaddafi's regime which was an obstacle for their influence? First, we answer, one has to recognize that NATO's military intervention was not planned long in advance but was rather improvised. As we described, above, only a few months earlier the imperialists were doing business with Gaddafi and shaking his hand. The NATO intervention was an *improvised reaction* to the broad spread of the revolution – which in the case of Libya militarized rapidly – because of Gaddafi's bloody oppression of the February 17th Uprising.

Until then the Arab Revolution had been relatively peaceful and, hence, left open the possibility for the imperialist powers to come to certain agreements with the new rulers (in particular the Islamists like the *Muslim Brothers*). But the beginning of the Libyan civil war threatened to change

the whole scenario and to transform the Arab Revolution into an armed regional uprising. It could have meant the endangering of the imperialists secure access to the oil resources and the end of Israel among many other things. Therefore the imperialists were desperate to contain the Libyan revolution and to politically expropriate its leadership.

On the urban and tribal factors in the civil war

Another argument put forth by the sectarian "anti-imperialists" is the claim that the rebels were rooted in the backward, eastern parts of Libya where chauvinism and al-Qaida are supposed to be very strong. The more modern Western parts of Libya, with a strong progressive, more modern tradition were pro-Gaddafi – or so the argument goes.

As a matter of fact, tribal ties were important not only in the eastern part of Libya but for the Gaddafi regime too. One just needs to recall where Gaddafi fled after the fall of Tripoli: To his tribe in Sirte! It is also significant that while Tripoli is the formal capital of Libya, Gaddafi had moved most of the government's ministries to Sirte. The regime preserved the backward tribal society as much as it possibly could.

In addition, one should concretely examine where the centers of the revolution were. By early March 2011, i.e., before even a single NATO bomb had been dropped, the Libyan workers and popular masses took power in five of the seven largest cities (Benghazi, Misrata, Bayda, Zawiya, and Ajdabiya). In Tripoli, in the days following February 17th, there was a mass uprising which led to the burning down of several governmental buildings. But given the high concentration of the armed state apparatus forces there it was brutally smashed. This should make pretty clear that the revolution was a very urban affair and had the support of the majority of the urban popular masses. At this time there were no pro-Gaddafi rallies at all or only very small ones. The victory of the Libyan revolution was due to this mass support, not because of the NATO intervention.

On the "racist" Libyan rebels and attacks against Sub-Saharan African migrant workers

A major argument of the sectarian "anti-imperialists" is their claim that the migrant workers – and in particular black migrants – were expelled from the country by the "racist" Libyan rebels. It is certainly true that there have been attacks against Sub-Saharan Africans migrant workers in Libya because of the color of their skin. However the sectarian "anti-imperialists" completely distort the full picture.

First, it is wrong to give the impression that Sub-Saharan African migrants were singled out and expelled from Libya because of the racist attitudes of the rebels. The truth is that *most migrant workers* – among whom Sub-Saharan Africans were *only a minority* (the biggest group was from Egypt) – fled the country. Why? Simply because of the civil war. As a result of the war, oil production and the economy as a whole broke down, and the migrant workers were not getting paid. Add to this the tremendous insecurity resulting from the civil war, and between February and June 2011, about half a million migrants fled the country. [31] The fact that Arab migrant workers fled as well as Sub-Saharan African migrant workers is clear proof that war conditions and not racism were the main reason for the mass departure of migrant workers.

Secondly, chauvinist sentiments against Sub-Saharan African were unsurprisingly fuelled given Gaddafi's propensity to import them as mercenaries serving in his security forces.

Thirdly, even before February 2011, there are many reports circulating about racism and brutal treatment of Sub-Saharan Africans by the Gaddafi regime itself! Why do the sectarian "anti-imperialists" only focus on the chauvinism exerted by rebels but not on that used by Gaddafi's police and soldiers?! This is particularly absurd given the fact that while it is a matter of dispute whether the Libyan rebels actually targeted Sub-Saharan Africans migrants, it is totally *undisputed* that the Gaddafi regime itself both targeted and systematically expelled them! The regime is known to have systematically deported refugees starting from the year 2000. According to Chinese website friendly to Gaddafi (!) "*tens of thousands of Nigerians, Ghanaians, Chadians, and many more from Niger, Gambia and Sudan were deported*" [32], leaving no room for interpretation. For example in January 2008, Gaddafi himself officially proclaimed the intention to deport all illegal refugees. "*The authorities decided to start immediately the operation of gathering all foreigners living illegally in Libya and deporting them*". [33] And all this was done openly in coordination with European imperialism with which Gaddafi signed deals to "secure" their borders against African refugees. So, we see, it was

Gaddafi himself who was an "agent of imperialism" and who racistly targeted Sub-Saharan Africans migrants!
Therefore, even if we would accept the view that the Libyan rebels systematically targeted Sub-Saharan Africans migrants and expelled them, this would certainly not make them more racist than the "anti-imperialist" Gaddafi regime which the sectarians shamefully defended.

To whom did the solidarity of the Arab working class belong?

Finally, the popular masses in the Middle East also understood better than the sectarian "anti-imperialists" which camp in the Libyan civil war was closer to their class interests. It is revealing that, throughout the Arab world, the masses demonstrated *in solidarity* with the Libyan Revolution. On the other hand – leaving aside the Syrian state media – where were there acts of support by the masses for the Gaddafi regime?! It is an undeniable fact that working class organizations like the Tunisian trade union federation UGTT and the Hoxhaist party PCOT both expressed solidarity with the Libyan Revolution, as they continue to do so today with the Syrian Revolution. Such evidence of mass support is a hundred times more convincing than any conspiracy theories and cruel stories about "the racists murder Libyan rebels"!

Summary

In this article we have demonstrated that the Marxist approach to wars and uprisings in which imperialist powers try to interfere is very much different from the attitude of the sectarian "anti-imperialists." While the latter always mechanistically place a minus sign wherever the bourgeoisie in their country place a plus sign, the Marxists approach views such wars and uprisings from an internationalist and independent working class perspective. We support those uprisings and civil wars which are favorable for the advance of the working class struggle, organizations, and consciousness. We fight against those forces whose triumph is a direct and immediate threat to the working class struggle. For the same reason we oppose all forms of imperialist attack, since the strengthening of imperialism always comes to the detriment of the working class.
The authentic Marxist perspective necessarily involves the application of a combined, dialectical approach towards military tactics. In World War II, we could already see this when the Fourth International combined defensist and defeatist tactics. Such combined, dual military tactics should similarly be applied today and will probably have to be applied more so in the future. Given the increasing inter-imperialist rivalry – particularly if one takes into account the rise of emerging Chinese imperialism – we will witness more and more cases in which imperialist forces try to interfere in and exploit civil wars in the semi-colonial world.
The unfinished democratic revolution in Libya in 2011 is an example of this. The Bolshevik-Communists supported the popular uprising because it was a just liberation struggle against the reactionary bourgeois dictatorship of Gaddafi. We argued to fight inside the rebel movement against the bourgeois leadership of the TNC which tried – together with NATO imperialism – to contain the revolution and reduce it to the regime-change. We called for the deepening of the revolution by the formation of workers' and popular councils and militias and the transformation of the democratic revolution into a socialist one. For this reason we fought against the NATO attacks, since they just helped to contain the revolution.
The arguments of the sectarian "anti-imperialists" for their siding with the Gaddafi regimes are entirely wrong. They totally ignored the bourgeois and pro-imperialist character of the regime, a vicious enemy of the working class. At the present moment, the outcome of the civil war bears the character of an unfinished democratic revolution. It succeeded in getting rid of the dictatorship and, therefore, today the working class and the oppressed have more possibilities to organize and to arm themselves to fight for their rights. However, the working class does not possess a revolutionary workers' party which can lead it to a successful socialist revolution. For this reason, until now the domestic bourgeoisie and the imperialists have succeeded in containing the revolution, i.e., in stopping the working class from taking power. Building such a revolutionary workers' party as part of the Fifth International – the World Party of Socialist Revolution – remains the chief task for revolutionaries in Libya and the rest of the world. The RCIT dedicates its full forces to achieve this task.

Footnotes

[1] While the book, written by Michael Pröbsting, has been published in German language, the chapter on the Libyan civil war was translated into English and published in the RCIT's journal *Revolutionary Communism* No. 1. It appears also on our website www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/libya-revolutionary-tactics
[2] RCIT: The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto, pp. 45-46, www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto/revolutionary-struggle-for-democracy
[3] Leon Trotsky: Learn to Think: A Friendly Suggestion to Certain Ultra-Leftists (1938); in: Trotsky Writings 1937-38, p. 332f. (Emphasis in the Original) The RCIT re-published this text in *Revolutionary Communism* No. 5 (2012).
[4] In the late 1980 and the 1990s, we published a lot of analytical and programmatic material – including two booklets – about the history of Yugoslavia and the Balkan wars in German language and some in Serbo-Croatian. Those who wish to receive a copy of these should contact us.
[5] At that time we were part of our predecessor organization, the *League for a Revolutionary Communist International* (LRCI), which renamed itself in 2003 into *League for the Fifth International* (LFI). The majority of the founding cadres of the RCIT were before leading members of the LFI. In the process of the LFI's majority degeneration into centrism, these cadres were expelled or resigned from the organization in 2011. For more on this see "Where is the LFI drifting? A Letter from the RCIT to the LFI comrades"; in: Revolutionary Communism No. 3, June 2012, www.thecommunists.net/theory/centrist-degeneration-of-lfi
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[17] See UNCTAD: Handbook of Statistics 2010, pp. 468-476
[18] See African Economic Outlook 2012, Libya 2012, p. 4
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[30] For more on this see our article "*For a free and socialist Azawad! Our attitude to the freedom struggle of the Tuareg people in Mali*", by Johannes Wiener; in: Revolutionary Communism No. 3, June 2012, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/mali-free-azawad/
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Soviet Constructivism – The Revolutionary Development Of Artists As Constructors Or Engineers

Vladimir Tatlin, Alexsandr Rodchenko, El Lissitsky, Alexi Gan,Varvara Stepanova, Olga Rosanova, Natalie Goncharova And Gustave Klucis – 1913-1922

By Laurence Humphries, February 16, 2015

Soviet Constructivism was very much an art movement influenced by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 when the working class took power in Russia. Many of the revolutionary movements associated with Constructivists was how Art could be translated into practical help for the emerging Proletariat in Russia. Technology including many different materials like glass, iron and glass were used to reflect the new developments for the growing Industrial Economy and Artists were to be transformed into constructors or Engineers to aid the rapidly involving Industrial Revolution which was taking place in the Soviet Union.

Nicholas Tarabukin explains the role of the machine "But consciously ignoring themselves as painters, The Russian Constructivists have declared their approach against Art in its typical museum forms and have collaborated with Technology and Industry" .[1].

"The constructivists have remained figurative artists to a far greater degree than their predecessors ,The suprematists because their structure of Construction the plane of the canvass was nothing other than the representation of constructive system or building".[2].

Vladimir Tatlin one of the early founders of Constructivism constructed 'A Monument to the Third International". It was a revolutionary design composed of different materials. Tatlin's report of the section for Materials Cultures and research work in 1924 reported "the Synthetic forming of new materials as a result of such a formation the constructive of standards for new experiences". [3].

As Christina Lodder comments Tatlin was an inspirational leader "The emergence of a self styled constructivist movement in 1921 on the other hand owed more to the inspiration of Vladimir Tatlin and his work with real materials".[4].

Commenting on Tatlin's tower which composed and was to be used as a major communication device broadcasting important speeches and meetings and producing materials which would aid and help the revolution spread to other countries. "This extraordinary structure was exhibited in November 1920 in Petrograd and then in Moscow the following Month".[5]. "The tower would combine the geometric quality of the new abstract art with Industrial materials and technology synthesing the principle of architecture ,sculpture and Painting".[6].

Nicholas Punin in 1920 wrote about Tatlin's tower explain its design and layout and showing what could be artistically achieving using glass and Iron ."The model of the monument is composed of three large glass spaces elevated by a complex system of vertical pivots and spirals". This was to be the start of how constructivism could be used , rather than a concept of 'Art for Art's sake' , this would be used to consolidate and win over elements who are not convinced by the Bolsheviks. Many of the peasants were not sure of the Revolution and had some doubts on whether to support it or not. Punin now describes the real task of Tatlin's tower "Here Conferences of the International would take place. The next space is the form of a pyramid revolves on its axis at a speed of one revolution per month and it is intended for executive commiserat of the International. finally the upper cyclinder is intended for centres of information , newspapers , pamphlets and a manifesto , in short all the mass media for the International Proletariat".[7[.

"Lenin himself suggested early in 1918 that towns should erect propaganda monuments to the World Heroes of the revolution".[8]

Alexi Gan explained some of the fundamental programmatic ideas of Constructivism in 1922 "We should not reflect ,depict reality but should build practically and express the planned objectives of the new actively the working class-the proletariat which is building the foundation of future society".[9].

Gan further commented on the specific role of the constructivists in alliance with the working class. "And further the Iron paths to a culture organised on the great plan of social production , that the master of colour ,line all must become constructors , that would fufill the demands of communist culture".[10].

Boris Arbatov in Art and class of 1923 explains succinctly the role of constructivist art. "The constructivists have declared that the creative processing of practical materials is the basic even the sole aim of art".[11].

Alexsandr Rodchenko was another Constructor who was responsible for revolutionary designs and together with Tatlin a major influence in the development of Soviet Art. "Tatlin and the ardently communist Rodchenko insisted

that the artist must become a technician , that he must learn to use the tools and materials of modern production in order to offer his energies directly for the benefit of the Proletariat".[12].

Lodder comments about how Rodchenko used mathematical and geometrical ideas to develop much of his art work. "More clearly mathematical in inspiration were Rodchenko's hanging constructions which investigated the internal spatial structure and dynamic potential of the basic forms of Euclidean Geometry".[13].

Camilla Gray shows how constructive art was a departure for many of these Constructivists, rather than just Producing aesthetic art that is pleasing to the viewer they felt the need to be builders in a practical way to help the Revolution. "The intuitive need of these artists to be active builders, first indicated in Tatlin's constructions in real materials and real space was now to be given an opportunity to be expressed".[14].

Rodchenko developed a Workers club which was a practical way of showing workers how constructive art was a particular source of practical help for the proletariat. "Rodchenko's conception of the objects he designed for the Workers Club as comrades embodying a desire for Communism that the constructor used commodity desire to produce objects for the benefit not of Capitalism but of the new communist culture". [15].

Varvara Stepanova and Lyubov Popova and others had ventured into Props and designs for the Soviet theatre and Cinema. They were expert in designs and much of the sets are influenced by Constructive designs, Tatlin and Rodchenko designed chairs and Coats. "By 1922 the artists had come to share the constructivists objectives .Popova and Stepanova convinced that a cotton print is as much a product of artistic culture as a painting".[16].

Photomontage and posters came to be recognised as a way of showing and depicting the Revolution and the immense gains that workers had achieved. Artists like Lissitsky and Klucis represented that tradition.

Commentators like Bucholh and Boris Groys have suggested that Constructivism was a contributive factor in the development of Socialist Realism under Stalin. There is no doubt as I have argued in my other article on Socialist realism that the Idea of Proletarian art was taken up by Stalinism to enforce its rigid dogma and control. Rodchenko , Gan , Tatlin and Klucis were Revolutionary artists who made a huge contribution to the development of Art in the Soviet Union. Their artistic endeavour was for

Revolutionary Communism and not Counter Revolutionary Stalinism. They did not produce art to order or glorify the great leader as Stalin became known as. If you look at Rodchenko and Tatlin you see spatially and geometric designs, they have nothing to do with Socialist Realism.

The weakness of the Constructivist movement was that similar to other Art movements in the Prolecult and LEF they argued for a pure Proletarian art with the slogan 'Death to Bourgeois Art'. This was a weakness that both Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky criticised for its one sided view of art.

Lenin submitted a resolution to the Prolecult conference on 8th October 1920 "The All Russian Prolecult congress rejects in the most resolute manner as theoretically unsound and practically harmful all attempts to invent own particular brand of culture to remain isolated in self contained organisations or to set up a Prolecult autonomy". [17].

Leon Trotsky in Art and Revolution argued against those Bolsheviks and Communists who argued for a Proletarian Culture "The formless talk about Proletarian Culture in antithesis to Bourgeois culture feeds on the extremely uncritical identification of the Historic destinies of the Proletariat with those of the Bourgeois ". [18]. Further on Trotsky states there is no Revolutionary Art. "There is no Revolutionary art, there are the elements of this art. revolutionary art which inevitably reflects all the contradictions of a revolutionary Social system should not be confused with socialist art for which no basis has yet been made".[19].

In this article on Soviet Constructivism I have sought to show the Revolutionary aspects of Constructivism and how it was reflected in the early days of the Soviet State. Communism Offered Revolutionary Artists a role in the new social order that was being built in the emerging Soviet Union.

NOTES

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2) DITTO PG.138
3) ART IN THEORY 1900-2000 PG.352
4) CHRISTINA LODDER RUSSIAN PAINTING OF THE AVANT GARDE PG.19
5) DITTO PG.20
6) DITTO
7) NICHOLAS PUNIN TATLINS TOWER 1920 PG.15
8) CAMILLA GRAY THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT IN ART 1913-1922 PG.224
9) ALEXI GAN 1922 CONSTRUCTIVISM PG.38
10) DITTO PG.39
11) BORIS ARBATOV ART AND CLASS 1923 PG.44
12)CAMILLA GRAY THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT IN ART 1913-1922 PG.247
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14)CAMILLA GRAY THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT IN ART1913-1922 PG.220
15) ART OF THE AVANT GARDE OU TEXT BOOK CHRISTINA LODDER SOVIET CONSTRUCTIVISM PG. 385
16) CHRISTINA LODDER RUSSIAN PAINTING OF THE AVANT GARDE PG.20
17) ART IN THEORY 1900-2000 PG.403
18) LEON TROTSKY ART AND REVOLUTION PG.45
19 DITTO PG. 63. ■

Socialist Realism, Soviet Art and Stalinism

A Marxist Critique

By Laurence Humphries, January 18, 2015

Socialist Realism was an art movement that emerged in the Soviet Union in the 1930's . It was greatly influenced by Stalinism , the bureaucratic caste which under the influence of Imperialism had developed a very reactionary and conservative role in the first Workers State. Under extreme adverse conditions the Soviet Union had to fight a series of Civil Wars against Imperialist encirclement and the consequence was that the best cadre of the Bolshevik Party were killed and a layer of petit bourgeois middle class elements were recruited into the Party. Many of them were ex mensheviks and counter revolutionaries but were trusted and given responsibilities by Stalin.

Socialist realism reflected the cultural backwardness of this caste, who believed that Modernist art , particularly abstraction and expressionism were to be destroyed and cast out. The only useful art was figurative art , glorifying Heroic tasks by workers , or showing examples of Stalin and collective farms. To go back to figurative art in this period was reactionary and backward.

The origin of Socialist Realism lay in the early 1920's when some artists like Mayakovsky , Malevich and others had become involved in the Prolecult movement , which advocated only proletarian art and rejected the mention of Bourgeois art . Lenin and Trotsky were opposed to this development of Proletarian culture as a dangerous development on the road to dogmatism.

"Marxism has won a historic significance as the ideology of the Revolutionary proletariat because far from reflecting the most valuable achievements of the Bourgeoise epoch it has on the contrary assimiliated and refashioned everything of value in more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture" [1].

Lenin further went on to say "Achieving unswervingly to this stand of principle the all Russia Proletariat congress rejects in the most resolute manner as theoretically unsound and practically harmful all attempts to invent ones own particular brand of culture, to remain isolated itself contained organisation to draw a line dividing the field of work of the peoples commissariat for Education and the Prolecult or to set up a Prolecult autonomy ". [2].

Trotsky , Breton and Riveria wrote a statement denouncing Socialist Realist art on the eve of the formation of the Fourth International in 1938. "Towards a free Revolutionary Art 1936" . " True art which is not content to play variations on ready made models but rather insists on expressing the inner needs of man and of mankind in its time True art is unable not to be revolutionary not to aspire to a complete and radical reconstruction of society. We reject all solidarity with the bureaucracy now in control of the Soviet union , its precisely because in our eyes it represents not Communism but its most treacherous and dangerous enemy. A twilight of filth and blood in which disguised as intellectuals and artists those men stoop to make a career of Lying . the Communist Revolution is not afraid of art it realises that the role of an artist in a decadent capitalist society is determined by the conflict between the individual and various social forms which are hostile to him". [3]. Trotsky , Breton and Riveria went on to say "We believe that aesthethic , philosophical and political tendencies of the most varied sort can find here a common ground. Marxists can march hand in hand with anarchists provided both parties uncompromisingly reject the reactionary police , patrol spies represented by Joseph Stalin".[4].

What Stalinism forgot to recognise was imagination and emotions which could only be expressed through abstraction and expressionist art as practised by Paul Klee, a Revolutionary artist who taught at the Bahaus , both Klee and Kandinsky were experimenting with abstract forms , this could only be expressed through abstraction. To go

backwards to a form of Realism was both reactionary and counter productive.

AK Voronsky , a cultural critic suffered for his beliefs under Stalin. He was sent to the Gulag perished and like many members and signatories in the Left Opposition were denounced suffered the Moscow Trials and were executed under Stalinism. This form of control and terror had nothing to do with Socialism or communism.

Voronsky agreeing with Trotsky made these comments "In order to recognise Society on a new Foundation , it must before anything else master the cultural heritage in Science and other Fields". [5].

"Comrades Lenin and Trotsky state that the main task in the realm of mass cultural Education lies in the assmiliation of bourgeois culture by the masses". [6].

Voronsky concluded "In short we have no proletarian art in the sense in which bourgeois art exists. The attempt to present contemporary art of the Writer proletarian and writer communist as proletarian art independent and opposed to bourgeois art is both naïve and based upon a misunderstanding". [7].

George Luckacs was another cultural critic who had an ambivalent attitude to Socialist Realism. Luckacs born in Hungary and active in the Hungarian Revolution of 1919 , had written on Realism and had made major contribution when he had criticised Expressionism "It goes without saying that without abstraction there could be no art , for otherwise how could anything in art have representative value, but like every moment abstraction must have a direction and it is on this everything depends". [8].

Luckacs had contradictory and ambivalent attitudes to socialist realism was grappling with the representation of realism and its relationship to Modernism and abstraction. "And the truth about Socialist realism is that its content and form were seriously distorted during the Stalinist Period" [9].

Defending some aspects of Socialist realism Luckacs says"It would be slanderous to assert that during the Stalinist period Socialist democracy or the Socialist basis of economic construction were totally destroyed" . [9].

Lukacs adopting more critical vein says "But during the Stalinist period as we know many crucial Marxist doctrines were misrepresented"' [10].

Labour Review has correctly identified the role of Lukacs in his relationship with Stalinism "Lukacs Has been in trouble with the Stalinist revisers of Marxism for the better part of his life. He has frequently been accused of Hegelian Idealism and of right wing deviationism. He owes his physical survival to his willingness to pay the price of repeated acts of diplomatic self criticism. He has always bent to the prevailing wind returning to his former path as soon as possible afterwards". [11].

It is true to say that as I have argued before Socialist realism's origin lies with the prolecult movement "To a significant extent AKHRR also set the tone for what was eventually to become Socialist realism". [12].

As one commentator has suggested "Socialist Realism disguised as literary criticism represents a bureaucratic and administrative conception of literature , notable both for the exceptional vagueness and fuzziness of its notions and for the implacable rigor of its judgements". [13].

"During those dark days of Zhadonvism (Zhadonov was the Cultural censor who was appointed by Stalin, in 1948 Shostakovich together with Prokoview and others were denounced for producing Music that was not pleasing to the Ear, I have commented on Shostakovich and his fight against Stalinism elsewhere on my blog) one of the very few Marxists to speak out against this propagandistic literature trapped in the stifling cage of an official political doctrines is Georg Luckacs ".[14].

"Moreover by the very fact that the cultural bureaucracy created by Stalinism and still faithful to its spirit remains unchallenged. The constraint excercised on writers ,artists and muscians is twofold. Firstly an enormous bureaucratic mechanism made up of study committees and investigatory Committees".

I have tried in this assessment to show that Socialist realism , influenced by Stalin himself represented all that was backward and reactionary in Russian Society , appealing to the common denominator. Many artists like Voronsky ended up in the Gulag to suffer the fate of the Moscow Trials and eventually Death by Execution. what was their crime to compose music or paint or write a play that Stalin did not like, an extreme state of paranoia developed by a caste which had more in common with Medieval practices than twentieth century life. Not even under capitalist society did these strictures take place , the only other comparison would be Nazi Germany which also developed a Socialist realist culture.

NOTES

1) Art in theory pg 402
2) Art in Theory pg. 402
3) Art in Theory pg. 532
4) Art in Theory pg. 532
5) Art as the cognition of Life by AK Voronsky pg.148
6) Art as the cognition of Life by AK Voronsky pg.153
7) Art as the Cognition of Life By AK Voronsky pg.160
8) Aesthethics and politics By Georg Luckacs pg.38.
9) Meaning of contemporary realism Georg Luckacs pg. 133
10) Meaning of contemporary realism Georg Luckacs pg.125
11) Labour review Volume no7 No 2 Summer 1962 pg.57
12) Realism Rationalism Surrealism art between the wars Open University pg.275
13) Marxists Aesthethics Henri Avron pg.83
14) Marxist Aesthethics Henri Avron pg.84 ■

Books from the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South

Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new book. It's called *THE GREAT ROBBERY OF THE SOUTH.* The book's subtitle is: *Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital*. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism. The book is in English-language. It has 15 chapters, 448 pages and includes 139 Tables and Figures. The author of the book is *Michael Pröbsting* who is the International Secretary of the RCIT.

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He shows that the relationship between the small minority of rich capitalist countries and the huge majority of mankind living in the semi-colonial world forms one of the most important elements of the imperialist world system we are living in. The Great Robbery of the South shows that the past decades have been a complete confirmation of the validity of Lenin's theory of imperialism and its programmatic conclusions. *The Great Robbery of the South* demonstrates the important changes in the relationship between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries. Using comprehensive material (including 139 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that never before has such a big share of the world capitalist value been produced in the South. Never before have the imperialist monopolies been so dependent on the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world. Never before has migrant labor from the semi-colonial world played such a significant role for the capitalist value production in the imperialist countries. Never before has the huge majority of the world working class lived in the South – outside of the old imperialist metropolises.

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting argues that a correct understanding of the nature of imperialism as well as of the program of permanent revolution which includes the tactics of consistent anti-imperialism is essential for anyone who wants to change the world and bring about a socialist future.

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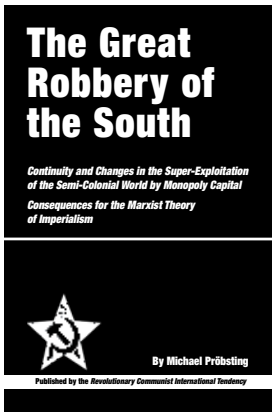

Look for details of the books at www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net and www.cuba-sold-out.net

Michael Pröbsting: Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?

The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new book. It's called *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?*. The book's subtitle is: *The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism*. The book is in English-language. It has 5 chapters plus an appendix, 108 pages and includes 19 Tables and Figures. The author of the book is *Michael Pröbsting* who is the International Secretary of the RCIT.

In *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* Michael Pröbsting analyses the character of the Cuban Revolution 1959-61, its bureaucratic degeneration, and the recent march of the Castro leadership towards capitalism.

The author demonstrates how the Cuban Revolution, despite the initial modest intentions of its leaders, was spurred forward to more radical policies by grass roots struggles of Cuban workers and peasants. In fact, the very abolishment of capitalism by the Cuban regime was no part of the original game plan of either Castro's Movimiento 26 de Julio or of the official Cuban communist party (PSP), but rather was a product of precisely such pressures from below.

Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? describes in detail how a number of relatively recent political, economic, and social measures were purposely taken by the Cuban government to open the road back to capitalism. Pröbsting elaborates the key role of the world's new great imperialist power, China, in Cuba's state policy as exemplified in the June 2011 Sino-Cuban agreement for a first Five-Year Plan of cooperation between these two states.

Cuba's Revolution Sold Out? examines these developments from the viewpoint of Marxist theory, the nature of the ruling bureaucracy in Stalinist states, and the process of restoration of capitalism under such regimes.

In conclusion, the book proposes a socialist program for political and social revolution in Cuba to halt the advance of capitalism and to eradicate the country's bureaucratic dictatorship.

Price: 8 Euro / 12 US-Dollars / 7 British Pound
(plus delivery charges) ■

The Author: Michael Pröbsting is a revolutionary activist since 30 years. He is the author of many articles and pamphlets in German and English language. He published books or contributed to books on Rosa Luxemburg (1999), on the World Economy (2008), on Migration (2010) and the Arab Revolution (2011). His latest book, The Great Robbery of the South (published in 2013), analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He is the International Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency.

What the RCIT Stands for

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) is a revolutionary combat organisation fighting for the liberation of the working class and all oppressed. It has national sections in a number of countries. The working class is composed of all those (and their families) who are forced to sell their labor power as wage earners to the capitalists. The RCIT stands on the theory and practice of the revolutionary workers' movement associated with the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

Capitalism endangers our lives and the future of humanity. Unemployment, war, environmental disasters, hunger, and exploitation are all part of everyday life under capitalism as are the imperialistic oppression of nations, the national oppression of migrants, and the oppression of women, young people, and homosexuals. Therefore, we want to eliminate capitalism.

The liberation of the working class and all oppressed is possible only in a classless society without exploitation and oppression. Such a society can only be established internationally.

Therefore, the RCIT is fighting for a socialist revolution at home and around the world.

This revolution must be carried out and lead by the working class, for only this class has the collective power to bring down the ruling class and build a socialist society.

The revolution cannot proceed peacefully because a ruling class never has nor ever will voluntarily surrender its power. By necessity, therefore, the road to liberation includes armed rebellion and civil war against the capitalists.

The RCIT is fighting for the establishment of workers' and peasants' republics, where the oppressed organize themselves in councils democratically elected in rank-and-file meetings in factories, neighbourhoods, and schools. These councils, in turn, elect and control the government and all other statue authorities, and always retain the right to recall them.

Authentic socialism and communism have nothing to do with the so-called "socialism" that ruled in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and which continues to do so in China and Cuba, for example. In these countries, the proletariat was and is dominated and oppressed by a privileged party bureaucracy.

Under capitalism, the RCIT supports all efforts to improve the living conditions of the workers and oppressed, while simultaneously striving to overthrow this system based on economic exploitation of the masses.

Towards these ends, we work from within the trade unions where we advocate class struggle, socialism, and workers' democracy. But trade unions and social democracy are controlled by a bureaucracy perniciously connected with the state and capital via status, high-paying jobs, and other privileges. Thus, the trade union bureaucracy is far from the interests and living conditions of its members, based as it is on the top, privileged layers of the working class – a labor aristocracy which has no real interest in replacing capitalism. Therefore, the true struggle for the liberation of the working class, the toppling of capitalism and the establishment of socialism, must be based on the broad mass of the proletariat rather than their "representative" from the upper trade union strata.

We also fight for the expropriation of the big land owners as well as for the nationalisation of the land and its distribution to the poor and landless peasants. Towards this goal we struggle for the independent organisation of the rural workers.

We support national liberation movements against oppression. We also support the anti-imperialist struggles of oppressed peoples against the great powers. Within these movements we advocate a revolutionary leadership as an alternative to nationalist or reformist forces.

While the RCIT strives for unity of action with other organizations, we are acutely aware that the policies of social democrats and pseudo-revolutionary groups are dangerous, and ultimately represent an obstacle to the emancipation of the working class, peasants, and the otherwise oppressed.

In wars between imperialist states we take a revolutionary defeatist position: we do not support either side, but rather advocate the transformation of the war into a civil war against the ruling class in each of the warring states.

In wars between imperialist powers (or their stooges) and a semi-colonial countries we stand for the defeat of the former and the victory of the oppressed countries.

As communists, we maintain that the struggle against national oppression and all types of social oppression (women, youth, sexual minorities etc.) *must* be lead by the working class, because only the latter is capable of fomenting a revolutionarily change in society . Therefore, we consistently support working class-based revolutionary movements of the socially oppressed, while opposing the leadership of petty-bourgeois forces (feminism, nationalism, Islamism, etc.), who ultimately dance to the tune of the capitalists, and strive to replace them with revolutionary communist leadership.

Only with a revolutionary party fighting as its leadership can the working class be victorious in its struggle for liberation. The establishment of such a party and the execution of a successful revolution, as it was demonstrated by the Bolsheviks in Russia under Lenin and Trotsky remain the models for revolutionary parties and revolutions in the 21st century.

For new, revolutionary workers' parties in all countries! For a 5th Workers International to be founded on a revolutionary program! Join the RCIT!

No future without socialism!
No socialism without revolution!
No revolution without a revolutionary party!