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ONE WORLD - ONE STRUGGLE - ONE REVOLUTION



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Revolutionary Communism is the monthly English-language journal published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT). The RCIT has sections and activists in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Mexico, Britain, Germany, and Austria. In addition the RCIT has fraternal relations with *Dördüncü Blok* in Turkey.

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Turkey after the failed coup: Defend democratic rights!

Joint Statement of Dördüncü Blok (Turkey) and the RCIT, 16.7.2016 (21.30 Turkish Time)

1. After the coup-attempt by part of the Turkish military was defeated in the streets of Istanbul, revolutionaries should remain alert. We should not allow this failed coup-attempt to be used by the reactionary Erdoğan government to further undermine democratic rights. However, this attempted coup was not some political theatre concocted by Erdoğan to justify his further undermining of democratic rights, but was rather a real attempt which was stopped with the blood of the masses.

2. It appears that nearly all the great powers were open to supporting a successful coup. They didn't say anything negative about the coup until it was clear that it has been defeated in the streets. After the coup they had to speak out against it, because they still want to have influence over the Turkish government. The fact that the Syrian army loyal to Assad applauded the coup-attempt in Turkey demonstrates yet again the reactionary nature of the Assad regime.

3. We stress that our position in the statement we issued while the coup attempt was still going on is absolutely correct. During the night between from the 15th and 16th of July we stated: *"In order to defeat the military coup we need mass actions of the workers and poor! (...) They station the soldier in our streets and neighborhoods, let's show them that this was a big mistake!"* (See RCIT and DB: Turkey: Defeat the Coup in the Streets! No Political Support for AKP/Erdoğan! But the Main Enemy is the Army Command, backed by the Great Powers! <http://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/defeat-the-coup-in-turkey/>) This is exactly what happened. The coup was defeated by the masses of the poor urban population in Istanbul and Ankara. While many of those who took to the streets are supporters of Erdoğan and many had religious motivation we need to say unequivocally: they were on the

right side of the barricades and in their heroic opposition to the coup we were together with them.

4. The fact that the Turkish left played no role in this mass-struggle merely reflects its weakness and sectarianism. This could have been the perfect opportunity for the Turkish left to win the trust of a sector of the masses of Turkish religious workers who follow the AKP. We could have shown them that, although we have political differences, we also defend their rights and their lives against reactionary assaults. The events in Istanbul demonstrate the importance of building a genuine revolutionary party which is able to intervene in such struggles alongside politically backward workers, and show them in practice that they can trust us.

5. The Turkish left could have used this opportunity to take control of at least some districts in Istanbul and other parts of the country. They could have taken to the streets under the slogan *"Down with the coup – but no political support for Erdoğan!"* and would have had at least a limited influence in the mass uprising. They could have ensured that, in at least parts of the country, the result of the mass-uprising would have been self-determination for neighborhoods. This would have been an important signal to the masses of Turkey on how to proceed. But not surprisingly, the left's sectarianism led them to declare that revolutionaries should stay at home while the masses fight in the streets. This is the way not to get your hands dirty, waiting for a "pure" revolutionary movement (which never comes) and stay isolated.

6. We call for peoples' committees which should monitor the army and especially the officers who are not loyal to the will of the popular masses. All those who participated in the coup or have been involved in war-crimes in Kurdistan should be brought before popular-trials. The masses of the people have to purge the army of



Turkey: popular masses on the streets defeat the military coup

all those who are willing to raise weapons against them. We propose that all passages in the Turkish constitution and laws which allow the army to intervene against their own people be deleted; similarly the option to declare martial law should also be eliminated. However, we must also be unmistakably clear and tell the workers and oppressed that no piece of paper will protect them against the army and police, just their own strength, their organization and their will to fight.

7. At the same time, we oppose the effort of the Erdoğan government to strengthen the police at the expense of the army. Enacting this policy will by no means ensure that there will be no dictatorship in Turkey, but merely ensures that it will not be led by the army. Erdoğan's strategy of strengthening the police is designed to ensure that he will be able to stay in power and build his dictatorial-presidential police state. The workers and the masses of the people should have no trust in the police who have been used to repress their demonstrations so often in the past, and who are ready to strike against them yet again if only called upon. Only workers' and popular militias who are truly loyal to the masses of the people, who are elected in the workplaces and neighborhoods, will ensure that the armed forces will be opposed with force if they attempt to attack their own people. Such militias will ensure that the poor and our Kurdish brothers and sisters are protected.

8. Those parts of the army that declared war on the masses of the people were overrun in their tanks, and were surrounded and forced to capitulate. In the same way we need to fight the war which has been declared against the Kurdish people, with its occupation of their cities, the countless arrests and murders. We need to win

support among the Turkish workers and poor to force the same army which attacked them to withdraw its forces from the Kurdish areas of Turkey and to end its military operations and murder against our Kurdish brothers and sisters. The events of this past day have shown that the Kurdish and Turkish masses share the same enemy: the undemocratic Turkish army! Now is the decisive time to break-away Turkish workers from the reactionary influence of the AKP. But this cannot simply be done by a sectarianist denouncing of the AKP, as it the Stalinists do, but by defending them against reactionary attacks and pedagogically explaining to them their real interests. At the same time, we have to fight against all reactionary measures of the Erdoğan-government and politically criticize bourgeois-Islamism.

9. One central slogan for revolutionaries in Turkey now is *"For a Revolutionary Constitutional Assembly."* We will fight for a constitutional assembly that is based on committees elected in mass assemblies in the neighborhoods and workplaces. We need to fight against all reactionary attacks on democratic rights and strive for the formation of real power for the workers and poor!

10. The central task remains to build an authentically revolutionary party in Turkey. It is imperative that such a party be capable of politically influencing religious workers too, while giving no political support to Islamism. Such a party will defend the masses of the people, in particular the Kurds and all other national minorities, against every injustice, no matter whether it comes from the Kemalist generals, the Erdoğan-police state, or the multinational companies! For the formation of revolutionary parties in all countries, and for their strengthening in the coming struggles ahead! For a Revolutionary 5th International!

New Book of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today

The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement and the United Front Tactic Today.

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – MARXISM AND THE UNITED FRONT TACTIC TODAY. The book's subtitle is: The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement and the United Front Tactic Today. On the Application of the Marxist United Front Tactic in Semi-Colonial and Imperialist Countries in the Present Period. It contains eight chapters plus an appendix (172 pages) and includes 9 tables and 5 figures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

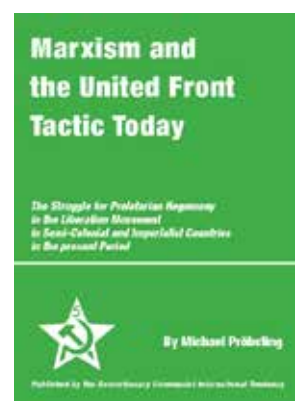
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

The united front tactic is a crucial instrument for revolutionaries under today's circumstances in which the mass organizations of the working class and the oppressed are dominated by social democratic, Stalinist and petty-bourgeois-populist forces.

The purpose of this document is both to summarize the main ideas of the Marxist united front tactic while at the same time explaining its development and modification which have become necessary due to political changes which have transpired in the

working class liberation movement since the tactic's original formulation.

In this book we initially summarize the main characteristics of the united front tactic and elaborate the approach of the Marxist classics to this issue. We then outline important social developments in the working class and the popular masses as well as in their political formations in recent decades. From there we will discuss how the united front tactic should be applied in light of a number of new developments (the rise of petty-bourgeois populist parties, the decline of the classic reformist parties, the role of national minorities and migrants in imperialist countries, etc.). The eight chapters of the book are accompanied by nine tables and five figures.



Turkey: Defeat the Coup in the Streets!

No Political Support for AKP/Erdogan!

But the Main Enemy is the Army Command, backed by the Great Powers!

Joint Statement of Dördüncü Blok (Turkey) and the RCIT, 16.7.2016 (01.30 Turkish Time)

1. A big part of the Turkish military is trying to eradicate most democratic rights for the masses. Their goal is to put Turkey under their iron rule. They get the support of the Great Powers and an important sector of the ruling class. Revolutionaries have to fight this coup attempt whose objective is to intensify the oppression of the working class and the Kurdish people.

2. The reason for this coup is that Erdoğan has not sufficiently served the interests of the western Great Powers and the Turkish capitalists. He tried to keep some independence while establishing a presidential police state with him in power. However the coup is in the first line not directed against Erdoğan, but against the popular masses and the Kurdish people and their already limited democratic and social rights. Revolutionaries still have to consistently politically oppose the bourgeois-reactionary AKP which tried in the last years to undermine democratic rights and oppress our Kurdish brothers and sisters. But we oppose any military persecution of the AKP. This expresses not our political sympathy but underlines that the main enemy of the workers, peasants and poor is the military!

3. Down with all reactionary assaults on democratic rights! Stop martial law, the occupation of our streets, bridges, airports and cities! The actions of the military are

a declaration of war against the masses of the Turkish and Kurdish people. The army command doesn't care about democracy and human rights. The cynical "defense" of the latter by the military is just a pretext for them to do the same as in 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997. They want to secure the power for a tiny elite and smash any popular resistance of the masses.

4. In order to defeat the military coup we need mass actions of the workers and poor! We call for a broad united front of workers and poor to defend democratic rights! The trade unions need to organize an indefinite general strike immediately that lasts as long as the putschists are in power! We need to build anti-coup committees in every neighborhood and workplace; the economy and the transport have to be shut down. Block every road, bridge and rail to stop them from moving, build self-defense committees! For international solidarity with the struggle against the coup in Turkey! Workers and revolutionaries need to build a close relationship with the ordinary soldiers and convince them that the coup-officers and generals are the real enemies. They station the soldier in our streets and neighborhoods, lets show them that this was a big mistake!

Build the revolutionary party in the struggle! The workers' fists will break the iron chains of dictatorial military rule!

Books of the RCIT

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 book 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 Bolshevnik-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 Bolshevnik 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/> ■

**Building the
Revolutionary Party
in Theory
and Practice**

*Looking Back and Ahead after
25 Years of organized Struggle for Bolshevism*



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

Syria: Defeat Imperialism, down with Assad!

On the tasks of Syrian revolutionaries and the character of the Syrian civil war

Joint Statement of Dördüncü Blok and Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), July 2016

1. In 2011, after many decades of brutal rule, the capitalist and sectarian Assad dictatorship started to crumble. Inspired by the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions, the multinational masses of workers and peasants in Syria started to stand up against the injustices imposed on them by the Assad dictatorship and the world economic crisis. We characterize this uprising as a justified attempt to foment a democratic revolution and at the same time to fight for important social demands.

2. Because of the treacherous bourgeois or petty-bourgeois leaderships of the uprising, the first attempt to topple Assad failed. At the same time, the Western Great Powers (the US and EU) and in conjunction with the Gulf monarchies and Turkey, tried to exploit the Syrian Revolution for their own particular interests. Assad, for them a puppet of Russian imperialism, was an obstacle to implementing the various plans they had for the region. Western imperialism tried to buy off the anti-Assad rebels, but they were unsuccessful in this and even today they do not have any reliable allies among the rebel movements.

3. As a result of the failure of the official Arab left, which was mostly in bed with Assad (both of Syria's Stalinist parties are part of the Assad's National Front) and corrupt liberals, many poor Sunni Syrians joined radical Islamist forces. They did so because of the absence of an alternative leadership, because the Islamist forces provided food for the poor, and because these reactionary forces did most of the fighting. We don't judge a mass movement exclusively by its leadership; it is also important to examine the essence of a movement and the classes standing behind it. The Syrian Revolution is not a CIA conspiracy; it is a legitimate mass movement of the workers and peasants against a corrupt, pro-imperialist dictatorship.

4. Syrian revolutionaries should oppose and criticize the political forces who are now leading the Syrian Revolution, but at the same time they must also demonstrate to the workers and peasants what a revolutionary struggle against Assad looks like. They must show the masses that a red Syria is worth fighting for.

5. When the Syrian Revolution started, it was multinational: Sunnis, Shias, Kurds, Alawites, Christians, Turkmens and Druze all participated in the uprising against the Assad. But both Assad and the reactionary Islamists (who were aided by the Gulf monarchies) had a vast material interest in splitting the masses along ethnic and religious lines. The reason that Assad released many Salafists in 2011 was precisely to undermine the revolution! We must understand Assad's action for what it was and reaffirm that it is the role of true revolutionaries not only to struggle against oppression, but to do so by fighting for the unity of all oppressed peoples.

6. Since 2014 and the rise of Daesh/IS, the western Great Powers have entirely dropped even limited

rhetorical support for the Syrian Revolution. While still skeptical of Assad, the West nevertheless intervened in the fighting in Syria alongside the regime by bombing not only Daesh/IS but also the forces of anti-western-rebels. Revolutionaries must unequivocally oppose intervention by any imperialist Great Power in the region, regardless of whether this be the US, the EU, Russia or China (or of any of their respective lackeys).

7. Daesh/IS is an arch-reactionary mass movement, which arose in the wake of the horrific crimes by US/EU imperialism in Iraq and Russia/Assad in Syria. While opposing the imperialist bombing campaign, revolutionaries should do everything in their power to encourage Daesh/IS's being smashed by the masses.

8. We oppose an imperialist peace that will try to carve up Syria between the Great Powers who want to establish different protectorates for themselves. We demand the opening of the borders for all refugees from the conflict in Syria to Turkey and from there to Europe!

9. All revolutionaries must support the right of the Kurdish people for self-determination. We defend the Kurdish people against the reactionary attacks of the Turkish army, Daesh/IS and Iran. But at the same time we criticize the pro-imperialist leadership of the PYD/YPG and the petty-bourgeois ideology of Apoism. We are for a united, socialist Kurdistan from Rojava to Orumiyeh and from Bakhtaran to Qers.

10. In Syria we are for the formation of popular councils of the workers, peasants and poor. These councils should organize the defense against Assad and topple him. Following their victory, these councils will be able to rebuild Syria, ensure that it is not divided by the Great Imperialist Powers and abolish capitalism. This will reignite the fire that first broke out in 2011, revitalize it and spark workers' and popular rebellions throughout the entire region.

11. The first urgent step to this is to found genuinely revolutionary party organizations throughout the Middle East, incorporating revolutionaries who have learned the respective lessons from the failures of Arab nationalism, Stalinism and Kurdish left-nationalism. Only such parties can liberate the masses of the region from the horrors of imperialism and their regional allies – the Arab dictatorships; only such parties can lead the workers and poor towards the abolishment of capitalism; and only such parties will be able to liberate the oppressed peoples – form Palestine, to Kurdistan, from Ahwaz to the Southern Sahara!

The Current Political Crisis in Iraq

Down with the Government of Haider al-Abadi in Iraq!

For a Revolutionary Constitutional Assembly!

By Yossi Schwarz and Gerard Stephens, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine)*, 5.5.2016

Saddam Hussein came to power in 1979 and established a cruel dictatorship similar to that of the Assads in Syria. As Saïd Aburish, has described in his book *A Brutal Friendship: The West and the Arab Elite* (1997), Saddam took power with the aid of the CIA which not only closely controlled the planning stages of his coup but also played a central role in the subsequent purge of suspected leftists which followed in its wake, approximately 5,000 of whom were murdered. The massacre was carried out based on death lists compiled in CIA stations throughout the Middle East, which were then handed over to Saddam and his executioners. The American agent who produced the longest list was William McHale who was operating under the cover of a news correspondent for the Beirut bureau of *Time Magazine*. (1)

Saddam Hussein waged a long and costly war against Iran (1980–88), using arms provided by the US and UK, as well as by France, Russia, Germany and others. During the 8 year war, during which more than half a million people were killed on both side, no one in Washington complained about Saddam's nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons programs as he was viewed by the West as a useful ally against the Iranian "threat." During the 1980s, Washington provided him with military advisors, satellite intelligence, and even targeting for his chemical weapons attacks against Iranian forces.

The Great Fissure between US Imperialism and Iraq

When the war with Iran was over, Saddam decided to reimburse himself for the tremendous costs incurred in that despicable war by invading Kuwait on 2 August 1990 and occupying that country's oil fields. As a result, he was suddenly declared an arch criminal by the US and a violator of Human Rights. Sanctions against the Iraqi people were approved by the UN and it subsequently approved the First Gulf War launched by a US-led coalition (January 1991) and stood by as the US and Britain launched the Second Gulf War (March 2003).

The Iraqi people were the victims of these three wars which, along with a dozen years of economic sanctions, left the Iraqi economy was in shambles. As a result of the wars and sanctions, Iraq was saddled with a huge debt that vastly exceeded its annual gross domestic product. It was not the American imperialists who were forced to pay for the criminal wars instigated by them, but the Iraqi workers and peasants and the lower middle class.

Following the 2003 US/British invasion of Iraq and the toppling of Saddam's regime, the US installed a series of corrupt puppet governments. Consequently, due to the American military occupation "Iraq will be unable to pay some of its civil servants, or honour pledges to build roads and power stations in the next financial year. The gravity of the crisis has created uncomfortable reckonings for Iraq's political class, military leaders and some senior religious figures, who have

led a staggering 13-year pillage that has left Iraq consistently rated as one of the top five least transparent and most corrupt countries in the world." (2)

The Revolutionary Defense of Iraq

During the imperialist wars against Iraq, revolutionary Marxists adopted the position of revolutionary defeatism of the imperialists and a revolutionary defense of Iraq.

Revolutionaries must make a distinction between wars fought between rival imperialist powers and wars between one or more imperialist powers and a semi-colonialist country. As Trotsky wrote, when it comes to war between imperialists:

"Imperialism camouflages its own peculiar aims – seizure of colonies, markets, sources of raw material, spheres of influence – with such ideas as 'safeguarding peace against the aggressors,' 'defense of the fatherland,' 'defense of democracy,' etc. These ideas are false through and through. It is the duty of every socialist not to support them but, on the contrary, to unmask them before the people. 'The question of which group delivered the first military blow or first declared war,' wrote Lenin in March 1915, 'has no importance whatever in determining the tactics of socialists. Phrases about the defense of the fatherland, repelling invasion by the enemy, conducting a defensive war, etc. are on both sides a complete deception of the people'.... 'Most of the labor parties in the advanced capitalist countries turned out on the side of their respective bourgeoisies during the war. Lenin named this tendency as social chauvinism: socialism in words, chauvinism in deeds. The betrayal of internationalism did not fall from the skies but came as an inevitable continuation and development of the policies of reformist adaptation. 'The ideological-political content of opportunism and of social chauvinism is one and the same: class collaboration instead of class struggle, support of ones own government when it is in difficulties instead of utilizing these difficulties for the revolution.'" (3)

In contrast to a war between imperialists, in a war between oppressed nations and imperialists, it is the duty of revolutionary Marxists is to aid the oppressed nations regardless of the regime. Trotsky wrote:

"I will take the most simple and obvious example. In Brazil there now reigns a semifascist regime that every revolutionary can only view with hatred. Let us assume, however, that on the morrow England enters into a military conflict with Brazil. I ask you on whose side of the conflict will the working class be? I will answer for myself personally—in this case I will be on the side of "fascist" Brazil against "democratic" Great Britain. Why? Because in the conflict between them it will not be a question of democracy or fascism. If England should be victorious, she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and will place double chains on Brazil. If Brazil on the contrary should be victorious, it will give a mighty impulse to national and democratic consciousness of the country and will lead to the overthrow of the Vargas dictatorship. The defeat of England will at the same time deliver a blow to British imperialism and will give an impulse to the

revolutionary movement of the British proletariat. Truly, one must have an empty head to reduce world antagonisms and military conflicts to the struggle between fascism and democracy. Under all masks one must know how to distinguish exploiters, slave-owners, and robbers!" (4)

The above reasoning absolutely applies to the case of Iraq.

The Masses Are on the Move

In Iraq, in September 2014, the corrupt and sectarian puppet government of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's was replaced by the bonapartist government of Haider al-Abadi. Since coming to power, the major effort of al-Abadi's government has been to maintain a balance between political factions of different parties, and at the same time to deliver reforms that have not materialized, while maneuvering between the US and Iran on the one hand and on the other hand between the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in Erbil and his own government which includes Kurdish bourgeois members of parliament.

For months, a growing number of Iraqis have decided that they have had enough with the corruption and the broken promises and have taken to the streets. This last weekend protesters angry about government corruption stormed the heavily fortified Green Zone and occupied the parliament. On Sunday, Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi called for the arrest of the protesters who had torn down blast walls and infiltrated the Green Zone. At present the masses are led by al-Sadr, the popular cleric who launched an uprising in 2004 against the occupation of Iraq by US troops. The protesters are demanding government reforms to put an end to corruption and, among other things, are demanding politically appointed ministers to be replaced by non-partisan technocrats.

Kenneth Pollack, senior fellow with the Brookings Institute, says that the protests are likely to expand and might even spread to Jordan, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia: "These are scenarios that the United States does not want to see happen." (5) The real fear of American imperialism now is the renewal of the revolutionary movement that erupted in 2010, known as the "Arab Spring."

In contrast to reformists and centrist who maintain that the Arab revolution is dead, our position has consistently been that the revolution, in spite of all its difficulties, is continuing and will erupt on a massive scale. Therefore, the most important things is to learn the lessons of the temporary retreats of the revolutionary struggle, in particular the lessons from what happened in Egypt.

The Arab Spring in Egypt

The Arab Spring in Egypt began with struggles of workers which took the form of mass strikes, long before January 2011 when the masses took to the streets. Major waves of strikes occurred during the years 2006-2009, when some 2 million workers took part in work stoppages in response to the erosion of their standard of living under Mubarak's neoliberal economic policies. The main instigator of the January 25 [2011] protests in Tahrir Square was the *April 6 Youth Movement*, an organization that was formed in solidarity with the strike of workers from the Misr Spinning and Weaving factory in Mahalla that began on

April 6, 2008. The Mahalla workers were the leading force in the January-February 2011 movement which toppled the Mubarak regime. The renewed wave of strikes of September 2011 paralyzed the Egyptian government and the supreme military council. Independent unions and committees which appeared at this time led these strikes and were their leading force. (6)

However, what was still missing at that time was a revolutionary leadership in the form of a revolutionary workers' party that would fight for the expropriation of big capital and its control by a government of workers and *falahin*. The so-called Egyptian left, the *Communist Party* and *Revolutionary Socialists* (the Egypt sister organization of the British SWP), instead of fighting for the leadership of the working class, did everything they possibly could to paralyze the struggle for working class leadership of the revolution.

The role of the Communist Party of Egypt during the Arab Spring, which was wedded to the notion of a "two-stage revolution," was its attempt to restrict the demands of the working class to economic demands alone. The Communist Party and the Revolutionary Socialists formed a reformist labor party under the name of the *Workers' Democratic Party*. The Revolutionary Socialists, while claiming to be Trotskyists, turned their back on Trotsky's position on the Labor Party. In 1932, Trotsky opposed the demand for a reformist labor party saying:

"One can declare that even the general term "Party of the working class", does not exclude a "Labor Party", in the English sense. Be that as it may. However, such an eventuality has nothing to do with a precise tactical question. We can admit hypothetically that the American trade union bureaucracy will be forced in certain historical conditions, to imitate the British trade union bureaucracy in creating a kind of party based upon the trade unions. But that eventuality, which appears to me to be very problematical, does not constitute an aim for which the Communists must strive and on which one must concentrate the attention of the proletarian vanguard... A long period of confusion in the Comintern led many people to forget a very simple but absolutely irrevocable principle that a Marxist, a proletarian revolutionist, cannot present himself before the working class with two banners. He cannot say at a workers meeting: I have tickets for a first class party and other tickets cheaper for the stupid ones. If I am a Communist I must fight for the Communist Party." (7)

At that time Trotsky thought that the American Trotskyists, later to be named the SWP, would eventually be able to become a mass revolutionary party. However by 1938 Trotsky was for the demand of a workers' party, not a reformist party, but a party based on the transitional program. In his debate with James P. Cannon, the American Trotskyist, there was the following exchange:

Cannon: *You see that phenomenon in strikes – they sweep the country and take the revolutionary party by surprise. Do we put forward this transitional program in the trade unions?*

Trotsky: *Yes, we propagandize this program in the trade unions, propose it as the basic program for the labor party. For us, it is a transitional program; but for them, it is the program. Now it's a question of workers' control of production, but you can realize this program only through a workers' and farmers' government. We must make this slogan popular.*

Trotsky continued:

The first step is clear: all the trade unions should unite and form

their own labor party. Not the party of Roosevelt or La Guardia, not a "labor" party in name only, but a truly independent political organization of the working class. Only such a party is capable of gathering around itself the ruined farmers, the small artisans, the shopkeepers. But for this it would have to wage an uncompromising struggle against the banks, trusts, monopolies, and their political agents, that is, the Republican and Democratic parties. The task of the labor party should consist in taking power into its own hands, all the power, and then putting the economy in order. This means organizing the entire national economy according to a single national plan whose aim is not the profit of a small bunch of exploiters but the material and spiritual interests of a population of 130 million. To be unequivocal, Trotsky said: *Are we for the creation of a reformist Labor Party? No! Are we for a policy which would give to the trade unions the possibility of throwing their weight into the balance? Yes! It could become a reformist party, that depends on the development. Here the question of program is posed. ... We must have a program of transitional demands, the most advanced of which is the demand for the workers and farmers' government...*" (8)

The Failure of the Egyptian Workers' Democratic Party

In the events of 2011, the Workers' Democratic Party in Egypt never presented itself as a revolutionary workers' party. The argument was that a socialist revolution was not feasible under the political conditions, because the workers lacked political experience. While advocating renationalization of the industry, as during Nasser's Egypt, this party never raised the demand for a government of workers and peasants. Instead of expropriating Egyptian industries and the banks under workers' control, they demanded the elections of the managers by the workers.

During the Presidential elections of 2012 the Revolutionary Socialists called upon its supporters to vote for Morsi, the candidate of the Moslem Brotherhood, a bourgeois party. After the elections they wrote: *"The victory of Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood candidate, is a great achievement in pushing back this counterrevolution and pushing back this coup*

d'etat. For now, this is a real victory for the Egyptian masses and a real victory for the Egyptian revolution." (9)

Even worse, the Revolutionary Socialists lied and hid the fact that they had called to vote for Morsi. Ultimately Revolutionary Socialists betrayed the working class by entering into a Popular Front – the *National Salvation Front* – led by the liberals.

They attempted to justify this betrayal by saying:

"There is also the Popular Current which Nasserist politician Hamdeen Sabahi founded on the basis of his presidential campaign, the Constitution Party of former UN figure Mohamed al-Baradei and many others that have not yet decided which of the alliances they will join....Our entry into any front or alliance is governed by the strategy of the united front." (10)

While it is indeed necessary to take part in joint actions with those forces – even bourgeois forces – leading sectors of the rebellious masses against the Morsi regime, it is a betrayal to the principles of working class independence to enter into a political alliance with them.

Cliffite Revisionism at Play

At the heart of the betrayal of the Revolutionary Socialists in Egypt – in the field of theory – was the attempt by Tony Cliff to revise Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution and replace it by the so-called theory of the *deflected Permanent Revolution*. This theory, which is advocated by the British SWP and its affiliates, like the Revolutionary Socialists in Egypt, maintains that, in semi-colonies, bourgeois forces are capable of leading and completing the democratic revolution. As a result these centrists justify the creation of a popular front throughout the Middle East and other semi-colonies with such bourgeois forces. Or, in other words, based on this revisionist notion, the Revolutionary Socialists in Egypt acted as the POUM had in Spain during the Spanish Revolution of the 1930s. Yet, we note that Trotsky broke his relations with the POUM precisely because they entered into the Popular Front government. (11)

Order RCIT Document's on the Arab Revolution via our Contact Address!

The image displays four covers of the journal "Revolutionary Communism" from the Revolutionary Communist Internationalist Tendency (RCIT). Each cover includes the journal's title, issue information, and a red star with a hammer and sickle symbol. The slogan "WORKERS AND OPPRESSED UNITE!" is printed at the bottom of each cover.

- Cover 1 (July/August 2013):** Features a cartoon by Carlos Latuff showing a man with a rifle and a speech bubble saying "Free at last!". The headline is "Down with the Military Coup in Egypt!" and it includes "History: Israel's War in 1967 plus: Pakistan, Syria, Brazil, Venezuela, ...".
- Cover 2 (September 2013):** Features a cartoon by Carlos Latuff showing a man with a rifle and a speech bubble saying "Free at last!". The headline is "The Military Coup in Egypt" and it includes "Analysis, Program & the Failure of the Lef".
- Cover 3 (March 2015):** Features a photograph of a woman wearing a headscarf. The headline is "Arab Revolutions at the crossroad".
- Cover 4 (June 2013):** Features a photograph of a group of people. The headline is "Palestine" and it includes "Al-Nakba and the 1948 War" and "Permanent Revolution today". It also includes "plus: Open Letter for Revolutionary Unity".

Stalinist Falling into Line

The Communist Party in Egypt also signed on as a partner to the National Salvation Front joined by the Revolutionary Socialists, but in the case of the former they went so far to the right that they even supported the 3 July 2013 military coup by al-Sisi which toppled the Morsi regime! (12) Here, for example, is part of an interview with Salah Adli, General Secretary of the Communist Party in Egypt, which appeared under the bizarre title “*Egyptian Communist Party: What happened in Egypt was not a military coup*”:

“What has happened is not a military coup in any way, but a revolutionary coup by the Egyptian people to get rid of this fascist rule. What the army did is carrying out the will of the people and protecting them from the plots of the Muslim Brotherhood and their armed terrorist allies who want to ignite sectarian strife and civil wars, divide the Egyptian army and destroy the institutions of the Egyptian state to serve the interests of imperialism and Zionism in the region.” (13)

Fighting on Two Fronts

One of the main dangers the masses in Iraq now face is the brutal terrorist activity of ISIL. This ultra-reactionary band of murderers decided, while the Iraqi masses were confronting last weekend’s police brutality, to explode dual car bombs on Sunday in southern Iraq, in which 31 persons were killed. Thus, as we have always said, we see again that while the main enemies are the imperialists and their servants in Bagdad, ISIL is mortal enemy which must be removed by the revolutionary masses. What will ultimately finish off ISIL is the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

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(12) The RCIT has published numerous documents and articles on the military coup in Egypt and the shameful role of the reformist and centrist left. They can be found here: <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>.

For an extensive theoretical critique we refer readers to 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/theory/egypt-and-left-army-socialism/>

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NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

The Origins of the Jews

By Yossi Schwartz, July 2015

Chapter I: What are the origins of the Jews?

Chapter II: The Rise of Anti-Semitism

Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism

Chapter IV: The Russian Revolution:

Bolshevism, the Bund, and Stalinism

Israel: Most persecuted party opens its rank to democratic Jews

Report on the 7th Balad conference

By Boris Hammerschlag, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine)*, June 2016

Last Thursday we were taken by bus to the conference in Shfa'amr. Comrade Schwarz and myself sat in the audience as delegates of the ISL, along with 10 other Israeli Jews whose memberships in Balad are in their final stages of processing. We were greeted by the leadership in the entrance and all smiled and shook our hands. The conference had contingents from all anti-Zionist Palestinian leaderships inside Israel (Hadash, Islamic movement, mayors and follow up committee) and also a representative of the PLO who is also one of the leaders of the Palestinian communist party AKA the People's Party of Palestine. A prominent speaker was Omar Baraghouthi - leader of the international BDS movement.

The room was rather big but also full of people, including youths in key organizing positions.

The event was symbolically hosted by a man and a woman. Most of the speakers were Balad leaders including two women - MP Haneen Zoabi and Orly Noy - the most famous of the Jewish section. All spoke mainly about Balad's vision of democracy, anti-colonial struggle and the fact that it is considered "extremist" and being persecuted by the Zionist state.

Indeed Balad, a Palestinian nationalist petty-bourgeois party, has faced persecution by the Zionist establishment since the very day it was formed. Several attempts have been made in the past to exclude it from participation in parliamentary elections on the grounds of opposing the idea of Israel being a Jewish and democratic state and giving support to Palestinian terrorism. For the Zionists Balad's vision of a Civil Democratic State and its support for the right of the Palestinian people to engage in armed resistance against the occupation of the West Bank and the siege over Gaza - all sanctioned by international law - are a sound basis for outlawing the party.

Having failed in all legal attempts to outlaw and exclude Balad specifically, the election threshold has been raised to render the 3/120 seat party too small to enter the Israeli Parliament. The reaction to this motion was a historic unification of 4 Palestinian political parties in Israel, who also faced the same danger, to form the Joint List, which entered the Knesset with 13 seats, raising their collective

power by 1 seat becoming the second largest opposition faction after the Zionist Camp (Labor and Livni's party).

Being unable to stop Balad as a collective, individual leaders as well as rank and file members of Balad came under Zionist legal as well as political attacks. The founder of Balad, Dr. Azmi Bishara, was forced into exile by the Zionist establishment that accused him of aiding the enemy during the 2nd Lebanon war in 2006; MP Haneen Zoabi faced legal persecution several times for joining the Gaza Freedom Flotilla, aka in Zionist newspeak as "supporting terrorism", "incitement against a public servant" for lashing out against Palestinian Zionist policemen, etc. Rank and file members of the party faced legal persecution for contacting Arabs from enemy countries and even Facebook posts. During the past two weeks hundreds of young Balad activists were summoned by Police for interrogation and harassment regarding their political views, affiliations and activities.

Omar and the secretary of Balad, Awad Abd-alFataah spoke for the first time about the importance of Jewish participation in the BDS and in the anti-Apartheid movement in Israel and the world. Awad congratulated the Jewish section of "democratic, leftist Jews". The audience applauded and cheered when he mentioned Balad opening its ranks to Jewish full membership in the party.

Awad also spoke about the attempts to redivide the Joint List.

In the next two days only full members remained for discussions and internal elections. The Jewish section would have to wait until the next conference since our applications still need to be processed by the party bureaucracy. However, one important decision already made is that 25% of the party elected body would be reserved for women - making Balad the only such party in Israel. While I was writing this report, news came in through the Party's Hebrew page on Facebook, that this 25% reservation turned out completely unnecessary as 36% of members elected to the party's central committee were women, including school teacher Niveen Abu Rahmun who came in 1st place.

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Israel / Palestine: Why did Lieberman become Defense Minister?

By Yossi Schwarz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine), June 2016

Last week, Israeli PM Netanyahu announced yet again that he supports the two-state solution and peace based on the Arab Peace Initiative of 2002. At the same time, he handed to Avigdor Lieberman, leader of the far-right "*Yisrael Beiteinu*" (Israel is our home) party, the Minister of Defense portfolio in his government.

Were Netanyahu, who made a name for himself as a professional liar, really serious about the two-state solution, he would not have rejected the French peace conference starting Friday, June 3, 2016. The French Plan suggests:

- borders based on the 1967 Lines, with agreed equivalent land swaps;
- security arrangements preserving the sovereignty of the Palestinian State and guaranteeing the security of Israel;
- a fair, equitable and negotiated solution to the refugee problem;
- an arrangement making Jerusalem the capital of both States. (1)

While no more than a Bantustan arrangement, even this proved too much for the Israeli government.

Netanyahu and the "Two State Solution"

Instead, Netanyahu stepped up his opposition to the French initiative, aimed at reviving talks between the Israeli government and the Palestinians Authority that collapsed in June 2014, repeating his old mantra: "*Israel adheres to the position that the best way to end the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is direct and bilateral negotiations,*" in an apparent rejection of the French plan. (2)

When Netanyahu speaks about meeting face-to-face with the Palestinian Authority, what he means a meeting in which he will demand that the PA will recognize Israel as a state of all the Jews in the world ("the state of the Jewish People") while demanding from the PA to relinquish the right of the return in the name of the Palestinians refugees and accept the annexation of parts of the 1967's occupied lands including East Jerusalem.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu made clear that he would not agree to a Palestinian demand that Israel accepts the 1967 borders as a condition for renewing peace negotiations. Netanyahu also made a condition of his own, saying that he would never drop his demand that the Palestinians recognize Israel as a Jewish state.

The demand that the Palestinians accept Israel as the state of the Jews around the world, is unacceptable not only to the Palestinians but to any person who supports simple democratic demands. Would anyone who supports democratic demands accept that the US should be recognized as Christian State? Of course not, as this would deny the democratic rights of the non-Christians Jews for example.

In any case, a Jewish state is one in which the Jews enjoy full citizenship, while the Palestinians Arabs will have a second class status.

The Palestinian refugees who were expelled or escaped

for their lives after the many massacres Israel committed have the right to return, but Israel opposes this right, as it would undermine the notion of a Jewish state as it relies on a Jewish majority in occupied Palestine.

Since the Palestinian Authority cannot accept such undemocratic demands by Israel, which amount to their relinquishing the right of self-determination, Netanyahu can always end the discussions saying that there is no partner for peace and continue with the construction of new settlements.

Thus, in reality Netanyahu does not support a mini Palestinian state, but is pushing for a single state with special privileges granted to one ethnic-religious category and denied for any other - by definition, an apartheid state.

Defending former Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon as a "Lesser Evil"?

Left Zionists and reformist pro-Zionists in Israel see the replacement of the former defense minister, Moshe Ya'alon (also former chief of the staff) with as a sign for rightwing radicalization and they have tried to convince themselves and others that we should defend or even support Ya'alon as the lesser evil. After all didn't Ya'alon clash with Netanyahu over the issue of the murder of Abdel Fattah al-Sharif in Hebron by Sgt. Elor Azaria? Didn't he take the side of the military high command that denounced this killing while Netanyahu intervened on the side of the soldier and telephoned Elor Azaria's family, a step that is widely perceived as an act of solidarity with the cold blood murder?

On Saturday, June 4th, the reformist Hadash and the left Zionist Mertz demonstrated against the nomination of Lieberman to the position of the Minister of Defense. Around 2,000 protesters carrying Palestinian and Israeli flags marched in Tel Aviv chanting: "*Lieberman [is a] racist and a fascist,*" and "*Lieberman is the minister of war.*" Zehava Galon Meretz leader stated: "*It's exciting to see thousands of Jews and Arabs coming together to tell the Netanyahu government that Lieberman, its defense minister, is illegitimate.*" Hadash leader and the head of the Joint List Ayman Odeh said "*Lieberman wants to damage civil society, the Supreme Court, the [left-wing organization] Breaking the Silence, and specifically the Arab sector. We are together in this, Jews and Arabs, and we will overcome him.*" (3)

This is the old argument of the lesser of two evils. Would a government without Lieberman be better? Were Herzog of the Zionist camp the Minister of Defense in Netanyahu's government, would it become a better government? We had a government with Amir Peretz as a Minister of Defense and Tzipi Livni as Minister of Foreign Affairs, which went to a war against Lebanon in 2006 and killed thousands of civilians, was this better? Those who think that the real problem is Lieberman should be reminded that when the Zionist labor party ruled Israel, it expelled most Palestinians and until 1966 the Palestinians citizens of Israel lived under military rule.

Is the Netanyahu Government fascist?

The government of Netanyahu is a right-wing populist bonapartist government. Netanyahu is indeed a corrupt, nasty politician but he reflects a problem which is much deeper than this or that politician. The real problem is that the Israeli society is drifting all the time to the right because of its nature as a settler colonialist society where the majority of Jews want to establish an apartheid state from the river to the sea.

While the Zionist left in Israel represents those whose families gained from the properties of the Palestinians who were expelled in 1947-48, the right wing want to possess the lands of the Palestinians occupied in 1967. The problem we face is that, while we are witnessing in the world increased polarization to the left and right, and the growing militancy of the working class in different parts of the world, in Israel the polarization is between the right and the more extreme right. What we face is not a fascist government. Fascism in Italy and Germany took power after national working class revolutionary struggles failed because of the lack of Bolshevik workers' revolutionary parties in each country. In that situation, when the capitalists could not solve the current economic and political crisis, the petit bourgeois plebeian movements led from below and outside the government by Mussolini (1922) and Hitler (1933) took power. In Israel, unlike what happened in Germany and Italy, the ruling class does not fear a working class revolutionary uprising. Here, there are no fascist mass movements that aspire to take power from below. Most Jewish lower-middle class people, workers and poor support this government.

One who does not understand what fascism is cannot fight real fascism. Focusing on Lieberman as illegitimate legitimizes not only Ya'alon, but Netanyahu. This government must be brought down, but with which type of government would Meretz and Hadash want to replace it? Since they do not have a perspective leading to a workers' and Fallahin (peasants) government, they do not call for any other type of government.

In simple words, the June 4th demonstration in Tel Aviv served the growing unity between Mertz and that part of Hadash which is seeking their way into the Zionist swamp. Understanding this, the centrist CWI has already openly called for Hadash to leave the Joint List and form a broadly-based socialist party alliance. How wide could this alliance be when only 7,000 Israeli-Jews cast an anti-Zionist vote in the last elections? This we must ask CWI's Israeli section.

The Palestinians' Right to Resist

Let us examine this issue of Lieberman more closely:

On the morning of March 24, two Palestinian men armed with knives attacked an Israeli soldier at a checkpoint in Hebron, slightly wounding him. Nearby soldiers shot the two men.

A video released by the Israeli human rights group *B'Tselem* shows that one of the attackers was killed only after the attack, while he was lying wounded on the ground. In the video, an Israeli soldier Elor Azaria approaches the scene, cocks his gun, aims and shoots the man as an ambulance passes by. After the shot, blood flows from his head of the

Palestinian onto the pavement.

Azaria murdered in cold blood a Palestinians who had tried to attack an Israeli soldier with a knife. This was not a terrorist act, as he attacked a member of the occupation force, not any uninvolved and unarmed civilians. Even by bourgeois international law, oppressed and occupied people not only have the moral right, but the legal right to fight against the oppressor army. To quote *United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/33/24* of 29 November 1978:

"2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, particularly armed struggle;"

This justification for legitimate armed resistance has been specifically applied to the Palestinian struggle repeatedly. To quote General Assembly Resolution A/RES/3246 (XXIX) of 29 November 1974:

"3. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the peoples' struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle; ...

7. Strongly condemns all Governments which do not recognize the right to self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, notably the peoples of Africa and the Palestinian people;" (4)

The Murder of Abdel Fattah al-Sharif by Sgt. Azaria and the so-called "Moral Code" of the Israeli Army

After the video clip was released by *B'Tselem*, the army arrested the soldier and senior Israeli officials criticized the soldier's response. A few days later the army announced, that the soldier will be charged with murder. As the story became international news, the Israeli PM reacted:

"What happened today in Hebron does not represent the values of the IDF," Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said. *"The IDF expects its soldiers to behave level-headedly and in accordance with the rules of engagement".* (5)

On May 4th, on the eve of Holocaust Remembrance Day, the deputy chief of staff of the Israeli army Major General Yair Golan stated in a public ceremony that it is frightening scary to see horrifying developments that took place in Europe begin to unfold here.

Meanwhile, Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon referred to Azaria as a *"soldier who strayed"* during a speech from the Knesset podium following the incident and IDF Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Gadi Eizenkot issued an unusual letter vowing to *"bring to justice"* those who violate military rules and values. However, Netanyahu, in his telephone call to Azaria's father several weeks ago, requested that the family trust the judicial process, assuring him that the court would take into consideration the *"circumstances"* that soldiers face at the scene of a terror attack. (6)

Netanyahu reprimanded Major General Golan for his public remarks, while Ya'alon came to the latter's defense. This brought about the end of his job as Minister of Defense. The Israeli military legal system already has revealed its bias. Why is Azaria charged with manslaughter not with murder? Abdel Fatal al-Sharif was alive when he was shot by Azaria in what appears to be a premeditated act. Azaria's act was clearly murder.

Is killing Palestinians in cold blood against the moral code of the Israeli army? In 2014 an Israeli military court

acquitted of all charges an officer who in 2005, when Ya'alon was the chief of staff of Israel's army, fired an entire magazine of his automatic rifle into a 13-year-old Palestinian girl. The same officer later said that he would have done the same even the girl had been only three years old. The soldier, who has only been identified as "Captain R," was charged with relatively minor offences for the killing of Iman al-Hams who was shot 17 times as she ventured near an Israeli army post near Rafah refugee camp in Gaza.

The manner of Iman's killing, and the revelation of a tape recording in which the captain is warned that she was just a child who was "scared to death," made the shooting one of the most controversial since the second Palestinian intifada erupted, even though hundreds of other children had also been killed by Israeli fire. (7)

Did Ya'alon, during his tenure as army chief of staff intervene in this case of "Captain R" as he did in the case of Azaria? The simple answer is no. Thus, the actual cold blooded murder is not the true issue at hand here, but rather something else. What might this be? The answer: The Israeli military command is terrified of losing its control over its soldiers to the settlers.

"A poll conducted for Israel's Channel 2 News found that 57 percent of the public said that there was no need to arrest and investigate the soldier, while just 32 percent supported his detention. Just 19 percent of those surveyed agreed that the medic had deviated from the army's rules of engagement. Only 5 percent defined the shooting of the wounded suspect as murder, the crime that military police suspect him of committing." (8)

Israel and Russian Imperialism

Thus, Netanyahu replacement of Ya'alon was due to the prime minister's orientation towards the settlers while Ya'alon is oriented to the military command which he previously headed. However, Ya'alon's ouster does not explain Netanyahu's decision to replace him as Minister of Defense with Lieberman. This, rather, has everything to do with the new orientation of Israel towards Russia.

What initially began as co-ordination between Russian and Israeli forces to avoid clashes over the Syrian airspace is possibly evolving into a kind of an alliance, in particular around the issue of natural gas. Last April, during his visit to Moscow, Netanyahu discussed the possibility of Russia's Gazprom developing Israel's Leviathan gas fields in the Eastern Mediterranean. While Russia has been a strategic ally of Iran for years, the new relations between Iran and the US have created an opening for new relations between Russia and Israel.

At the same time, Saudi Arabia is distancing itself somewhat from the US and is pushing for an alliance between Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Israel, an alliance that will seek close ties with Russia. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the Russian-Egyptian agreement for the construction of Egypt's nuclear plant in its Dabaa province by Russia's RosAtom. Russia has also extended a \$25 billion loan to Egypt for the construction of the nuclear plants to meet the most populous Arab country's growing demand for electricity. Furthermore, the Kremlin continues its military cooperation with Egypt, supplying the country with billions in weaponry.

It is no secret that, when Lieberman was Israel's Minister

of Foreign Relations, he pushed for closer ties with Russia, and was not particularly friendly towards the US. In his new role as Minister of Defense, he is likely to act similarly.

The struggle in Israel, mostly conducted by Palestinian citizens of the country, is one based on demands that would lead to a true democratic state belonging to all its citizens, Arabs no less than Jews. Indeed, the struggle for a single democratic state from the river to the sea is the way forward. However, the question is what kind of democracy? Would it be like the US, a "democracy" in the service of Wall Street, or like the corrupted "democratic" post-Apartheid regime of South Africa? Or will it be a democracy of the workers and the peasants, the majority of the population? The ISL, along with its comrades in the RCIT, fights for a *Democratic, Palestinian, Multinational and Socialist Workers and Fallahin Republic from the River to the Sea*.

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Israel / Occupied Palestine: Brutal Zionist Police Beating of Palestinian Worker Shows Need For Palestinian Self-Defense

By Yehuda Stern, Israel / Occupied Palestine, 23.05.2016, <http://yehudastern.blogspot.com>

Yesterday (22.5) in Tel-Aviv, as he was taking out some garbage, supermarket worker Maysam Abu al-Qian was approached by two men who asked him for identification papers. When he responded that his ID was inside the store and asked who the men were, the two, who turned out to be plainclothes members of the Border Police, proceeded to brutally beat him, shortly joined by several other clothed police. They continued to do so even as al-Qian was lying wounded on the floor, posing no threat to the armed throng which attacked him. Other workers who tried to help al-Qian were also beaten, and an elderly woman who asked the cops what they were doing was told that to “fuck off before we finish you off too”. Such is the heroism of the Zionist entity’s Boys In Blue. After he was taken into custody, al-Qian was put in house arrest and was given an order barring him from entering Tel-Aviv, thus preventing him from reaching his workplace. [1][2]

The Zionist media, in a fittingly cynical move for those who refer to the occupation of Palestine by Zionists as a “conflict”, called this clear act of racist police brutality a “brawl”, with some echoing police claims that al-Qian tried to bite the cops,[3][4] a ridiculous claim that was promptly mocked by Israeli commenters.

It is common for liberals and left-Zionists to blame the increasingly common acts of violence and open racism against Palestinians on “the occupation”, meaning in this case the 1967 occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. However, as any supporter of Palestinian rights should know - let alone communists, who should understand Zionism’s colonialist, imperialist nature - Zionist violence and racism towards Palestinians did not begin in 1967. It did not even begin in 1948. From its very inception, Zionist colonialism was based on the “occupation of land” and “occupation of labor” - driving out as many Palestinians from their land, and making life impossible for those who managed to somehow hang on. For a while, it was possible for the Zionist entity to concentrate its violence on 1967 Palestinians, although even those decades are full of acts of violence against 1948 Palestinians, including, but not limited to, the October 2000 massacre (by a left-Zionist government, one might add) and the 2005 massacre in Shefa-’Amr by Kahanist soldier Eden Natan-Zada. However, as Zionist society crumbles and the Zionist regime relies increasingly on racist incitement and brutality, the methods of the settlers and the Zionist army in the West Bank begin to seep back into “Israel proper”.

Due to the colonialist nature of Israeli society, it is rare for Jewish workers to feel any sympathy towards Palestinians. However, the reports of supermarket workers attempting to help al-Qian, as well as the protest which took place outside the supermarket later that day, are good signs that show a potential for class solidarity across national lines. Nonetheless, the history of the Palestinian struggle against Zionist oppression shows time and time again that only by

accepting the leadership of Palestinians can Israeli Jewish be reliable allies. Therefore, the demand must be raised for Palestinian self-defense against Zionist police, army and fascist thugs.

Some might argue that given the racist climate in Israel, such a slogan is impractical, or that it can be used to blame Palestinians and leftists of terrorism. However, by now any Palestinian should know that to be blamed of being a terrorist, he need only be a Palestinian. As for calling for self-defense in a climate of racism, there are precedents: the Black struggle in the US South, for example, relied heavily on self-defense, to the point where some described Martin Luther King Jr.’s home as “an arsenal”. Indeed, without Black self-defense, it is doubtful that any of the gains of the civil rights movement could be achieved.

The brutal police beating of al-Qian, as well as the cynical response to it from the Zionist media and state, prove once more that only a resolute struggle against Zionist oppression can put an end to racist violence. Attempting to rely on the police or liberal Zionists to protect Palestinians can only result in more death. Against the increasing audacity of the Zionist police thugs, revolutionaries must call for Palestinian workers to defend themselves, joined by Jewish workers who realize that Zionism is a death-trap for them and that their place is with their class sisters and brothers.

Sources:

1. [Tel Aviv police beating sparks calls for ‘soul-searching’](#), *Times of Israel*, May 23, 2016
2. [Border Police assault Arab supermarket employee in central Tel Aviv](#), +972, May 22, 2016
3. [ביבא לת זכרמב יברע לזכרמ דבוע סיפקות ודעות ב"גמ ירטוש](#), *Haaretz*, May 22, 2016
4. ["שאררה לע ול זכרדו תזכמב יברעה דבועה לע ולפנתה": לזכרמב תומילא](#), *ynet*, May 22, 2016



Greetings to the Yemeni 'Socialists against Aggression'

Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 15.07.2016

Dear comrades,
We send you our warmest greetings of solidarity in this difficult hour! Your country is under attack of the al-Saud gang which is massacring merciless thousands of people. In this situation it is important that socialists like you join forces in order to protest against the shameful betrayal of the official leadership of the "Socialist Party" which servile kiss the feet of the Saudi King.

As we have elaborated in various statements and documents, the RCIT fully supports the struggle of the Yemeni people against the aggression of King Salman and his lackey al-Hadi. We denounce the support for the Saudi aggression by the western imperialist powers US, EU and Israel as well as of the Gulf monarchies and the bloody Egyptian dictatorship of General Sisi. (1)

The RCIT is a revolutionary international organization with sections and activists in Yemen, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, Occupied Palestine / Israel, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Britain, Germany and Austria. Our Austrian section has organized a rally in front of the Saudi embassy in Vienna to express its solidarity with the resistance of the Yemeni people. (2)

We call to support the resistance against the foreign invasion which is currently led by the Houthi movement despite our criticism of the latter as a petty-bourgeois Islamist force. We consider the alliance with the former dictators Saleh as a terrible mistake which discredits the goals of the second Yemeni Revolution and constitutes a

serious obstacle for its victory. The Yemeni Revolution can only win if the workers and fallahin organize themselves independently in councils of action and popular militias and take power.

We look forward to discuss and collaborate with you!

Revolutionary Greetings,
International Secretariat of the RCIT

(1) The RCIT has issued numerous documents on the Arab Revolution in general and the Yemeni Revolution in particular. Here are the links to the Arab language documents:

<http://www.thecommunists.net/home/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/arab-revolution-arabic/>

<http://www.thecommunists.net/home/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/saudi-aggression-vs-yemen/>

<http://www.thecommunists.net/home/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/yemen-resolution/>

The RCIT's international program can be read in Arabic language here:

<http://www.thecommunists.net/home/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/rcit-manifesto/>

<http://www.thecommunists.net/home/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/rcit-www-arabic/>

(2) See pictures and videos at <https://twitter.com/RCIT1/status/590044834930552832>

Books of the RCIT

Michael Pröbsting: Greece - A Modern Semi-Colony

The Contradictory Development of Greek Capitalism, Its Failed Attempts to Become

a Minor Imperialist Power, and Its Present Situation as an Advanced Semi-Colonial Country with Specific Features

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new English-language book – *GREECE: A MODERN SEMI-COLONY*. The book's subtitle is: *The Contradictory Development of Greek Capitalism, Its Failed Attempts to Become a Minor Imperialist Power, and Its Present Situation as an Advanced Semi-Colonial Country with Some Specific Features*. It contains six chapters (144 pages) and includes 12 tables, 35 figures and 4 maps. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who serves as the International Secretary of the RCIT.

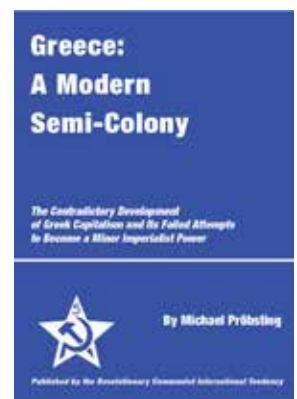
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which gives an overview of its content.

Greece is at the forefront both of the capitalist crisis in Europe as well as of the class struggle. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that what the Arab Revolution has been for the world in the past few years, Greece has been for Europe.

Subsequently, the question of the class character of Greece is of crucial importance both for the domestic as well as for the international workers movement: Is it an imperialist

state, a semi-colonial country or something else, and what are its specific features?

In Chapter I we outline a summary of the Marxists' theoretical conception of imperialist respectively semi-colonial states. In Chapter II we give a brief historical overview of the development of Greek capitalism. In Chapter III we deal with Greece's failed attempt to become a minor imperialist power. In Chapter IV we outline the historic crisis of Greek capitalism from 2008 until today. In Chapter V we elaborate the most important programmatic conclusions and in the last Chapter we present a summary in the form of these. The book contains 12 Tables, 35 Figures and 4 Maps. ■



National Elections in the Spanish State: Critical Support for Unidos Podemos!

Workers, Migrants and Youth: Don't trust the Left-Reformist Program of the Podemos/IU-Leaderships! Organize and Mobilize for a Struggle on the Streets, in Workplaces, and in Educational Institutions!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 08.06.2016

1. New elections will take place in the Spanish State on 26 June on the backdrop of a deep economic and social crisis. After years of recession and stagnation, 21% of the population and 45% (!) of the youth are without jobs, according to official figures. At the same time, the debt of the bourgeois state is huge because of its costly bail-out programs from capitalist banks and corporations. According to the OECD, general government gross debt stands at 117.4% of the country's GDP.

2. As in other European countries, the reformist labor bureaucracy has terribly failed the workers and youth. The social democratic party, PSOE and the leaderships of the two main trade union federations, UGT and CCOO, agreed in 2011 to a so-called "social pact" – more appropriately called an "anti-social pact" – which included increasing the official age of retirement from 65 to 67.

3. In light of this betrayal of the reformist bureaucracy, the resistance of the working class and lower middle strata – in particular the youth – has manifested itself in various mass movements. In 2011, the Spanish State witnessed a tremendous democratic movement ("Indignados") involving millions of persons and in subsequent years a number of protests were organized against the harsh austerity programs of the conservative PP government and rising unemployment. Among them were the 2012 Asturian miners' strike and the struggle of tenants committees against forced evictions from their homes.

4. A new party, *Podemos* ("We can" in Spanish), was founded in 2014 as a political expression of these mass protests. It organized a mass demonstration in January 2015 for democracy and against austerity and neoliberalism in which more than 100,000 persons participated. Despite its relative newness, *Podemos* has already become the second largest political party in the Spanish State in terms of membership, with nearly 400,000 members. It focuses its

protests against the government's austerity program, the monarchy, and the corrupt political system, and defends the right of national self-determination for the Basque region, Catalonia, etc.

5. *Podemos* is a progressive, petty-bourgeois populist party with a leadership headed by Pablo Iglesias, and strongly orientated towards the program and organization of the Chavista model. Its social base is dominated by the youth of the impoverished lower middle strata. However, there are also a significant number of workers among its supporters, as is attested to by a number of *circulos* (local party branches) in working class districts in large cities. About 35% of *Podemos* supporters are either unemployed or have only a fixed-term contract. Furthermore, *Podemos* maintains close relations with various grassroots organizations of workers and the lower middle class, like committees of nurses and victims of evictions from their apartments or homes due to the debt crisis.

6. In the last election in December 2015, *Podemos* became the third-largest party in parliament garnering 20.7% of the vote, only narrowly coming in behind the PSOE (22%). In these elections, the ex-Stalinist *Izquierda Unida* (IU) received 3.7% of the vote. In short, *Podemos* is yet another important example illustrating how, despite the lack of authentic revolutionary leadership, in the context of the historic crisis of capitalism, the coupling of traditional reformist parties and the radicalization of sectors of the working class and youth can, in the short term at least, successfully find expression in non-revolutionary organizations.

7. There should be no doubt that *Podemos*, as a progressive petty-bourgeois populist party, is an unstable, transitional formation. Its petty-bourgeois character and the lack of institutionalized links with established mass organizations make it unlikely that the character of *Podemos* will remain as it presently is for any significant time.

Comunismo Revolucionario

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Rather, it is far more likely that the party will either shift to the right and thereby lose many of its active members, or will undergo a split with one wing moving further to the left. A split is by no means out of question given divisions which already exist between the current majority around Pablo Iglesias and a number of minorities within the party, the two principal ones being that presently led by the Mandelite „*Anticapitalistas*“ Teresa Rodríguez and Miguel Urbán, and the other formed around the post-Marxist and anti-globalization intellectual Íñigo Errejón.

8. A few weeks ago, *Podemos* and *Izquierda Unida* agreed to form a joint list – called *Unidos Podemos* – for the upcoming June elections. According to the latest pre-election polls, this joint list will be the second-strongest party – behind the conservative PP and ahead of the PSOE. The list has issued a 50-point joint platform called “*Changing Spain: 50 Steps for Governing Together.*” This is a left-reformist, Keynesian program focusing on boosting public expenditure in order to create jobs and to reduce poverty. It promises to fight tax evasion and to increase taxes for the rich. It calls for an end to evictions, guaranteed access to water and electricity, and greater funding for education and health. It also expresses support for a referendum for Catalonia on independence as well as constitutional reforms (which would deal with issues like the monarchy and membership in NATO).

9. Under such conditions revolutionaries in the Spanish State should apply the Marxist united front tactic not only for the economic struggles but in the electoral field as well. They should call for critical electoral support for *Unidos Podemos* on the basis that it has become the political expression of the political radicalization of the working class, the youth, and the lower middle strata. They should demand from the leaderships of *Podemos* and *IU* that they consistently oppose all austerity and anti-democratic measures in parliament and that they mobilize for mass struggles on the streets and in the workplaces for the demands which they put forward in their program.

10. At the same time revolutionaries should warn against any illusions in the respective leaderships of *Podemos* and *IU*. These leaders will sell out their electoral promises just like their comrades in SYRIZA did in Greece. It is urgent to help militant workers and youth supporting *Podemos* and *IU* to see through the reformist nature of these parties. The strategic and highly urgent goal in the Spanish State, as well as all other countries, is to break the workers and youth away from reformism and to build a revolutionary party – both within the country and globally!

11. The RCIT proposes to the fighters of our class in the Spanish State to build a revolutionary party around a Transitional Program focused on the present main issues of the class struggle. They should advocate the formation of action committees to organize the workers and youth in struggle as well as the formation of a militant rank and file movement in the trade unions in order to kick out the bureaucracy. Such a transitional program should include, among others, the following demands:

** Stop the austerity offensive! No lay-offs! No cuts in social and unemployment benefits! For a public works program to abolish unemployment paid by a massive increase in taxes for the rich!*

** Cancel all household debts! Occupy empty housing and oppose all evictions! Organise local action committees to defend tenants*

and householders threatened with eviction and prosecution!

** Nationalize all banks and corporations without compensation and under workers control! Expropriate the Super-Rich!*

** Nationalize all private enterprises which sack workers, giving no compensation and place them under workers' control!*

** Abolish the monarchy and all privileges of the decadent nobility! The Spanish State must get out of the imperialist NATO alliance! Put an end to the state's colonial possessions in North Africa (Melilla and Ceuta) and hand them over to Morocco!*

** For the right of national self-determination for all oppressed and discriminated nationalities in the Spanish State! For a socialist republic of Catalonia and Basque Country!*

** For a revolutionary Constituent Assembly!*

** Fight against chauvinism and militarism! Open the borders to refugees! Equal rights for migrants! Equal wages and full citizenship rights! Equality for migrants and national minorities' languages in education and public administration! Defend Muslim migrants against Islamophobic racism!*

** For a workers' government based upon action councils and armed popular militias!*

** For a United Socialist States of Europe!*

International Secretariat

For a more extensive elaboration of the RCIT's understanding of the Marxist united front tactic in elections in the present period, we refer readers to:

* RCIT-Theses on the United Front Tactic. Theses on the Principles of the United Front Tactic and Its Application to the Current Conditions of Class Struggle, 9 April 2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/united-front-tactic/>

* Michael Pröbsting: Marxism and the United Front Tactic Today. The Struggle for Proletarian Hegemony in the Liberation Movement and the United Front Tactic Today. On the Application of the Marxist United Front Tactic in Semi-Colonial and Imperialist Countries in the Present Period, May 2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/book-united-front/>



France: Defeat the El Khomri Law!

For an Indefinite General Strike against the Hollande Government! Form Action Committees and Self-Defense Units of the Workers and Oppressed!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 02.06.2016

The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT; in French: *Courant Communiste Révolutionnaire Internationale*) stands in unconditional solidarity with the workers and youth of France who are struggling against the *El Khomri* law. This new law, if adopted, would allow 12-hour days and, in “exceptional circumstances,” employees could work up to 60 hours a week. Furthermore, annual leave entitlement, break-time pay, and other workplace rights are also endangered by the proposed law.

The *El Khomri* labor law is justifiably called by the workers “the bosses’ law”. It is a fundamental attack on workers’ rights. It will not create more jobs, but it will weaken the position of those who have jobs and therefore, by extension, automatically worsen the position of their unemployed brothers and sisters. And this in a country where unemployment already stands at 10%!

The workers and youth have shown their determination to fight against this law during several national days of action, with over a million of participants in more than 170 cities, indefinite strikes, blockades of oil refineries, the occupation of schools, administrations, and assemblies in public squares, militant demonstration, etc. The trade unions, first of all the CGT, stand in the forefront of the struggle together with migrants and youth organizations.

What we are witnessing in recent days is the biggest expression of class struggle in France since the six week-long general strike in the autumn of 1995. Then, workers blockaded transport and strategic enterprises, school students occupied their schools until they were forcefully evicted by the police, and undocumented immigrants demanded the legalization of their work status by successfully occupying the *Directorate General of Labor* in Paris.

The *El Khomri* labor law once again reveals the deeply antisocial nature of the reactionary social-democratic Hollande government. This government has done everything to expose itself as the arch-enemy of the workers, youth and migrants of France: from the occupation of Mali and the Central African Republic, the bombardment of Syria, to the anti-Muslim laws, to the profoundly undemocratic “state of emergency”; and now comes “the bosses law.”

It is hardly surprising that Marie Le Pens’ reactionary racist Front National is getting stronger all the time. The unabashed surrender of the left-wing of the social democrats, as well as the left reformist *Front de Gauche*, to their arch class enemies, manifested in their support for the Hollande’s state of emergency and imperialist wars, gave legitimacy to the authoritarian and racist ideology of the FN and thus inevitably strengthened it.

The mass movement against the *El Khomri* law, the militant strikes, blockades and occupations show the will of the masses to fight for another Europe – a Europe

not of austerity and racism, of barbed wire from within and NATO bombs from without. What we need is a Europe of the workers and oppressed, the *United Socialist States of Europe*. But such a Europe can only be achieved through resistance to the imperialist European Union, without reverting to reactionary nationalism, as many left reformists and Stalinists advocate.

Furthermore this movement in France is also a blow against the counterrevolutionary offensive of the imperialists which has characterized both France and the whole continent since autumn 2015. Since then the ruling class has utilized the reactionary Paris attack to create a “state of emergency regime”, to whip up a wave of Islamophobic racism against migrants and refugees, to suppress democratic rights and to intensify their colonial wars in the Middle East and North Africa.

The current mass struggle in France has the potential to change the situation in Europe fundamentally – under the condition that the workers and oppressed in other European countries don’t leave our brothers and sisters in France alone. We have to understand the importance of this struggle, especially because the right-wing racists can only be stopped if we show the popular masses a credible alternative of the working class. We call upon the trade unions in the other European countries to take advantage of the workers offensive in France and organize solidarity actions that should be combined with the fight against austerity and for workers and migrant rights. This is the way forward!

What is needed is a new strategy that unites all oppressed people in France under the leadership of the revolutionary workers party to fight not just against the consequences of capitalism – but the system itself. Revolutionaries in France have to try to unify the different struggles of the workers, the school and university students, the Muslims and migrants in general. In fact we have already seen some important joint actions done instinctively by the workers and oppressed themselves!

It is also important that the workers, youth and migrants use this movement to hold mass meetings in the factories, schools, districts, enterprises, harbors and refineries. This meeting should create action committees and elect representatives which can organize the movement democratically nationwide. Such mass meetings should also create committees for self-defense that take on the police – the racist watchdogs of the rich – and defend the movement against these brutal attacks.

* *Down with the El Khomri law!*

* *For an indefinite General Strike till the government backs down!*

* *Build action committees of the strikers, in the schools, factories and enterprises! For a national assembly of the delegates of these committees that should decide how to go forward!*

* *Build self-defend units of the workers, youth and migrants to*

defend the movement against the police violence!

** For a rank and file movement in the trade unions against the bureaucracy!*

** Down with the state of emergency regime! Down with the Bonapartist constitution of the Fifth Republic!*

** For a public plan to end unemployment and to develop the country in the interest of the workers and poor. Such a program should be under control of the trade unions and it should be financed by the rich!*

** For a workers government based on mass assemblies of the workers, migrants and youth. Only such a government will serve our class and not the rich!*

** Build a really revolutionary workers party to combat racism and capitalism!*

** For a new, revolutionary Fifth International!*

International Secretariat of the RCIT

For our analysis of the class struggle in Europe we refer readers, among others, to the following documents of the RCIT:

** Increasing Instability and Militarization in the European Union. On the Tasks of Revolutionaries in the New Political Phase which has Opened in Europe after the Terrorist Attack in Paris, 08.12.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/militarism-in-eu/>*

** Britain: For a General Strike to Bring Down the Cameron Government! For a Workers' Government! For a Constituent Assembly! Fight against the corrupt Parliament which is inextricably linked with Big Business! Build Peoples' Assemblies*

and Action Committees to organise the struggle throughout the country! 14.4.2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/bring-down-cameron/>

** Crisis and Class Struggle in Ireland after the General Election, 22.3.2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/elections-ireland/>*

** Terror in Brussels: The War comes Home. Daesh-Terror is the Result of Imperialist Terror! Oppose any State of Emergency and Repression against Muslim Peoples in Europe! 23.03.2016, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/brussels-attack/>*

** Terror in Paris is the Result of Imperialist Terror in the Middle East! Stop France's and other Imperialist Powers' Warmongering! No Mobilization of the Army inside France! Defend the Muslim Peoples against Chauvinist Hatemongering and State Repression! 14.11.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/terror-in-paris/>*

** Greek Elections Result in Victory for the Reformist SYRIZA. The Central Task Now is to Prepare for the Coming Class Battles and to Forge a New Workers' Party with a Revolutionary Program! 22.9.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/syriza-victory/>*

** Throw Open the Gates of Europe to Refugees! Long live International Solidarity of the Workers and Poor! Down with the Imperialist Fortress EU! Advance the Arab Revolution to Build Workers and Peasant Republics! 15.9.2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/refugees-are-welcome/>*

** 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), <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-january-2015/>*

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After the BREXIT Vote – Stormy times ahead for the workers and oppressed in Britain

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)

1. An historic day has shattered Britain and the European Union. In the Referendum the decision remaining in or leaving the EU 51.9%, of the British people voted in favor Brexit. Since the results were announced events have developed very quickly. Prime Minister David Cameron has resigned, the British Pound is at its lowest since 1985, and The London's stock market closed with a loss of 7.5%, But London's stock market is not the only financial markets which suffered from the result.

2. A new Black Friday hit the stock markets worldwide. Germany's DAX index has dropped by 10% for longer time during the day - the same with Paris stock market. Even Tokyo's Nikkei plunged by 7.92% and the Dow Jones dropped by 2.7%. However, the banks have been hit the hardest. The *Commerzbank* and the German *Deutsche Bank* had a loss of 17%. The Bank of London plunged even by 25%! The BREXIT vote has obviously led to a stock-market-'Hara-kiri'. The parasitic financial capital is shattered and the illusion that the Pro-EU forces would win the Referendum has created a huge financial crisis. Financial experts are even thinking about downgrading Britain's Triple A. On this post-BREXIT Black Friday figures have shown that the unbelievable amount of 5 Trillion Dollars market capitalization has been eliminated. This is equal to double the economic output of Britain. The RCIT stands for the elimination of these freeloaders – the stock markets – and for the Nationalization of the assets in commodity trading at the stock markets!

3. The historical character of the BREXIT VOTE is not dominated by the short term consequences for the parasitic financial capital. The long term outcome of this historic referendum poses important questions. The results from Scotland and Northern Ireland are completely different to the ones of England and Wales. 55.8% of the votes from Northern Ireland and even 62% of the Scottish votes were in favor of remaining in the EU. Immediately after the referendum the Scottish Prime Minister Nicola Sturgeon announced that she wants a new referendum on the independence of Scotland. Also Sinn Fein argued immediately after the referendum for the independence of Northern Ireland and the creating of a united Ireland. The deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland, Martin McGuinness, asked the British government to enable a referendum on an independent Northern Ireland.

4. Those are the developments which the British bourgeoisie has tried to avoid: We are witnessing the breakup of the United Kingdom, whilst Northern Ireland has had a long tradition of struggle for independence against England; the Scottish working class has mainly economic interests which has led them to break with Britain. The privatizations and the cuts in the Health Care System, in the NHS led by London's austerity plans for Britain are the main triggers for the Scottish working class to opt for Scottish independence. A huge part of the votes

for remaining in the EU came from Scotland and Northern Ireland who feared more austerity packages dictated by London. Both, the bourgeois and the petit-bourgeois forces in Northern Ireland and Scotland hope to use BREXIT as a good chance to break with Britain without any problems (supported by and with the support of the EU).

5. The outcome of the Referendum was not only interesting because of the gap between the votes from Scotland and Northern Ireland compared with the ones from England and Wales. The huge gap between the votes coming from the younger and the older people is of special interest. More than 75% of the 18 to 24 years old voters were in favor of remaining in the EU. Even the majority, i.e. 56% of the 25 to 49 years old voters were in favor of remaining in the European Union. The victory of the *UK first* campaign was based on people who were over 50 years old! It is much more likely that the result would have looked different if the 16 and 17 years old youth had been allowed to vote. The RCIT called correctly for supporting neither the YES-Camp nor the NO-Camp in the referendum of the BREXIT. However, the RCIT demands the equal right of young people to vote from the age of 14. It is ridiculous to force such young people to work, to put them in jail if they are breaking the bourgeois law and to deny them basic democratic rights. In addition to this the youth have a much more progressive character which is also shown in the number of the supporters of UKIP, an emerging right-wing populist force. Young people under 21 years rarely support right wing parties like UKIP compared to all other age groups. The majority of UKIP supporters is over 45 years old and support Britain's inhuman anti-migration laws.

6. The outcome of the referendum, the victory of the BREXIT campaign, is indeed ambivalent. In the first place the victory of the NO-campaigners is a protest against the politics of the British government. The huge majority of the British ruling class was in favor of the YES-campaign. Even the assassination of the Labor MP, Jo Cox, who was shot and stabbed by a radical right-wing activist, was used by the bourgeois media to mobilize for the YES-campaign. Indeed, all parties except UKIP were in favor of remaining in the EU. The NO-campaigners also focused to win the older voters by an obviously successful orientation towards their interests. The central slogan was to actively support the NHS instead of paying money to the European Union. They argued that the weekly paying from Britain of 350 Million Pound should be used for the health care system. This slogan was immediately rejected by UKIP *after* the referendum but it was not raised by them beforehand. However, it is undoubtedly the case that many voted for leaving the EU because of their fear of further migration. This fear was not evident in Scotland and Northern Ireland. In Scotland alone the problem is enormous and without migration there would be no chance to keep the economy working.

7. The Revolutionary-Communist International Tendency (RCIT) in opposition to the social-imperialists of the *UK first* campaign like the Socialist Party of England and Wales (SPEW, British section of the CWI), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP, British section of the IST) and the Stalinist Communist Party of Britain (CPB) were not in favor of the exit of imperialist Britain from the EU. The RCIT has chosen neither the way of the so-called Marxist supporters of the YES-campaign who are in reality part of a Pro-EU-social-imperialist strategy like the pro-Zionist Alliance for Workers' Liberty (AWL) and the Mandeliste Socialist Resistance. Even our former comrades of the League for the Fifth International (LFI) have argued wrongly in favor of remaining in the European Union likewise Jeremy Corbyn. The RCIT chose revolutionary defeatism. Now the time has come to utilize the outcome of the referendum to strengthen the revolutionary forces in Britain and the whole of Europe!

8. The outcome of the referendum is a clear signal against the British government and has to lead in the right direction. Part of this is the formation of a new workers party on a revolutionary basis which is able to organize the working class and all oppressed who are frustrated by the politics of the existing parties. Now is the time to fight strongly against any kind of racism that is led against migrants and refugees. We have to fight for opening the borders and, for unlimited right of residence in Britain and for full equal rights for all migrants. Now is also the time to fight strongly against the austerity politics of the British bourgeoisie. The fight against the cuts in the NHS is an important and progressive aspect which can bring the NO-Voters who are against the austerity politics of the British government together with the YES-Voters from Scotland. The fight against the privatization of the health care system and the social system as such must go hand in hand with the slogan of the expropriation of the banks and the corporations under workers control!

9. In addition to this the slogan „British troops out of Northern Ireland!“ is essential for a revolutionary movement in Britain as well as the demand to withdraw all British troops out of semi-colonial countries. The semi-colonial countries have to receive massive compensation for the exploitation of British imperialism and the super-rich. The super-rich have to be expropriated as soon as possible! Last but not least the fight for an alternative

to the imperialist European Union is important. Such an alternative should not be the same as practiced in Switzerland but instead a Britain which is part of the United Socialist States of Europe. Only through revolutionary uprisings, and the armed revolution of the workers and oppressed of Europe can lead to the United Socialist States of Europe. Britain is facing exciting times ahead.

10. Facing these exciting times is of such high and urgent importance that authentic revolutionary forces in Britain must build a united organization by their joint efforts! Such an organization has to be truly internationalist. It means that she has to fight consequently any kind of chauvinism – may it be pro-EU or pro-UK – and that such an organization has to combine revolutionary defeatism with the perspectives of the United Socialist States of Europe. It means that such an organization has to combine the fight against austerity and privatization with the demand for full equal rights for migrants and ethnic minorities and the demand for the opening of the borders for all migrants. It means that such an organization works as a part of an international Marxist organization instead of trying to exist as a national-isolated force. Such an organization has to be based on a Marxist program and the Leninist principles of party building. It means that such an organization is not orientating towards the middle class and the intellectuals but instead towards the broad layers of the working class and the oppressed. It means that such an organization intervenes as an avant-garde organization in class struggle and fights against reformists and centrists. It means that such an organization works as a united collective on the base of united program, strategy and tactic and not as an agglomerate of individuals. To all class-conscious workers, to all oppressed and revolutionaries in Britain: Let us turn the exciting times ahead into revolutionary struggle! It's high time to organize yourselves! Join the RCIT!

International Secretariat of the RCIT

We refer our readers also to the following essay:

The British Left and the EU-Referendum: The Many Faces of pro-UK or pro-EU Social-Imperialism; An analysis of the left's failure to fight for an independent, internationalist and socialist stance both against British as well as European imperialism; By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT); <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/british-left-and-eu-referendum/>

The British Left and the EU-Referendum

The Many Faces of pro-UK or pro-EU Social-Imperialism

An analysis of the left's failure to fight for an independent, internationalist and socialist stance both against British as well as European imperialism

*A pamphlet by Michael Pröbsting
(International Secretary of the RCIT)*

Price: 2 Pound (plus delivery charges)

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For an Internationalist Working Class Campaign against Nationalist and pro-EU Chauvinism! For a Joint Struggle against Racism and Imperialist War! For the United Socialist States of Europe!

Open Letter to all Revolutionary Organizations from the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 28.6.2016

The results of the BREXIT referendum in Britain have ignited a political crisis not only in the UK itself but throughout the entire European continent. On the one hand, the referendum has obviously strengthened reactionary nationalism, as is reflected in the increasing numbers of hate-crimes against migrants in Britain as well as in the surge of the far right in other Western European countries. On the other hand, the vote to remove Britain from the EU has also created confusion, uncertainty and nervousness among the forces of monopoly capital both in Britain and in Europe in general.

Shamefully, in the months leading up to last week's historic referendum, large sectors of the left in Britain had called either for the country to LEAVE or REMAIN in the EU. In both cases, the proponents of these diametrically opposed positions were guilty of adapting to one of two imperialist camps. Those who supported LEAVE unabashedly adapted to the reactionary "UK First" imperialist camp dominated by the most extreme right-wing forces like UKIP; those in the left who called for a REMAIN vote no less shamelessly adapted to the pro-EU imperialist camp of the big bourgeoisie and the leadership of the Labour Party. Again, we contend that both strategies were and remain nothing more than variants of social-imperialism.

From the moment that the Cameron government committed itself to holding the referendum on the future of British membership in the EU, the RCIT repeatedly stated the dire importance for revolutionaries to oppose *both* versions of social-imperialism and instead raise the banner of working class internationalism. This meant and continues to mean that revolutionaries must join forces in order to:

- 1) Unequivocally reject support for both the "UK First" and the "EU First" positions, by abstaining in any such referendums in imperialist countries belonging to the European Union.
- 2) Organize the working class to struggle against the austerity offensive in all countries – whether inside or outside the EU – and come together to fight against the bosses on an international level.

3) Battle for Open Borders for *all* refugees, in addition to equal rights for all migrants.

4) Unite the working class in all countries – both inside and outside the EU – in an unrelenting struggle against imperialist wars; specifically: Down with Britain's and the EU's military intervention in Syria, Iraq, Mali etc.!

5) Give the highest expression to our struggle for the interests of the international working class by calling for a *United Socialist States of Europe*.

Naturally, as Marxists, we combine such a focused program with a socialist perspective which aims to bring about the revolutionary overthrow of all capitalist regimes and the founding of workers' republics.

If you agree with the general outlook of this *Open Letter*, we urge you – both organizations and individual activists -- to contact us, giving us both your own ideas and any criticism you may have, so that we can take concrete steps towards further discussions and collaboration in launching such a campaign: rcit@thecommunists.net

The RCIT has sections and activists in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen, Tunisia, Israel / Occupied Palestine, Brazil, Venezuela, Britain, Germany, the US, and Austria.

For a more extensive overview of the RCIT's viewpoints, we refer you to our website www.thecommunists.net. In particular, we draw your attention to the following RCIT documents:

For more information on the RCIT's position on the BREXIT referendum, please refer to the following statements posted on our website:

RCIT: After the BREXIT Vote – Stormy times ahead for the workers and oppressed in Britain!, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/brexit-vote-results/>

RCIT: Boycott Cameron's Trap: Neither Brussels, nor Downing Street! For Abstention in Britain's EU-Referendum! For international Unity and Struggle of the Workers and Oppressed! Fight against both British as well as European Imperialism! Forward to the United Socialist States of Europe, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/eu-referendum-in-uk/>

Michael Pröbsting. The British Left and the EU-Referendum (Download as a PDF), <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/british-left-and-eu-referendum/>

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Labour Party Leadership Election: Critical Support for Jeremy Corbyn

Defeat the Pro-War and Pro-Austerity Blairite Candidates Angela Eagle and Owen Smith!

Statement of RED LIBERATION, 21.07.2016

The Blairite parliamentary Labour party have made their move. On Monday 11th July Angela Eagle and Owen Smith announced their intention to stand against Jeremy Corbyn and replace him as party leader. The Blairites were hoping that the National Executive Committee which was meeting on Tuesday 12th July would not endorse Corbyn as an automatic candidate on the Ballot for Leader. However, the NEC decided that Corbyn would be on the ballot for Party leader by 17 votes to 15. A very close call!

Unfortunately after this decision Corbyn and some of his supporters left the meeting after the vote to endorse Corbyn as leader. The Blairite supporters on the NEC including the General Secretary of the party Ian McNichol lost no time in making sure that any pro-Corbyn supporters who joined the Labour party after January 12th 2016 would be deprived of a vote. They have put further restrictions by preventing CLP's from organising support for Corbyn.

"Because you are a party member who joined on or before 12 January, you are entitled to vote to decide who leads the Labour Party. You must keep your membership payments up-to-date or you will lose this right. In recent months there has been a marked increase in reports of intimidation and threatening behaviour taking place at party meetings. Whilst the NEC recognises that the majority of our members hold vigorous yet collegiate meetings, the NEC has a duty of care for individuals who feel that their safety is threatened. It was therefore saddened to have to take the decision to suspend all normal party meetings at CLP and branch level until the completion of the leadership election." [1]

The Party machine is still in the hands of a bureaucratic rump that owes its allegiance to ex-Party Leader Tony Blair. From the General Secretary down most of them are terrified of what Corbyn – as an anti-austerity and anti-war candidate – represents and are putting as many obstacles in his path to prevent or stop him being elected party leader a second time.

However, the Blairites have misjudged the situation. The Genie is out of the bottle and there is every likelihood that the mass of workers and youth who voted for Corbyn previously will do so again.

Corbyn is a left reformist and that is his weakness. He has completely misunderstood the strength of the Blairites and their close relationship to the bourgeois and the ruling class. The ruling class after Brexit requires a compliant and stable Labour party that will do their bidding. Corbyn foolishly believed that he could work with them, but before Brexit they were already planning a coup to remove him. Class relations after Brexit have considerably changed. This is the biggest political crisis that British imperialism has faced since the Second World War They want the Labour party to be in safe hands and that is why Blairite politicians like Hilary Benn and Angela Eagle coluded with the capitalist press to try and force Corbyn to

resign. But they failed and now they have to stand in a leadership campaign against him.

Behind Corbyn stands the working class and the youth who are determined to defeat the pro-austerity and pro-war elements in the Labour Party. Corbyn has a very close relationship to the trade union bureaucracy and on 13th July he delivered a speech to the 4th Unite Policy Conference meeting in Brighton. Unite donates over £12million to the Labour Party every year so for Corbyn it was important that he could count on Unite's support in the leadership contest.

"I believe he said that the Labour Party cannot survive without the Trade unions and I am proud to be a Trade unionist. Nine months ago I was elected leader of the Labour Party on a platform for a different way of doing politics. The Labour party has over 500, 000 members now and we can turn it into a mass movement to replace this Tory Government. We have won victories; we have forced them to relent on Tax Credits who said politics doesn't matter. Disability personal independent payments the Tories retreated after 3 days. They can be forced back. If we take decisive action. On academisation of Schools they have backed off. At the recent Local Elections we won the largest share of the vote and we won the Mayoral contests in London, Bristol, Salford and Liverpool. United we are strong. Strong and effective trade Unions are intrinsic to this movement. He assured Unite Delegates that a future Labour Government would repeal the Tory Trade union Bill." [2]

Not once during his speech did Corbyn mention the leadership challenge or the role of the Blairites. He never mentioned Trident in which he wants a future Labour Government to decommission Trident. Unite have of course opposed Corbyn on this issue and they again reaffirmed their position at this Conference to oppose Corbyn over Trident.

These are the contradictions that Corbyn faces and he is totally unprepared to take on the Blairites. Over Ken Livingstone's suspension he sided with the Blairites and he gave in to the Zionist amalgam confusing the difference between Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism. There are still a number of socialists still suspended and expelled (auto excluded) from membership of the Labour Party by the unaccountable and unelected Compliance Unit.

Therefore our support for Corby at the leadership election is critical. He is a left-reformist who adapts to the Blairites and the trade union bureaucracy. His strategy is confined to the limitation of bourgeois parliamentarism and not orientated towards organizing the class struggle in the work places and the streets. This is why it is necessary to build a revolutionary opposition inside the Labour Party as a first step towards the creation of a revolutionary working class party.

RED LIBERATION calls for a united front amongst all socialists inside and outside the Labour party on an anti-austerity, anti-imperialist and anti-racist programme. We fur-

ther call for a conference of socialists to be held to discuss these issues and for a concerted campaign to deselect and expel the 172 Labour MP's who voted for a no-confidence motion on Jeremy Corbyn's leadership.

RED LIBERATION CALLS FOR MAXIMUM UNITY AMONGST THE FORCES FIGHTING AGAINST THE PRO-IMPERIALIST, PRO-RACIST AND PRO-AUSTERITY BLAIRITE FORCES.

** Down with any Racism! Fight together on the streets against racist attacks and fascist mobilisations!*

** For the formation of peoples assemblies and action committees to organise the struggle throughout the Country. For an indefinite General Strike to bring down this hated Tory government!*

** For a revolutionary Constituent Assembly based on mass mobilisations and committees formed in the workplaces and neighbourhoods.*

** Neither BREXIT nor REMAIN – No support for an independent imperialist Britain or a Britain which is part of the imperialist EU! Fight for the establishment of a workers government based on such committees and mass-assemblies!*

** For the right to independence and self-determination for Scotland!*

** Support a referendum on unification of Ireland both the South and the North! For a United Socialist Ireland of all the 32 counties!*

Footnotes

1) Letter from Ian McNichol to all Labour Party Members, Affiliated supporters and registered supporters setting out the Timetable for the Election of Labour Party Leader.

2) Speech by Jeremy Corbyn at the 4th Unite Policy Conference meeting at the Brighton Centre 11th-15th July.

Defend Jeremy Corbyn against the Blairite-coup!

Expel the 172 Labour Party MPs who are plotting a coup to remove Corbyn as Leader of the Party! Push Corbyn to end his softness towards the Blairite scum!

Statement of RED LIBERATION, 4.7.2016

Ten Months ago Jeremy Corbyn was elected as Leader of the Labour Party on a platform which included the opposition to austerity, imperialist war and racism. The Parliamentary Labour Party with a majority of Blairite MP's were always opposed to Corbyn and the vast majority of supporters who elected him. At no time they accepted the political beliefs of the majority of the rank and file members, this clearly shows that they are an obstacle to a democratic Labour Party!

Recently 172 Labour MP's successfully passed a motion of No-Confidence in Corbyn as Leader. There is evidence to suggest that this was planned well before the result of the BREXIT vote. Hilary Benn and Angela Eagle were feeding information to Laura Kusenberg Political correspondent of the BBC. Other Blairites were using Alastair Campbell's PR Company to plan a series of leaks to the Daily Telegraph and the Guardian with resignations from the Shadow Cabinet at suitable intervals. Many of them called on Corbyn to resign. To his credit he refused and told them to 'put up or shut up'. There is now every likelihood of a rerun of election of leadership and Corbyn has said he will stand again for leader of the Party. If there is an election Corbyn will have the backing of the vast majority of rank and file members who elected him previously.

The 172 Blairite Labour MP's who were hoping to remove Corbyn represent the Pro-Tory and open-capitalist elements in the Labour Party. They are self-seeking careerists who think that the Labour Party is their personal property. They must be deselected as MP's and expelled from the Labour Party and replaced by mostly ordinary workers from the rank and file of the party who have the confidence of the basis. At this time with the opportunity to inflict maximum damage to the Tory Party after Cameron's resignation, these Pro-Tory elements are seeking to bring the Labour party closer to the Tories.

However we have to criticize Corbyn for his appeasement policy against the Blairites! If he would be consistent in what he is saying he should have done everything to kick

out the right-wing bureaucrats who promote an anti-workers policy. If the right wing of the party succeeds in their attempts this expresses not the strength of them, but the failure of Corbyn to break with this scum!

RED LIBERATION puts forward the following demands to unite all socialists in the Labour Party.

– *For an anti-austerity platform to rally broad sections of the working class and the Youth!*

– *Against imperialist wars! Expel all those Labour MP's like Hilary Benn and Angela Eagle who voted to support the Tories in another bombing campaign against the Syrian masses!*

– *Against Racism, for free movement of migrants and refugees. Open the borders, no to immigration controls and restriction of movement for all people fleeing oppression and hatred!*

RED LIBERATION says that the only way forward is that all those who support Corbyn together with all socialists outside the Labour Party fight for the implementation of the following demands, only this can bring us out of this dead-lane.

– *Down with any racism! Fight together on the streets against racist attacks and fascist mobilisations!*

– *For the formation of peoples assemblies and action committees to organise the struggle throughout the Country. For an indefinite General strike to bring down this hated Tory Government!*

– *For a revolutionary Constituent Assembly, based on mass mobilisations and committees formed in the workplaces and neighbourhoods.*

– *No to the EU as well as No to an independent imperialist Britain, fight for the establishment of a workers government, based on such committees and mass-assemblies!*

– *For the right to independence and self-determination for the Scotland!*

– *Support a referendum on unification of Ireland both in the South and the North! For a United Socialist Ireland of all the 32 counties!*

Defend Nazeem Shah and Ken Livingstone against the Pro-Zionist Labour Leadership!

Statement of RED LIBERATION (Socialists Active in the Labour Party), 30 April 2016

Nazeem Shah the Muslim Labour MP for Bradford West who defeated George Galloway in the General election in 2015 has been suspended by Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the Labour party, for making Facebook comments. *"The Bradford West MP today made a personal statement to fellow MPs expressing her regret for sharing Facebook posts that called for Israelis to be relocated to the United States. She said in the Commons: Anti-Semitism is racism, full stop. As an MP I will do everything in my power to build relations between Muslims, Jews and people of different faiths and none."* [1]

Shah has apologised for the Facebook comments which have been seized upon by the Blairite and Zionist elements in the Labour party to accuse anyone of anti-Semitism who criticises the State of Israel and supports the Palestinian cause.

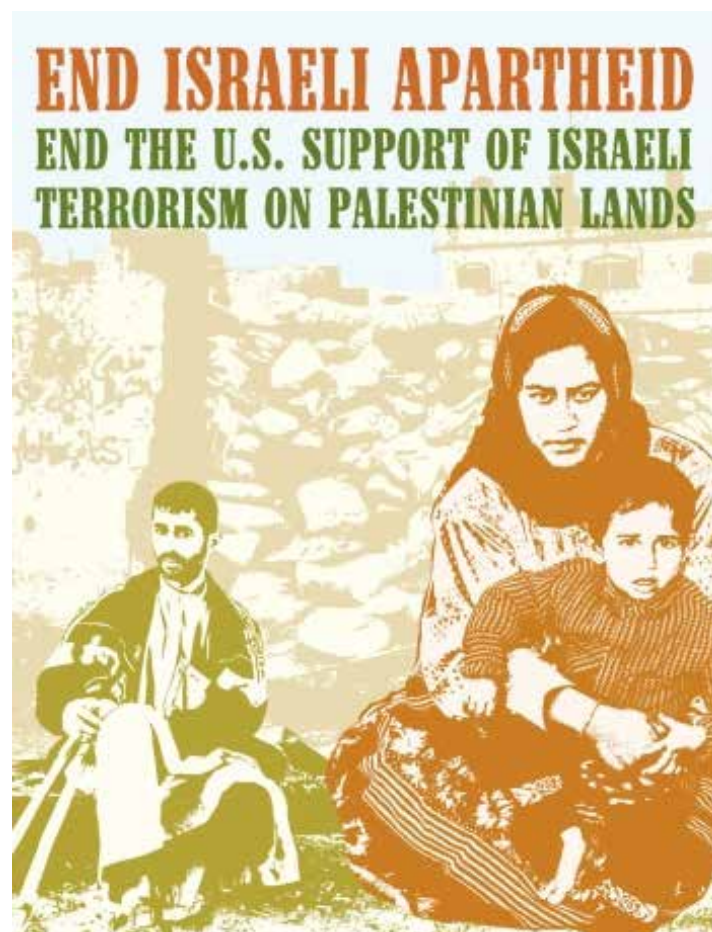
"The decision to suspend Shah - just hours after Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn appeared to give her another chance - follows a revolt by Shadow Cabinet ministers who demanded that the party took tough action" [2]

These comments were made two years ago before she was an MP. Both Corbyn and McDonnell have capitulated to the onslaught of the Blairite and Zionist forces inside the Labour Party. Shah is just another casualty of a purge being conducted by right wing elements in the Labour Party.

Ken Livingstone, a former Labour MP and Mayor of London, was the only Labour MP to come to her defence. *He added: "I don't think her comments were anti-Semitic. They were bitterly critical of Israel and its supporters. She went over the top, she apologised let's not forget that in that horrendous conflict for every Israeli that was killed, 60 Palestinians were killed and an awful lot of innocent men, women and children."* [3]

Ken Livingstone, a long-time supporter of the cause for a free and democratic Palestine, has now himself been suspended by Jeremy Corbyn for comments he made last Friday 29th April 2016 *"Mr Livingstone was suspended by Labour after claiming Hitler supported Zionism "before he went mad" but Mr Corbyn's deputy went further and demanded new rules to purge anti-Semitism from the party. Speaking to the Evening Standard exclusively today, Mr Livingstone stood by his controversial words. "Everything I said yesterday was true and I will be presenting the academic book about that to the Labour Party inquiry," he said. Mr Livingstone's defence is expected to rest on the writings of a controversial American Marxist historian Lenni Brenner, who claims there was collusion between the Nazis and early campaigners for a Jewish homeland."* [4]

The collaboration of various Zionists with the Nazis is a fact which has already been established for a long time. [5] Livingstone and Shah are not racist or Anti-Semitic.



Both Shah and Livingstone are strong supporters of a Free Democratic Palestine. Livingstone while he was Leader of the Greater London Council supported the Palestine Liberation Organisation and on occasions invited PLO speakers to Britain to speak. It is no accident that the Pro-Zionists and Blairites in the Party are choosing now to launch an attack on Corbyn's leadership just before the May Elections. It is obvious that the Blairites and Zionists in the Labour Party are hoping that Labour fail in the May elections. With the Tories split these pro-capitalist elements launch an attack.

It is not Shah and Livingstone who must be expelled from the Labour Party but rather these pro-Zionist and Blairite elements! Unfortunately Corbyn and McDonnell have confused Anti-Semitism and Zionism and are capitulating to the right-wing elements in the Party. Corbyn now says he is going to conduct an inquiry into Anti-Semitism in the Party. Of course the pro Zionist elements in the party – the 'LABOUR FRIENDS OF ISRAEL' – are forcing Corbyn and others to instigate a witchhunt against pro-Palestinian elements in the party. [6]

It is particularly shameful that left-wing supporters of Corbyn – like Jon Lansman, founder of Momentum – are joining now the Zionist camp. According to the Guardian, Lansman said: "A period of silence from Ken Livingstone is overdue, especially on antisemitism racism and Zionism. It's time he left politics altogether." [7]

RED LIBERATION denounces the witchhunt being conducted against Shah, Livingstone and other members of the Labour Party who are being accused of Anti-Semitism. The comments made by Shah and Livingstone are not anti-Semitic or racist and they both should be reinstated and the suspension lifted. Momentum must clarify if it wants to join the camp of Zionism – which is the camp of racism and oppression of the Palestinian people – or the camp of Anti-Zionism. Only the latter is the camp of democracy and freedom! We urge Momentum to raise its voice and no longer support uncritically the capitulation of Corbyn and McDonnell to the pro-Zionist Blairites! RED LIBERATION calls on Momentum and all socialists

in the Labour Party to jointly fight for the following demands:

* *The suspensions of Nazeem Shah and Ken Livingstone to be lifted and reinstated back into the Labour Party again!*

* *Reinstate all Labour Party members threatened with Anti-Semitism who in fact have only denounced Zionism and who support a FREE DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE!*

* *Call on Jeremy Corbyn to call off this enquiry into so called Anti-Semitism in the Labour Party which is nothing more than a witch-hunt against Pro-Palestinian supporters in the Labour Party*

* *Expel all Pro-Zionists elements in the Labour Party! Proscribe 'The Labour Friends of Israel'! Zionism is a cancer in the Labour Party! Call on the Corbyn leadership to campaign for a Free Democratic Palestine!*

Footnotes

1-3) http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/ken-livingstone-naz-shah_uk_5720df33e4b0d6f7bed5525c

4) <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/mayor/ken-livingstone-sticks-to-his-guns-and-insists-ive-not-said-anything-wrong-a3236666.html>

5) See on this e.g. the works of Lenni Brenner, an excellent US-American Marxist historian who has been active in various Jewish Anti-Zionist initiatives. In particular we refer readers to his books *51 Documents: Zionist Collaboration with the Nazis*, originally published in 1983, republished by Barricade Books 2002 and *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators - A Reappraisal*, Lawrence Hill, Westport 1983, republished in 2014. See also Yossi Schwartz: *The Origins of the Jews* (Chapter III: Anti-Semitism and Zionism) which has been published in *Revolutionary Communism* No. 38 (July 2015), the English-language journal of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/origins-of-jews/>

6) "Jeremy Corbyn has set up an independent inquiry into antisemitism within Labour as he battles to assert control over a party in turmoil on the eve of crucial local elections." (<http://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/uknews/jeremy-corbyn-sets-up-inquiry-into-labour-antisemitism-claims/ar-BBsqUPO?li=BBOPRmx&ocid=SK2MDHP>)

7) <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/28/ken-livingstone-suspended-from-labour-after-hitler-remarks>

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May Day in Austria: Joint Resistance against Racist Attacks

Forceful, militant, internationalist demonstration despite racist attacks

*Report on the multinational, internationalist demonstration in Vienna marking May Day 2016
organized by the Revolutionary Communist Organization LIBERATION*

The Revolutionary Communist organization LIBERATION (RKO LIBERATION, the Austrian section of the RCIT), organized a forceful, militant demonstration of 150 participants on May Day in Vienna. Among the participants were representatives from several migrant organizations including the *Austria Coordination Council in Support of the Syrian Revolution*, the *Coordination Council of the Egyptian Community*, the Ahwazi (Iranian Arab community), the *Organization of Migrants from Iraq*, and the *Latin American Platform in Vienna*. Brothers and sisters from Vienna's Tunisian community were also present. Together we marched to demonstrate our internationalist solidarity with workers and oppressed throughout the world and our unflagging commitment to the fight against racism. We protested against the dictatorship of General al-Sisi in Egypt and Assad's brutal rule in Syria, the imperialist-backed regime in Iraq, against theocratic Iran, against the ongoing parliamentarian coup in Brazil, for a free, red Palestine, and against the repression of migrants and the exploitation of workers everywhere, including in Austria.

This multinational, internationalist demonstration was viciously attacked by a group of Austrian racists who were not even deterred by the presence of the many families with small children who attended. Cowardly

and to a certain extent drunk, these brutes tried several times to attack our demonstrators, and continually heaped insults upon us. Just like Alice Schwarzer, these louts see every woman wearing a headscarf as a symbol of "Islamist terrorism" and therefore a legitimate target for insults, thereby unsuccessfully attempting to disguise their own vile racism and sexism behind an allegedly "democratic" struggle for equality and against anti-Semitism. Sadly, these types of racists are actually commonly referred to by the local media as anti-nationalist, anti-fascist and anti-sexist. This perversion is particularly ironic seeing how they immediately denounce any criticism of the apartheid state of Israel as overt anti-Semitism, and basically see Muslims as nothing more than latent anti-Semites. Given their twisted logic, it's no wonder that these cowardly racists even tried to attack and beat women among our demonstrators. When our comrades successfully managed to defend our sisters in the march, shouting "women beaters" at the would-be assailants, these warped men in all seriousness indignantly attempted to insult our comrades accusing us of "sexism"(!) But our comrades from the Austrian section of the RCIT successfully thwarted these racist provocateurs and put an end to their attempts to interrupt our multinational demonstration.



Activists of the Austrian section of the RCIT and refugees at the MayDay-Demonstration 2016 in Vienna

Undeterred by several attempts by these vile racists and women beaters to disrupt our May Day march and celebration, in the end our march and the public rally afterwards were a success. The crowd was addressed by a number of speakers among them Rahime Berisha, Almedina Gunić, Marek Hangler, Johannes Wiener and Michael Pröbsting, each one speaking as a member of the Austrian section of the RCIT. Other speakers included Ibrahim Ali from the Egyptian community, Dr. Hamoui from the Syrian community, and Comrade Isabel from the Latin America Platform in Vienna. There were also speeches by Abderrahmen Laarouchi, a Moroccan migrant, and a Syrian refugee who just recently arrived in Austria.

Several speakers, including Abderrahmen Laarouchi, emphasized that we are fighting against Zionism and the apartheid state Israel, but *not* against Jewish people who are our brothers and sisters.

Elated and in the spirit of internationalism, militant anti-Zionism and anti-racism, we successfully concluded our May Day demonstration with calling out a joint slogan: "Long live internationalist solidarity!"

Speeches from the May Day demonstration as well as photographs of our contingent can be viewed on the RKOB website at: <http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/erster-mai-2016/>



Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, speaks at the MayDay-Demonstration 2016 in Vienna



Activists of the Austrian section of the RCIT and refugees at the MayDay-Demonstration 2016 in Vienna

Books of the RCIT

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) ■



Look for details of the books at www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net

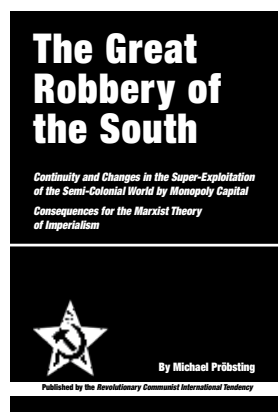
Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a book 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. Order your copy NOW! \$20 / £13 / €15 plus p+p (21\$ for US and international, £9 for UK, €10 for Europe)



The Author: Michael Pröbsting is a revolutionary activist since 35 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). In addition to *The Great Robbery of the South* and *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* he also published in 2014 the book *Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice. Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism*. 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 led 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 state 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 led by the working class, because only the latter is capable of fomenting a revolutionary 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!

