



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

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ONE WORLD - ONE STRUGGLE - ONE REVOLUTION



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Grenfell Tower Fire, Unpopular Government: Political Crisis in UK

* Qatar-Gulf Crisis

* Victory to the Syrian Revolution!

* US-Israeli Imperialist Warmongering

* Popular Protests in Morocco

* Russia's Occupation of Chechnya

* Dialectics and Wars in the Present Period

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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, Turkey, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Zimbabwe, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Britain, Germany, and Austria.

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Qatar-Gulf Crisis: Another Offensive of the Arab Counter-Revolution

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 10 June 2017

On 5 June, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain and Egypt severed all diplomatic ties with Qatar. These countries also closed all land, air, and sea traffic routes to the small peninsula which is home to 2.6 million people. In the days following this move, several other Arab countries – all dependent on Saudi funding – replicated it.

Concurrent with these developments, a cyber attack was launched against the global media outlet *Al-Jazeera* which is based in Doha, Qatar's capital. Furthermore, the rulers of the UAE have threatened to impose an economic embargo against Qatar, while Bahrain has said "all options" (i.e., including military aggression) are on the table. According to *Al-Arabiya*, the United Arab Emirates has even banned persons within its borders from publishing expressions of sympathy towards Qatar and has threatened to punish offenders with a jail term of up to 15 years!

However, Qatar has not remained entirely isolated, as Iran and Turkey have already offered support to the besieged country.

The Saudi-led bloc justifies its unprecedented aggression against Qatar with the latter's alleged support for "terrorism." Coming as it does from a regime that promulgates an extremely reactionary sectarian Wahhabi ideology, this is a rather bizarre accusation, which stems from the residence in Qatar of several exiled bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders of Islamist organizations who play a prominent role in resistance to imperialist occupations and dictatorships. In particular, these organizations include: Egypt's *al-Ikhwan* (the Muslim Brotherhood), an Islamist mass movement which faces rife persecution under the military dictatorship of General al-Sisi; *Hamas*, the strongest militant Palestinian force which successfully led the resistance in Gaza against three Israeli invasions in the last nine years; and the Afghan *Taliban*, the leading force fighting a guerrilla struggle against the Western imperialist occupation since 2001.

Furthermore, the Saudi monarchy is worried about Qatar's less confrontational approach towards Iran – Riyadh's arch-enemy.



Reactionary leaders united: US President Donald Trump, Saudi King Salman Egypt's dictator General Sisi (Source: Wikipedia)

The Trump Factor

The timing of the current diplomatic war against Qatar is by no means accidental. Rather, it takes place only two weeks after US President Trump's visit to Saudi Arabia. The mad egomaniac used the visit to deliver a speech calling the Arab states to join the world's biggest imperialist power in its struggle "against terrorism," or to put it in the preadolescent language of the racist misogynist US leader: "This is a battle between good and evil." Following more profane goals, Trump also signed a huge arms deal with the Saudi rulers worth more than \$US 110 billion.

Trump's visit was part of the new US administration's efforts to create a bloc with the most reactionary dictatorships in the Arab world along with the Zionist apartheid state of Israel. The goals of this bloc are: to advance the counterrevolutionary efforts aimed at liquidating the *Arab Spring* which started in 2011; to kill off once and for good the Palestinian resistance; and to counter the rising influence of Iran (which has the backing of Russian and Chinese imperialism).

Unsurprisingly, Trump immediately welcomed the Saudi aggression against Qatar in one of his notorious tweets: "So good to see the Saudi Arabia visit with the King and 50 countries already paying off. They said they would take a hard line on funding extremism, and all reference was pointing to Qatar. Perhaps this will be the beginning of the end to the horror of terrorism!"

There can be no doubt about the reactionary nature of the Qatari state. It is a parasitic capitalist monarchy with a population that includes only 313,000 Qatari citizens and 2.3 million migrants.

Qatar's Foreign Policy

However, the present crisis is not about the nature of the constitutional regime in any of these countries. Rather, since the 1990s, Qatar has tried to advance a foreign policy independent of Saudi-Arabia – the dominant power on the Arabian Peninsula – in the Persian Gulf region. Qatar created the global media outlet *Al-Jazeera* which gives more space to anti-imperialist and anti-dictatorial resistance movements than any other global mass media. As a result, *Al-Jazeera* bureaus and journalists have been repeatedly the target of assassination attempts and imprisonment by the Great Powers and various dictatorships – for example the *Al-Jazeera* journalist Mahmoud Hussein has been held

in an Egyptian prison for more than 170 days. Qatar's offers of residence or political asylum to exiled leaders of Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood and the Taliban are other examples of its independent foreign policy.

Qatar can stand behind its independent political positions because it possesses the world's third largest reserves of natural gas and oil reserves, making it the country with the highest per capita income in the world.

Without harboring any illusions about the reactionary nature of the Qatari regime, socialists cannot ignore the fact that the present crisis is a direct result of the anti-Qatari offensive by the arch-reactionary Saudi monarchy. The latter regime has supported General al-Sisi since he took power in Egypt in a bloody military coup in on 3 July 2013. It has also been waging a brutal war in Yemen, the poorest country on the Arabian Peninsula and, as a matter of fact, in the Arab world, since having invaded it in 2015. It is by no means beyond the imaginable that, if Qatar does not capitulate to the Saudi-led bloc's demands, Riyadh may even invade the Qatari peninsula as it did with Bahrain in March 2011 when a popular mass uprising threatened to overthrow the reactionary monarchy following the outbreak of the Arab spring.

As socialists, we recognize the thoroughly counterrevolutionary nature of the Saudi-led aggression against Qatar. If the Qatari state is forced to expel representatives of resistance movements like Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood and the Taliban residing there, and/or if Al-Jazeera would be forced to change its editorial policy to appease Trump, the Saudi king and the Egyptian dictator, these would represent severe blows to the Qatari state. Therefore, socialists around the world must resolutely oppose this aggression without, at the same time, lending any political support to the Qatari monarchy.

Only the future will reveal what role the individual imperialist powers will play in the Qatari crisis. However, we can already see that Russia's imperialist government is becoming increasingly nervous about the accelerating conflict, because Qatar holds a 19.5% stake in Russia's state-owned Rosneft petroleum company, which could potentially be adversely affected by the crisis. If the rival imperialist Great Powers like the US, Russia, the EU or China should increase their intervention in the conflict, and thereby transform it from one between the Saudi-led bloc and Qatar into a proxy war between two or more of the Great Powers, socialists must lend no support to any side.



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

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For the RCIT analysis of the Arab Revolution in general and the Syrian Revolution in particular, we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents accessed from the Africa and Middle East section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. In particular we refer readers to the following documents: RCIT: Syria: Condemn the Reactionary Astana Deal! The so-called "De-Escalation Zones" are a First Step towards the Partition of Syria and a Conspiracy by the Great Powers to Defeat the Revolution, 7 May 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/astana-deal/>. Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified? An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syrian-revolution-not-dead/>. Yossi Schwartz: Raqqa: Defeat the US Imperialist Offensive! An assessment of the US/SDF/YPG war against Daesh, April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-offensive-in-raqqa/>. RCIT: Defeat the Imperialist Invasion in Syria – Victory to the Revolution! Down with the American and Russian interventions! No to the imperialist plan to divide Syria! Down with the butcher Assad and his imperialist allies! 13.03.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/imperialist-invasion-in-syria/>. RCIT: For the Iranian Revolution! Down with the capitalist Mullah dictatorship! Down with Imperialism! For a working class revolution in Iran! February 2017, [\[munists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/iran-platform/\]\(https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/iran-platform/\). RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism, Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, 18 December 2016, Chapter IV. The Middle East and the State of the Arab Revolution, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/part-4/>. RCIT: Revolution and Counterrevolution in the Arab World: An Acid Test for Revolutionaries, 31 May 2015, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-arab-revolution/>. RCIT: Yemen: The al-Hadi Puppet Government Calls for an Imperialist Invasion! Victory to Yemen! Defeat the Al-Saud Gang of Aggressors!, 8.5.2015, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/assault-on-yemen/>. RCIT: Israel Starts Ground Offensive: Defend Gaza! Defeat Israel's War! Support the Palestinian Resistance! For a Workers' and Popular International Campaign to Boycott Israel! Down with the Regimes which Collaborate with Israel! For a Free, Red Palestine! 22.7.2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/joint-statement-defend-gaza/>. RCIT: General Sisi – The Butcher of the Egyptian People – Sentences another 683 People to Death, 1.5.2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-mass-death-sentences/>. 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, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/egypt-and-left-army-socialism/>. Yossi Schwartz: Israel's War of 1948 and the Degeneration of the Fourth International, May 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/israel-s-war-of-1948/>](https://www.thecom-</p>
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NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism

Introduction * I . A New Political Phase Has Opened: The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class in the Era of Trumpism * II. Some Theoretical Question about the New Political Phase * III. The Great Power Rivalry and Its Consequences for World Politics * IV. The Middle East and the State of the Arab Revolution * V. Class Struggle in the US after Trump's Victory * VI . The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class and the Resistance in Latin America * VII. Imperialist Interference and the Struggle for Democracy in Sub-Sahara Africa * VIII. Europe in the Era of Chauvinism, Militarization and Brexit * IX. Russia: Victorious Outcome of NATO's Cold War * X. China: Strengthened as a Great Power but Before a Serious Recession * XI. The Class Struggle in Asia * XII. Perspectives for Building of the Revolutionary World Party Today
* Footnotes

Published as two special issues of RevCom with altogether 56 pages, A4 Format

Down with the Assad Tyranny! Victory to the Syrian Revolution!

Platform of the Arab/English-language Bulletin THAWRA

* Smash the Assad tyranny! Victory to the Syrian Revolution! Continue the Support for the popular struggle against the dictatorship!

* We strongly condemn the Astana Deal as a maneuver of Assad, Russia, Iran and Turkey, with the support of the US, against the Syrian Revolution.

* The Astana Deal, if implemented, is aimed at partitioning Syria country and liquidating the revolution. It would hand over control of the liberated areas ("de-escalation zones") to the reactionary regimes of Putin, Khamenei and Erdoğan. As Russian and Iranian forces have supported the Assad regime in its massacre of the Syrian people for years, handing control over the liberated areas to them is equivalent to handing them over to Damascus, i.e., annulling many of the gains of the revolutionary struggle since its beginning. Furthermore, the deal justifies the continuation of the barbaric war of Assad, as well as that of the Great Powers – both inside and outside the so-called "de-escalation zones" – against forces which are legitimate part of the Syrian Revolution, but which are considered "terrorists" by these imperialist state terrorists and their lackeys.

* We oppose all infighting between Syrian revolutionary factions. Such internecine bloodletting is tremendously

destructive to the struggle for liberation and only assists Assad and his backers in liquidating the Syrian Revolution.

* We call upon all factions of the Syrian Revolution to condemn the Astana Deal and to immediately end their participation in the ongoing negotiations in the capital of Kazakhstan.

* We unequivocally call for the continuation of the Syrian Revolution against the tyrannical regime of Bashar al-Assad.

* We oppose all military aggression and intervention in Syria on the part of all foreign powers, whether great (Russia, the US and EU) or regional (Iran, Hezbollah, and Turkey).

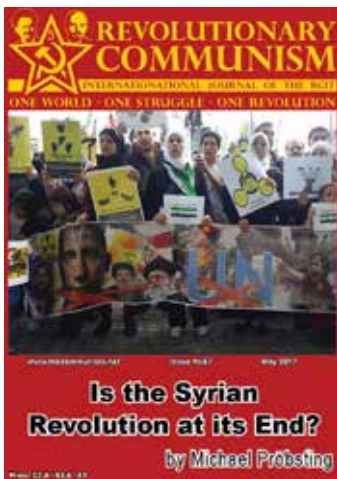
* Down with all dictatorships and reactionary regimes in the Middle East! Solidarity with the popular resistance fighting for freedom!

* Down with the counter-revolutionary Daesh!

* Open the Borders for the Syrian Refugees! Down with racism and Islamophobia in Europe!

* No to any discrimination because of gender, nation, religion, age etc.!

* We call for the creation of an international popular movement in support of the Syrian Revolution.



NEW RCIT PUBLICATION!

Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified?

By Michael Pröbsting, April 2017

An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution

Introduction * The Nature of the Local Coordination Councils in Syria * The Contradictory Nature of the Petty-Bourgeois Rebel Factions * A note on the adjectival juxtaposition of "progressive" to liberal democrats versus "reactionary" to Islamists * Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham and Other Islamist Militias * The Role of Religion in Democratic and National Liberation Struggles * Some Arguments on the Ongoing Progressive Character of the Syrian Revolution * Have the Rebels Become Agents of US Imperialism and Regional Powers? * On Foreign Powers' Support for Liberation Movements p* Lenin and Trotsky on Liberation Struggles and Imperialist Interference * What Did Lenin and Trotsky Say about Getting Support from Imperialists? * Imagining Two Different Scenarios of the Revolution's Success & Failure * A Period of Defeats and Retreats: What Are the Reasons? * Some Thoughts on the Future Prospects of the Arab Revolution * The Urgent Need for a Revolutionary Party * Footnotes

A RCIT Pamphlet, 24 pages, A4 Format

Defeat the US-Israeli Imperialist Warmongering!

By Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT Section in Israel / Occupied Palestine)*, 12.6.2017

During his election campaign, Trump proposed a temporary ban on Muslims entering the United States, which he said would protect Americans from Jihadist attacks. His racist message was cheered by many of his supporters who opposed former President Barack Obama's decision to increase the number of Syrian refugees admitted to the US.

While trying to block the entry of Arabs from Syria (refugees from Assad), Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen on grounds of public security, Trump went to Saudi Arabia, an Islamic theocracy of the extremist Wahhabi school. In Saudi Arabia religious minorities do not have the right to practice their religion. Non-Muslim religious texts are banned, and conversion from Islam to another religion is punishable by death.

So what is his business in Saudi Arabia? The *Internationalist Socialist League (ISL)* views US President Donald Trump visit to the Middle East as using the Sunni-Shiite conflict for a further militarization of the region and the creation of an arch-reactionary political and military bloc composed of Saudi Arabia, Egypt of Sisi, Jordan, Israel and possibly the Palestinian Authority.

The formation of such a bloc should help those reactionary powers to advance several goals:

- a) The complete liquidation of the Arab Revolution (pacification of Syria and destroying the revolutionary forces, helping the Egypt dictatorship to smash al-Ikhwan and all forces of the resistance, etc.).
- b) Allowing Israel to wage another war against the Palestinian people in Gaza with the goal to smash Hamas and all resistance organizations.
- c) To create the condition for waging a war against Iran and Hezbollah.

It is unlikely that the US itself will go to war against Iran, as most Americans do not want to see the US engaged in new wars, but his policy will most likely escalate the conflict between Saudi Arabia and its partners against Iran and of Israel against Gaza or Hezbollah.

During his visit to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, before he came to Israel, Trump signed a joint "strategic vision" that includes \$110 billion in American arms. The deal includes naval ships, tanks and sophisticated THAAD missile defense systems. (1) Of course he stated that it is all about peace and jobs.

There is a possibility that in a case of a conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran, the US will provide military aid from the air rather than sending large ground forces. The mass media observes that Trump's policy for the Middle East may lead to new wars in the Middle East.

Thus, the British newspaper *The Telegraph* wrote in February: "There are now too many indicators that President Trump is preparing for a military confrontation with Iran to just write off as coincidental. Much media bandwidth has been taken up by the so-called "Muslim ban", but was it really about countering terrorism? It seems that Trump's main flaw is not that he doesn't hide his foibles, but more that he can't help telling pundits in advance exactly what his intentions are. This is particularly the case in the Middle East, where in recent days he, along with his defence chief James Mattis and his national security adviser Mi-

chael Flynn, are moving at breakneck speed to curtail Tehran's power. They want to counteract President Obama's Iran deal, which, according to Trump at least, effectively gave the country \$150 billion and made it a regional superpower overnight." (2)

In Yemen where Saudi Arabia is bombing the Houthis rebels (who are supported by Iran) the US is already involved: "Media reports on Yemen have largely focused on the disastrous raid – apparently ordered by Trump over dinner - in which a U.S. Navy Seal and a number of Yemeni civilians were killed. But U.S. involvement is expanding in other areas too: the president recently loosened the military's rules of engagement in Yemen, and has dramatically increased airstrikes against al-Qaida. The new administration has also effectively doubled U.S. deployments to the campaign against the Islamic State group in Syria, adding 400 additional troops to the forces already deployed there. Like their counterparts in Iraq, these soldiers are tasked with providing support to local forces in northern Syria, but the mission has nonetheless resulted in the death of one marine, and the injuries of several others." (3)

In Palestine after 40 days of fasting, approximately 1,500 Palestinian political prisoners announced the end of their hunger strike for basic rights in Israeli jails on Saturday without gaining any major concession from the Zionist state. Is it possible that the end of this strike that could lead to a new Intifada is connected to the Trump visit to the Middle East and his meeting with Abu Mazen?

According to *The Guardian* Trump's so called peace plan is based on an old idea: "That plan was the Arab Peace Initiative (API), unveiled by the then Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah at a summit in Beirut in March 2002. Now the Saudis and their allies are reportedly offering incentives – dangling the prospect of access for Israeli companies, direct communications and over-flight rights in exchange for freezing West Bank settlements and easing the blockade on the Gaza Strip, controlled by Hamas. The ideas were outlined in a paper shared among Gulf countries, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. These ideas build on significant below-the-radar trade and cooperation between Israel and those states, including discreet intelligence and security links. Diplomats describe a winning combination of Israel's technical capabilities with Arab human intelligence assets." (4)

If *The Guardian* is right than what Trump is trying to do is to promise the PA some gains if it will support this plan that does not promise the Palestinians even a mini state and certainly not the right of return of the Palestinian refugees.

While we oppose imperialist Russia, Iran and Hezbollah policies in support of Assad regime against the Syrian revolution, in a war of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Israel backed by the US against Iran and Hezbollah, we see the defeat of the new American-Israeli imperialist war as the interest of the working and oppressed masses of the world.

Footnotes

(1) Washington Post May 20, 2017

(2) <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/02/06/donald-trump-preparing-go-war-iran-likely-think/>

(3) <https://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2017-03-22/president-donald-trump-is-doubling-down-on-wars-in-the-middle-east>

(4) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/24/israel-palestine-trump-arab-peace-initiative>

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For the RCIT analysis of the Arab Revolution and the Palestinian liberation struggle, we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents accessed from the Africa and Middle East section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. In particular we refer readers to the following documents:

ISL: Support the Demands of the Palestinian Freedom Fighters in Israeli Prisons! Free All Palestinian Political Prisoners! 21.4.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/palestinian-hunger-strike/>

Michael Pröbsting: Qatar-Gulf Crisis: Another Offensive of the Arab Counter-Revolution, 10 June 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/qatar-gulf-crisis/>
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Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified? An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syrian-revolution-not-dead/>

Yossi Schwartz: Raqqa: Defeat the US Imperialist Offensive! An assessment of the US/SDF/YPG war against Daesh, April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-offensive-in-raqqa/>

RCIT: Defeat the Imperialist Invasion in Syria – Victory to the Revolution! Down with the American and Russian interventions!

No to the imperialist plan to divide Syria! Down with the butcher Assad and his imperialist allies! 13.03.2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/imperialist-invasion-in-syria/>

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RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism, Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, 18 December 2016, Chapter IV. The Middle East and the State of the Arab Revolution, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/part-4/>

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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, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/egypt-and-left-army-socialism/>

Yossi Schwartz: Israel's War of 1948 and the Degeneration of the Fourth International, May 2013, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/israel-s-war-of-1948/>

Books of the RCIT

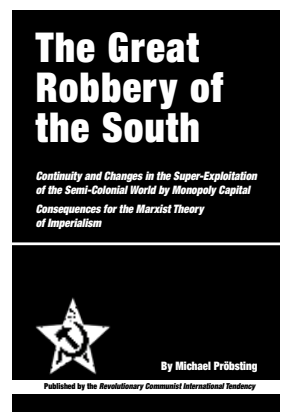
Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a 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)



Free Nasser Zefzafi and all other political prisoners! Long Live the Popular Protests in Morocco!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 13.06.2017

1. The arrest of Nasser Zefzafi, head of the Moroccan social protest movement *Al-Hirak al-Shaabi* (Popular Movement), by authorities has provoked a series of mass demonstrations in that country. These protests are focused in Morocco’s northern Rif region – mostly populated by the *Rifian Berbers* (also called *Amazighen*) – and in particular the port city of al-Hoceïma. The regime justifies the arrest of Zefzafi by accusing him of “interrupting an imam’s sermon” at Friday’s prayer in a mosque! Since then, several other activists from *Al-Hirak al-Shaabi* including political opponents of Zefzafi like the “moderate voice of the movement,” El-Mortada Iamrachen, have been arrested as well. The current leader of *Al-Hirak al-Shaabi*, a 36-year old female activist and mother of four, Nawal Ben Aissa is, like many others, also threatened with imprisonment. From the arrests and threats of arrest, it is clear that the Moroccan regime intends to smash the protest movement.

2. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) expresses its full solidarity with the mass protests taking place in Morocco. They constitute a continuation of the protests which began on 28 October of last year in al-Hoceïma, after social media spread the tragic story of Mousine Fikri, a fishmonger crushed to death inside a garbage truck when he tried to prevent the destruction of a truckload of his fish confiscated by police.

3. The RCIT fully supports the demands of the popular movement like its calling for the punishment of those responsible for the death of Mousine Fikri in addition to that of other protestors, demanding the annulment of the martial law in the province of al-Hoceïma, and an end to the criminalization of small peasants for the cultivation

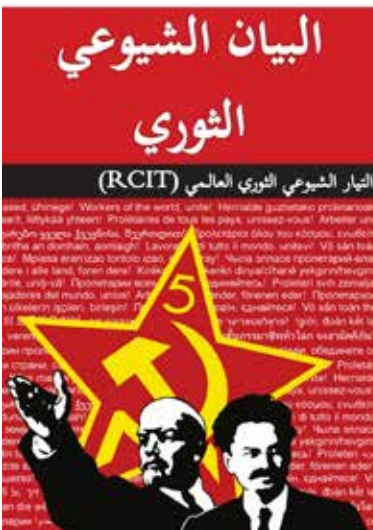
of cannabis.

4. The general background of these mass protests is the Arab Revolution which began in 2011 and which encouraged popular uprisings against the reactionary regimes in many countries, as well as the ongoing increasing impoverishment of large sectors of the Moroccan masses. While the official unemployment rate stands at 9–10%, in fact only about 42% of the working age population has a job. According to official statistics, 38.8% of urban youth had no job in June 2016. To this must be added the long-standing discrimination of the *Rifian Berbers* in the north of the country.

5. As we have already explained in our statement on Morocco published last year, in order to defeat the reactionary regime and its “*Makhzen*” (as the “deep state” is called in Morocco), it is urgent that the popular movement raise its consciousness and its level of self-organization. We call upon the workers, youth and poor peasants to found local action committees in the workplaces, schools, universities and neighborhoods. These committees should organize regular popular assemblies and elect delegates in order to create an acting leadership for the struggle. These delegates should also coordinate the struggle on the national level. As one can see, even the traditional, religious, moderate voices like El-Mortada Iamrachen are threatened by the state apparatus. Therefore, not a single significant success will be achieved by the movement if it doesn’t cultivate strong self-organization.

6. At the same time, activists should put pressure on the trade unions as well as the leaderships of opposition parties and compel them to support these protests with their significant material resources. Activists should,

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however, be careful *not* to hand over control of the movement to the official leaderships of the trade unions. In addition, activists must not give any political support to the opposition parties. Activists should fight for a revolutionary orientation of *Al-Hirak al-Shaabi*. It is urgent to take steps in building a revolutionary organization that arises from the movement, one that is directed towards becoming a genuine revolutionary party of the workers and the urban and rural poor.

7. The RCIT calls upon activists to link the protests against the murder of Mousine Fikri with a perspective envisioning the overthrow of the reactionary regime and the establishment of a workers' and peasant government based on popular councils and militias. Moroccan activists should also link the struggle in their country with the ongoing popular struggles against dictatorships and injustice in other countries. It is important to fight for the release of all political prisoners and to fight for the end of the persecution of political activists! We repeat that the struggle of the Moroccan workers and peasants is part of the ongoing Arab Revolution along with the heroic struggle of the Syrian people in its revolution against the tyrant Assad, the resistance of the Egyptian people against the regime of General al-Sisi, the steadfast struggle of the Palestinian people, as well as many other examples.

The RCIT sends its greetings to all Moroccan revolutionaries and calls them to join forces with us in the international struggle for a socialist future!

** For the forming of action committees in the workplaces, schools, universities and neighborhoods!*

** For a united front of all forces to protest against the murder of Mousine Fikri!*

** For a public employment program, against social cuts and for democratic rights!*

** For a workers' and peasant government based on popular councils and militias!*

** For a single Intifada of the workers and peasants – from Al-Hoceima, Rabat, Idlib, Tripoli and Cairo to Jerusalem!*

International Secretariat of the RCIT

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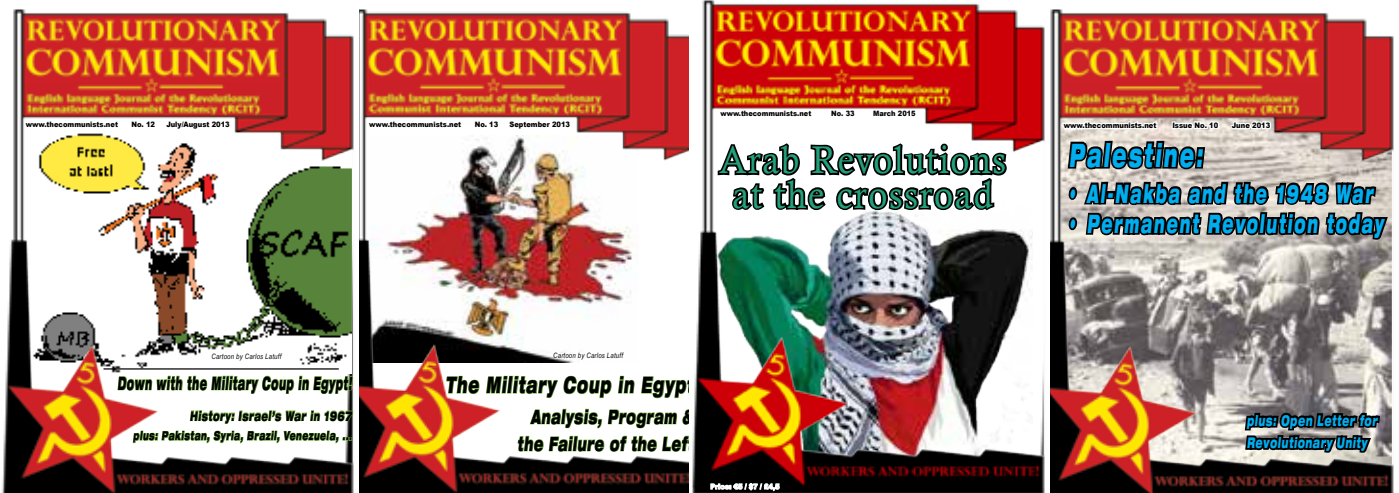
For the RCIT analysis of the Arab Revolution, we refer readers to our numerous articles and documents accessed from the Africa and Middle East section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. In particular we refer readers to the following documents:

RCIT: Following the Murder of Mousine Fikri: Solidarity with the Mass Protests in Morocco! 13.06.2016, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/morocco-mass-protests/>

RCIT: World Perspectives 2017: The Struggle against the Reactionary Offensive in the Era of Trumpism, Theses on the World Situation, the Perspectives for Class Struggle and the Tasks of Revolutionaries, 18 December 2016, Chapter IV. The Middle East and the State of the Arab Revolution, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-perspectives-2017/part-4/>

RCIT: Revolution and Counterrevolution in the Arab World: An Acid Test for Revolutionaries, 31 May 2015, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 36, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/theses-arab-revolution/>

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Where does the RCIT Stand on Russia's Occupation of Chechnya?

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 10

Note of the Editorial Board: Below we republish a short text which outlines the position of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) on Russia's occupation of Chechnya and the liberation struggle of the Chechen people. This text is a slightly edited excerpt from chapter III of Michael Pröbsting's book on the revolutionary party. The book can be read online as well as downloaded as a pdf on the RCIT's website. (Building the Revolutionary Party in Theory and Practice. Looking Back and Ahead after 25 Years of Organized Struggle for Bolshevism, December 2014, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/>)

* * * * *

Russia's two wars of occupation against the Chechen people – the first in the years 1994-96 and the second since late 1999 – were very important events during this decade. Against the desire of the Chechen people for independence, Moscow waged an incredibly brutal war. During the first war it massacred about 100,000 Chechens and during the second again up to 50,000 (in a country with a population of only one million!). The victory of the Chechen guerilla war in 1996 was an impressive event – compare the small Chechen people with Russia's 143 millions! – demonstrating once again how much a liberation war supported by the whole population can achieve against a demoralized great power.

While the Putin regime has succeeded in occupying the country until now, the resistance continues at a low level. This resistance has become dominated mostly by petty-bourgeois Islamist forces.

We supported the Chechen liberation struggle from the beginning and called for the defeat of the Russian occupation forces. We gave no political support to the petty-bour-

geois and Islamist leaderships and called for an independent workers' and peasant republic of Chechnya.

The Chechen war also provided the backdrop for a deeper analysis of Russian capitalism. It reflected the transformation of Russia into an emerging imperialist power.

For the RCIT's analysis of Russia as an imperialist power see:

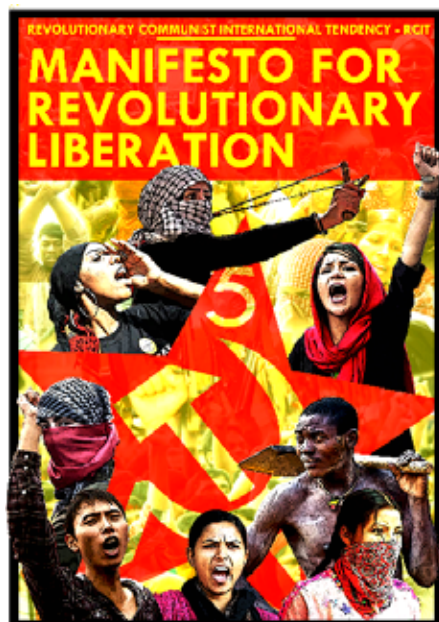
Michael Pröbsting: Lenin's Theory of Imperialism and the Rise of Russia as a Great Power. On the Understanding and Misunderstanding of Today's Inter-Imperialist Rivalry in the Light of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism. Another Reply to Our Critics Who Deny Russia's Imperialist Character, August 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialism-theory-and-russi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

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

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

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

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



NEW RCIT PROGRAM!

Manifesto for Revolutionary Liberation

Adopted at the 1st World Congress of the RCIT in October 2016

Introduction * I. Decaying Capitalism * II. Today's Worldwide Historic Revolutionary Period * III. The Reactionary Offensive of the Ruling Class * IV. A Program for Socialist Revolution to Halt Humanity's Collapse into Barbarism * V. The Crisis of Leadership and the Construction of a Revolutionary World Party * VI. Work in Mass Organizations and the United Front Tactic * VII. The Semi-Colonial South * VIII. The Emerging Imperialist Great Powers of the East: China and Russia * IX. The Old Imperialist Great Powers: The EU, North America and Japan * X. Conclusion

A RCIT Pamphlet, 36 pages, A5 Format

Grenfall Tower Fire: When a Poor Man's Life Isn't Worth £8!

Fight back against the terror of the rich over the poor!

By Almedina Gunić, Revolutionary-Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 18.06.2017

The number of dead from the Grenfall Tower fire is continually rising and will most likely reach more than 100. This was no simple accident or tragedy. We're not talking about some everyday local news item which is covered by a short article and which is already forgotten while we're still reading it. In the case of the Grenfall Tower fire, we are talking about a tragedy that, beyond its terrible reality, is also symbolic of something that shapes the life of our entire society: The oppression of us, the working class.

Read the articles about the reasons for the Grenfall Tower fire. Read the explanations why, outrageously, highly flammable material was used during the building's refurbishment instead of investing £2 more per square meter for safe, inflammable material. Calculate that we're talking about £5,000 of extra cost that wasn't invested in a building housing 600 people, an expense that would have come to a little bit more than £8 per person (1). Read the statements of the fire fighters who warned, years ago, about the building's being unsafe as it had no working fire alarms and no sprinklers, infractions that were repeatedly ignored by officials. Examine the map of Kensington and Chelsea and locate where the most and the least deprived parts are, and you will discover that Grenfall Tower is situated in the poorest area not only of London but of the entire country. Last but not least, if you live too far away to speak personally with the poor people living in the area in the vicinity of the Grenfall Tower, then watch the videos of them on the internet, read their comments, listen to the interviews with them. They know why this happened to them or to their neighbours and why it would never have happened just few kilometres away in the wealthy areas of South Kensington and Chelsea. This, they know, is because of class differences. In the eyes of the wealthy classes, the poor man's life is not worth another £8.

Cosmetic improvements instead of concerns for safety

The non-fire resistant cladding of the Grenfell Tower was obviously used when refurbishing the building to make it look less shabby for the wealthier elements in Kensington. Besides the suspicion that the cladding of the tower was used illegally, its use shows the priorities of the *Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea* council and the company with which it worked, the *Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Tenant Management Organisation (KCTMO)*.

The *Grenfall Action Group*, a local initiative that has been struggling for many years to improve the workers' living standards wrote: „In May 2013 a serious electrical fault causing multiple power surges at Grenfell Tower posed a major fire risk to residents many of whom witnessed smoke coming from light fittings and other electrical appliances, some of which actually exploded.“ (2)

Instead of investing the £10m refurbishment budget allocated to upgrading the building's clearly deficient safety standards, it was spent on superficial, cosmetic repairs to make the tower look better from outside and to create the *illusion* of improvement. To economize, the

work on the infrastructure of the building was of very poor quality. The building firm *Leadbitter* made a bid to improve insulation and replace the defective heating and water system, but the price set for this offer was £11.27 million, which was £1.6 million over the allocated budget. Instead, the KCTMO accepted the bid made by *Rydon Ltd.* to do the job for £8.7 million, which ultimately involved fitting boilers in the middle of hallways, laying exposed pipes across carpets of residents, and so on. (3)

They want to get rid of the poor

The poor people in North Kensington are a hindrance for the prosperous wealthy areas which are in the process of systematically expanding throughout Kensington. The capitalists who are investing in Kensington real estate are doing their best to get rid of the working class character of the area, i.e., they want to get rid of the poor people currently living in the northern part of the borough. Real estate prices in North Kensington have increased since last year by a staggering 17.93% (4), more than double the average increase of 7% for all of London. (5) Social benefits for public, local projects have been cut, with the result being that the number of private structures has increased, despite many local initiatives having been launched to save public housing. As the Labour MP Emma Dent Coad summed up: „There are groups supporting the community stables (hanging on), the sports centre (partially privatised), the nursery (closed), the construction training centre (closed), the day centre for people with dementia (closed), Citizens Advice bureau (relocated), Acklam Village community space (under review) and, not least, a group dedicated to tackling the vile and toxic air pollution that kills more than 80 people a year in the borough and causes the early onset of dementia.“ (6)

However, the heroic, hard work of local proletarian initiatives to improve the living standard of the working class in the area, instead of reaping rewards, turns out to be like the task of Sisyphus battling against the will of the rich gods. These proletarian initiatives are doing their utmost to stop the social cleansing of the workers and poor that is taking place in Kensington. As one resident, *Peaky Saku*, put it in a *BBC live* interview: „They want more reasons to knock these blocks down. There is two options: Regenerate the blocks or they can knock them down. And after that I am not so sure that this (the fire) was totally an accident. (...) The way they don't want us here, that there's rich man's block over there (...) these fires have never happened before.“ (7)

The rich, anti-social behaviour and capitalism

This is the law of evolution written by capitalism. It is not the survival of the fittest as Darwin proclaimed; it is the survival of the richest. And the richest don't need to fit in as they can buy themselves into everything.

Their social behaviour is not one that fits into the needs of humanity. „We have now done 12 separate studies measuring empathy in every way imaginable, social behavior in every way, and some work on compassion and it's the same story,“ the

social scientist Dacher Keltner said, "Lower class people just show more empathy, more prosocial behavior, more compassion, no matter how you look at it." (8)

Otherwise it would not be the case that unintelligent children with a wealthy background are 35% more likely to earn more money in later life than extraordinarily intelligent children from among the poor. (9) Similarly, it would not be that the average working household is £345 a year worse off than before the capitalist crisis started in 2008 (10), with the poor being 57% poorer than before and the rich being 64% richer (sic!) than previously. (11)

The mentality of the super-rich who are cleaning their shoes with a £50 note to remove the „peasant dirt“ (not a cliché but something that is really happening! (12)) is much more representative of the reality of the capitalist class than what they generally want to admit in public. In Kensington they don't just remove the „peasant dirt“ from their shoes, but are obviously doing their best to remove the cause of the „peasant dirt,“ i.e., the working class people from Kensington as such. No wonder that the Grenfall Tower fire triggered protests of outrage by the working class.

Protestors and politicians

Theresa May has proved completely inept in this situation as she hid from the tenants and their working class neighbours, and instead praised the few policemen who used their riot equipment to support the fire-fighters. It is typical that her sympathies go with the repression apparatus and its weapons, even though, atypically in this case, the police violence was used to defend the heroic fire fighters instead of their normal brutally beating down of protestors. May is the authentic public face of the Tories who are arch enemies of the working class and who are working overtime to play at the empathy game with the victims of the fire. No wonder she didn't show up at the scene of the fire -- she would have been attacked by the protestors within seconds.

Work for the Labour Party is much simpler, as its ambiguous nature as a bourgeois workers' party helps

their officials to a certain degree to relate to the Kensington workers and poor. Jeremy Corbyn arrived after one hour in North Kensington to talk with people there. He criticized the local council for not using the unoccupied houses of the rich in Kensington to provide the victims of the Grenfall Tower fire with shelter in the same area. Corbyn also backs the demands of the *Grenfall Action Group* and the *Radical Housing Network* to have public investigations of the causes of the fire. (13)

As a result, the Labour leader's general political agenda is viewed as radical and socialist by many of his enemies who hysterically warn against a Corbyn-led government: „The Labour Party and the country need rescuing from his dangerous campaign!“ (14)

Indeed the progressive ideas in his agenda, like the nationalisation of the railways and the energy sector, Britain's leaving NATO and the Trident (nuclear weapons) programme, the building of one million homes and others justify critically supporting him in the elections and against the Blairites in the Labour Party. (15) However, we should not forget that we most likely lost more than 100 of our class brothers and sisters in the Grenfall Tower fire because of the system Corbyn, at the end of the day, supports. Not to speak of the untold millions of dead class brothers and sisters who have lost their lives as a result of the crimes of capitalism.

Kill the rabid wolf

This is a war against us and our lives that has been going on since the 18th century, since the very beginning of capitalism. In this class war we are losing our health and, in the end, our lives and the lives of our loved ones. The location, type and quality of our dwelling places are just one front in this war. According to statistics, disease and injuries (all of them avoidable) caused by poor housing cost the NHS at least £600m per year (16) and 3.8 million workers are in poverty because of high rental housing costs. (17) Studies show that the *bedroom tax* led to „increased poverty and had broad-ranging adverse effects on health, wellbeing and social relationships“. (18)

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Written by Michael Pröbsting
(International Secretary of the RCIT)

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When we were kids, it was fun to play „Which animal do you see?“ as we looked at the black mould on the walls of the tiny bedroom the three of us shared with our parents. Respiratory illness was the less funny part of the mould game. As adults, we witnessed the painful death of our class brothers and sisters in the Grenfall tower fire and become angry as hell. No wonder, protestors stormed the Kensington town hall to confront the RBKC council, chanting „No justice, no peace!“ Which brings us exactly to the point: There is no justice and there should not be any peace until we end this war being waged by our rulers against us by overthrowing them!

It is like a rabid wolf attacking a village, killing most of the villagers. The Tories and Theresa May are the owners of the wolf, and enjoy watching him attacking the village and say „Sorry, folks! We hadn't planned it this way.“ The left wing of Labour headed by Jeremy Corbyn is merely trying to become the new owners of the rabid wolf, and their plan is to hypnotize the beast and to transform it into a calm, healthy and happy bunny rabbit. But somehow, this just won't work out.

The wealthy wolf

For more than a century, Social Democrats are trying to convince our class to come to an arrangement with the oppressors. South Kensington's Labour MP, Emma Dent Coad, uses this tack when she says:

„South Kensington has stepped up for North Kensington with donations, love and expert help. Kensington has come together to grieve and to help and to show it cares. This is a huge first step and over the next weeks, months and years we will work together, with honesty and transparency, to address and resolve the issues around the horrendous and frightening event that has revealed Kensington's true face.“ (19)

What is true is that many of the people from the wealthy areas of Kensington offered their help, donated money and even worked as volunteers during the days since the fire. But at the end of the day, *they* don't go back to shabby houses and have to struggle to meet the basic needs of life. At the end of the day, they need nearly a hundred dead around the corner to bring them to the notion that they should somehow help their poor neighbours. But this is cynical hypocrisy, because the affluent of Kensington,

like the well off everywhere, live with poorness in front of their eyes every single day and consistently ignore it. Not because they were born bad but because they were born well-off.

If the median annual income in Kensington is over £100,000 (20), why don't the „enlightened“ prosperous of Kensington, those who felt so moved to help following the fire, voluntarily cut down their own standard of living to a more moderate one and donate the rest to the poor families? For a couple with two children who are among those living within the lowest 10% of UK incomes, the average annual income is only £19,700. (21) In other words, the median income of a Kensington household is equivalent to that of 5 poor families in UK.

The answer why the rich and well-off don't share their wealth with us is that they are not wealthy despite our being poor - they are wealthy *because* we are poor. Their wealth is not a gift of fate. The profits of companies and multinational cooperation are stolen money from us, the workers. The way those companies and multinational corporations generate profits must, by necessity, harm our health, our lives and the nature in which we *all* live in. Not only in case of the murderous *profit-thought* which killed our brothers and sisters in the Grenfall Tower fire, but in *all* areas of our lives as working class persons.

A side-note on the Grenfell Tower fire and the Daesh terror attacks

Finally, let us note that the Grenfell Tower fire cost about as many lives as the combined number of *all* victims of *all* so-called Islamist terrorist attacks in Britain *since* 2005 (92 dead). (22) But while the ruling class whipped up public hysteria about the danger of „Islamist extremism,“ they didn't give a damn about the deteriorating living conditions of the working class and the accompanying danger to our lives!

Naturally, this does not diminish the vile, reactionary nature of the terrorist attacks by Daesh against innocent civilians. (23) But it is revealing that such terrorist attacks are exploited by the ruling class in order to drum up hatred against Muslims and to invest many millions of pounds in expanding the domestic repression apparatus, including increasing the surveillance of the people. Compare these



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The Meaning, Consequences and Lessons of Trump's Victory

By Michael Pröbsting, November 2016

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sums to what they are doing now! How much money will they now invest, after the Grenfell Tower fire, in better and safer housing?! How much will they actually and effectively increase the regulation of all the companies involved in construction and public safety?!

Fight back the rich people's terror

The anger and the hate against all of those people who are directly or indirectly responsible for the cruel death of our brothers and sisters in the Grenfell Tower fire is exploding, as the protests in its wake have demonstrated. This is a very important step towards ending such tragedies for good, but it is only a very small first step on the path of doing so.

Those guilty for the tragedy of the Grenfell Tower fire must be held accountable. Let us fight for:

** Immediate public investigations organized and led by local structures of the working class in Kensington like the Grenfell Action Group, the Radical Housing Network and others and with the participation of the fire fighters union! These public investigations should be conducted together with the victims of the fire and their families and friends!*

** For a tribunal of the workers and poor of Kensington, including the victims of the fire, to decide on the punishment for those guilty and the compensation for the victims!*

** Open the books of KCTMO and all the companies that have worked with it in the past and present -- their bookkeeping ledgers, bank accounts, tax returns, etc. -- to the public investigation organs and the tribunal of the workers and poor of Kensington! There must be an end to their "business secrets"!*

** Investigation of each and every tower building and other project initiated by KCTMO by the fire fighters of Kensington and local action groups of the workers and the poor to prevent another tragedy. Every measure that the fire fighters and local action groups demand for the security and the health of the tenants of each building run by KCTMO must be met immediately and completely!*

** All unoccupied houses in Kensington and Chelsea must be opened for the victims of the Grenfell Tower fire, as well as for the homeless and the poor who are living in overcrowded, unhealthful flats and houses! Why should those houses be unoccupied for the profit of the speculators and landlords while people lack an intact and healthful home?!*

** Stop the closure of fire stations! Re-open modernized fire stations (including those, which were closed during the last years) and massively increase the number of firefighters and pay them a higher wage for the heroic job they are doing!*

** Social Housing is not a privilege that can be taken away – it is rather a basic human right that we fight for! For the expropriation of the wealthy landlords and the housing companies to organize a decent living standard for all!*

** Immediately end the bedroom tax and every other housing law that harms the poor! For public control of rent, organized by local, regional and nationwide organs of the workers and the poor!*

** Massive investment in all public structures that the workers and poor of Kensington and Chelsea demand, including nurseries, sports centres, schools, etc. This should be financed by the expropriation of the super-rich of Kensington and Chelsea and by a massive increase in taxes for the rich! Why should we continue to tolerate that the average annual income in Kensington is over £100,000 while the workers and poor in*

Kensington are crowded in small and shabby flats and can't afford enough food and medicine?

Activists inside as well as outside the Labour Party, in the trade unions and in local initiatives, should fight for such a program aimed at a massive improvement in housing conditions all over the country. We urge all Labour MPs, including Jeremy Corbyn and Emma Dent Coad, to support all of these demands, to fight for their implementation and to express solidarity with and participate in the people's protest actions. You say that you are willing to fight for the interests of the poor. Now prove it! Of course, these steps need to be taken even if Corbyn is not willing to take them.

The storming of the Kensington town hall showed the militant spirit of the workers and poor. We need a mass movement throughout the entire country for the massive improvement of the housing conditions, paid for by the rich. It is urgent that we organize local people's assemblies in all working class and poor estates nationwide and bring together all local housing initiatives. These assemblies should elect delegates and hold a national conference in order to build a national housing movement that will fight for our rights.

Activists must fight inside the trade unions and local initiatives as well as inside the Labour Party for official support and the active participation of their organizations for such movements.

All class-conscious activists inside Labour should put pressure on their MPs to prove in deeds their solidarity and loyalty towards the poor in Kensington. The Blairites and their friends in Labour will do whatever they can to stop such a consistent proletarian politic. Every class-conscious activist inside Labour should fight for the expulsion of the Blairite party apparatus from Labour.

Whatever the concrete steps now taken, it is clear that we need a new workers' party that authentically fights for the interests of the working class and the poor, not only in Kensington or London but throughout all of Britain. We believe that such a new workers' party should be based on a revolutionary program. We need to kill the rabid wolf. We need to smash capitalism via a socialist revolution!

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Britain: Elections are a disaster for Theresa May and the capitalists!

Now is the time to strike! Bring down this weak and discredited minority Tory coalition!

Statement of the RCIT Britain, 14 June 2017

The British general election of 8th June produced not the overall victory for May and the Tory government that they hoped for. May who called the elections in the hope of pushing through a hard Brexit which was aimed directly against working-class interests, hoping to politically destroy Jeremy Corbyn and the Labour party has made a grave-mistake - she failed to get a majority in the parliament! The British ruling class is now in deep crisis.

Furthermore the results show that the right-wing-populist UKIP has been wiped off the political map. We have already seen a disastrous result for UKIP during the local elections last month as well as the fact that they have continuously been losing ground since autumn 2016. The collapse of the far right-wing UKIP saved the Tories at the general elections as the overwhelming amount of former UKIP voters swung to the Tories. It is the concrete policy of Theresa May with her aggressive approach against immigrants, her determination to cut ties with the EU by a hard-Brexit strategy, her anti-liberal sentiment that attracted UKIP voters to come back to their rightful home i.e. the Conservative party.

The Scottish Nationalists did badly losing seats to the Tories as well as Labour. Nicola Sturgeon's call for a second referendum on independence did not go down well with voters. Beside the harsh alienation of the Scottish Labour Party bureaucrats against Corbyn caused many working class voters who supported SNP until now to return again to Labour *because* of Corbyn. The more nationalist sectors who are in favour of the Brexit support the Tories and the hard-liner May (we shouldn't forget that a third of the SNP voters backed Brexit).

The tactic of the Tories to push for new elections was obviously based on the hope to win more seats by the sympathy of Brexit supporters of various political backgrounds for the hard-liner May. However the result is a loss of 13 seats and a massive gain for Labour led by Corbyn gaining 30 seats.

Hence *"Britain has a hung parliament, with no party holding an absolute majority in the House of Commons. After 650 results out of 650 in the snap General Election the state of the parties is: Con: 318 Lab: 262 SNP: 35 Ukip: 0 LD: 12 Others: 23 (326 needed for a majority)*

Theresa May has said she intends to form a government, with the support of the DUP (the North Irish loyalist party), and guide the country through Brexit talks.

Jeremy Corbyn called on Mrs May to resign and said the Conservatives should stand aside for a Labour minority government". [1]

May has cobbled a coalition together with the extremely reactionary *Democratic Unionist Party* led by Arlene Foster from Northern Ireland. It is doubtful whether the May Government will last long and it is a probable chance that new elections will have to be called.

"An online petition demanding that the Conservatives scrap

plans to form a government with DUP support, gained nearly 300,000 signatures in just 12 hours. Signed by 278,843 people at the time of writing, it also calls for Theresa May to resign after she lost her parliamentary majority. Speaking outside No 10 after the result became clear, the prime minister said she would seek to form a minority government with a "confidence and supply" agreement with the Northern Irish party". [2]

Although Corbyn and the Labour Party failed to win more votes than the Tories he is the political victor in this election. His anti-austerity and anti-war campaign found resonance among large sections of young and working people who despise the Tories because of their austerity policies, including zero hour contracts, privatisation of the NHS, food banks, cuts in social care and welfare benefits as well as for their racism and chauvinism towards migrants and their families.

The Blairites have been keeping their heads down and have made no comment on how close Corbyn came to being elected Prime Minister and forming a minority Labour government. At the moment they are keeping their powder dry and waiting for an opportunity to attack and eventually remove him as leader. They are bitterly disappointed that Corbyn did so well and confused about the outcome of the elections. Even though the Blairites managed to win the support of the Scottish Labour Party which goes so far that the SNP even tried to convince Corbyn supporters in Scotland to vote rather for the SNP than for Labour if they want Corbyn to have a chance their open war against the popular demands of Corbyn harmed them a lot. Furthermore it has not been helpful for the Blairites that Jon Cruddas explained the growing support for Corbyn inside Labour with strange conspiracy theories about a "Trotskyist invasion" of Labour led by Corbyn. The arch war criminal Tony Blair has had nothing to say since the result of the general election.

Michael Roberts a Marxist economist made this comment on his blog about the effect on British capital and their jitters at a weak conservative government. *"The UK election result is a personal disaster for the Conservative leader Theresa May. She called the snap election to get a big majority and crush the opposition Labour party and its left-wing leadership. But instead the Conservatives lost seats and its majority in parliament and Labour under leftist Jeremy Corbyn increased its share of the vote dramatically after a vigorous campaign. The turnout was 69%, the highest since 1997, when the figure was 71.4 per cent. It seems that young people turned out for Labour, particularly in the big cities. Labour gained 10% to reach 40%, while the Conservatives also increased their share by 5% to 42%. The big loser was the anti-EU anti-immigration party UKIP which collapsed". [3]*

Most of the centrist groups like the British affiliates of the IMT (Socialist Appeal), L5I (Red Flag), CWI (Socialist Party) and the SWP opportunistically tied themselves to Corbyn's coat tails without realizing and openly stating that he is a left reformist and ultimately a defender

of British capitalism. Corbyn has always had a close relationship with the labour aristocracy and the labour bureaucracy. He even stated that he will put 10.000 extra police on the street which is against the aspirations of class consciousness workers, blacks and migrants as well the youth in Britain. Corbyn argued against the sharp oppression of young activists who were on the streets in the London uprising in August 2011. However defence of the youth in words and an increase of police forces in deeds demonstrate the ambiguous character of Corbyn. It shows the danger of following blindly and uncritically the left reformist Corbyn instead of openly challenging his politics.

The RCIT in Britain in its most recent statement on critical support for Corbyn pointed out the weaknesses of the centrists and their attitude to the united front.

“Centrists either of the ultra-left variety or the opportunist’s variety has never being able to understand the role of the Marxist united front as practiced by Vladimir Lenin or Leon Trotsky. The RCIT in a major study of the Marxists classics explained our attitude to the United Front and our tactics towards reformist parties like the British Labour party.” [4]

“However, opposite trends cannot be excluded – at least temporarily. Under certain circumstances such parties can even experience an initial rejuvenation (see, for example, the British Labour Party under Corbyn) In contrast to such an opportunistic approach, as Bolshevik-Communists; we would work inside such a party while openly advocating our independent program. While cooperating with other forces within the party, we would uncompromisingly fight against reformist and centrist tendencies. We would try to patiently convince the majority of the party to adopt a revolutionary perspective. If this fails

and the party degenerates into an ossified reformist formation, revolutionaries would draw the conclusions and split from such the party, taking with us all amenable militant workers and oppressed, and found an authentic revolutionary party”. [5]

Of course, as we have argued in several documents, social democracy and the Labour Party in particular have a history of betrayal and cowardice and will betray as soon as they will have the opportunity to do so.

“Of course, as we have indicated above, no one should have any illusions about these new reformist or populist parties. Ultimately they will betray the working class and the oppressed either when they have the opportunity to enter a government or when they play the leading role in a mass struggle. It is for this reason that revolutionaries must warn the masses in advance about the true nature of the leaderships of these parties. But at the same time, Marxists must not ignore the politicization and radicalization of sectors of the working class and the youth which currently find their expressions in support for these new parties. Any sectarian abstentionism against this process would only guarantee the isolation of revolutionaries. This is why critical electoral support for such parties, in addition to entryism under certain circumstances, can be a legitimate instrument for Marxists in the current period.” [6]

However, the RCIT in Britain when advocating critical support for Corbyn in the recent election recognized that under his leadership the party had rejuvenated and attracted a huge swathe of youth.

“However, with the successful campaign of the left-reformist Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn in summer 2015, this decline has been turned around. Despite open hostility by the pro-Blairite party establishment, Corbyn’s campaign was based on an anti-austerity and anti-militaristic platform which created huge

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 Bolshevik-Communists’ theoretical conception of the role of the revolutionary party and its relation to the working class. In Chapter II we elaborate on the essential characteristics of revolutionary party respective of the pre-party organization. In Chapter III we deal with the history of our movement – the RCIT and its predecessor organization. Finally, in Chapter IV we outline the main lessons of our 25 years of organized struggle for building a Bolshevik party and their meaning for our future work.

You can find the contents and download the book for free at <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/rcit-party-building/> ■

**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

enthusiasm among young people. In the space of a few months, the Labour Party's "membership jumped from 201,293 on 6 May 2015, the day before the general election, to 388,407 on 10 January 2016. This development is an important indicator that bourgeois workers' parties, even after a long period of decline, can revive and be rejuvenated if newly-radicalized youth and workers see no alternative to them to politically express their desire for change. Labour's membership comeback also demonstrates how wrong numerous centrists (like, for example, the CWI) were when they declared in the early 1990s that the Labour Party (and social democratic parties in general) is no longer bourgeois workers' parties. We authentic Marxists have always rejected this assumption while, at the same time, having also consistently denounced the opportunistic adaptation to Labourism and never-ending entryism as practiced by the CWI's former comrades, the IMT of Ted Grant and Alan Woods". [7]

The RCIT in Britain emphasises the necessity for activists in the Labour Party to organize and accelerate the struggle against the treacherous Blairite wing in the party bureaucracy. [8] The task must be, now more than ever, to expel the Blairites as the most open and aggressive agents of the ruling class inside the party.

Furthermore the CLPs and branches must demand from their Labour MP's to vote in Parliament consistently against all austerity attacks as well against all racist, anti-democratic and militaristic bills.

Finally, it is urgent to prepare a general strike to bring down this Tory minority government. Obviously Corbyn and the left-reformist bureaucrats in Labour will not support voluntarily a general strike because this demand is an attack on capitalist society and neither Corbyn nor his left-reformist friends are willing to go down this path. However such a general strike is crucial for the working-class in Britain in order to advance the struggle against the capitalist class, for jobs for all, for an end of racism and chauvinism, for an increase in social benefits, and a marked improvement of the NHS, etc.

This general election has produced a hung parliament with a very weak and discredited minority Tory government. This crisis is reflected in all the major metropolitan imperialist nations.

The RCIT in Britain puts forward the following transitional

demands and proposals for workers and the oppressed who want to join the fight and overthrow this hated Tory Government.

* For an indefinite general strike to bring down this discredited weak Tory minority government!

* Kick out the Blairite wing of the Labour Party!

* Demand from all Labour MP's to oppose all austerity attacks as well against all racist, anti-democratic and militaristic bills!

* For self-defence guards of workers and migrants to defend our communities against fascist and police provocation!

* For open borders for all refugees, full equality for all migrants, equal wages full citizenship and the right to speak their own language!

* Self-Determination for the people of Scotland!

* For a unified Ireland as a 32 County workers republic as part of a United Socialist States of Europe!

* For a workers government pledged to bring down capitalism and for the destruction of British imperialism!

We call on all workers and the oppressed to join the RCIT in Britain as the first step and help to build a new World Party of the Socialist Revolution which will be the Fifth International.

Footnotes

(1) <http://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/uknews/general-election-2017-live-coverage/ar-BBCfgRt>

(2) <http://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/uknews/almost-300000-people-sign-petition-against-the-tory-dup-deal-in-just-12-hours/ar-BBCnJGj?li=BBOPWjQ&ocid=SK2MDHP>

(3) <https://thenextrecession.wordpress.com/2017/06/09/uk-election-british-capital-in-disarray/>

(4) <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/uk-general-election-6-2017/>

(5) <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/book-united-front/chapter-4/>

(6) <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/book-united-front/chapter-6/>

(7) <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/book-united-front/chapter-6/>

(8) <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/uk-general-election-6-2017/>

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Second Terror Attack Comes to Britain

Statement by the RCIT in Britain, 5th June 2017

On Saturday 3rd June at approx. 10pm at night 7 people were killed when a van mowed people down on London Bridge near Borough Market. 48 people were also reported to be injured as the assailants started stabbing people on or near the Bridge. The attackers are purported to be members of the Daesh. The three attackers were shot dead by police.

The Guardian reports: *“At least seven people have been killed and 48 injured after three attackers drove a van into crowds on London Bridge and then went on a stabbing rampage in nearby Borough Market. Police said armed officers shot dead all three attackers within minutes of receiving reports of the terrorist attack unfolding in central London. The three men appeared to be wearing suicide bomb vests that were later confirmed to be fakes.”* [1]

This second terrorist attack must be understood because of the years of imperialist interventions in the Middle East generally. Not content with invading and occupying Afghanistan and Iraq using overwhelming military power, they now continue their barbaric aggression. In Iraq, Syria and other countries like Somalia and Yemen, the Great Powers rain down missiles, drone strikes and the rest of imperialist armaments on defenseless civilians killing, maiming and mutilating entire families, young, old, men, women and children. Is it any wonder given these circumstances that young men, and they have all been young men who have become alienated and bitter and feeling that they need to hit back, that they do and as they carry out these barbaric acts they in fact mirror the barbarity of the imperialist powers?!

With only 4 days left until the result of the British General Election the Daesh or Daesh inspired militants have struck causing maximum publicity during this heightened period of electioneering. There has been an immediate response on social media for the General Election to be suspended in light of these attacks.

“Politicians are coming under pressure to suspend the General Election after the latest terrorist outrage. Within hours of the attack on London Bridge, there were calls on social media for Thursday’s poll to be postponed. The call for political activity to be put on hold was made by Mark Oxley in a petition he posted on the Change.org website His views were shared by many on Twitter.” [2]

The RCIT in Britain denounces unreservedly this cowardly and reactionary attack on people enjoying a night out, including migrants and ordinary workers and their families. In our statement after the Manchester attack at the Aria Grande Concert we made clear our position on the role of the Daesh.

“The Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) unequivocally condemns these attacks as utterly reactionary. Like the Paris attack, indiscriminate deadly violence was directed not against a military target but against ordinary civilians. The ruling class of the imperialist powers will use these attacks to justify and intensify its reactionary offensive against the oppressed peoples of the Middle East, as well as its repressive policies domestically targeting the working-class in general and Muslim migrants in particular.

This attack clearly demonstrates yet again the reactionary character of Daesh/IS. This hateful organization wages war mainly against oppressed people, not against imperialism or reactionary regimes. The RCIT repeats that it is the task of the workers and peasants organized in popular militias to wage the struggle against Daesh/IS. Workers and the oppressed must oppose any actions by the Great Powers and their allied butchers, like Assad, since it is the imperialists and their dogs who are the biggest terrorists of all, and they are cynically using the struggle against “terrorism” only as a pretext to advance their own interests. We say: Fight Daesh by fighting its causes – the exploitation and wars of the Great Powers and their crony dictators in the Middle East!

This attack must not be used by the capitalist state to increase its dictatorial attacks on migrants and refugees. The RCIT Britain reiterates its principled opposition to all forms of racism and oppression and for the defence of democratic rights. We will continue to campaign for open borders and defend the democratic rights of migrants and other oppressed sections of the working classes.

The RCIT Britain reemphasizes the absolute necessity for European workers, migrants and youth to unite in the struggle against racism, state oppression, and attacks on democratic and social rights. Furthermore, it is urgent that we mobilize in order to drive the Great Powers out of the Middle East. We also call upon the workers and oppressed to support the Arab Revolution against the dictatorships and the refugees of the Middle Eastern wars who wish to come to Europe.

We warn against May and the Tories using this terrible event to shore up her struggling campaign for the 8th June election with racist propaganda. The workers movement must make sure that she cannot utilize this as a kind of Thatcher’s Falklands/Malvinas moment.” [3]

The RCIT in Britain puts forward the following demands to unite the working class, migrants and youth.

* No to Daesh and its terrorist attacks!

* Against any “State of Emergency” regime and mobilization of the army!

* Fight racism and repression directed towards Muslim migrants in Britain and the whole of Europe!

* Drive Britain and all other Great Powers out of the Middle East! Support the Resistance against the imperialist aggressors!

* Support the Arab Revolution against the region’s dictatorships!

* Open the Borders of Europe! Down with the EU’s Iron Wall against refugees!

* Forward in the building of a revolutionary World Party!

Footnotes

1) <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/jun/03/london-bridge-closed-after-serious-police-incident-reports>

2) <http://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/uknews/calls-for-general-election-to-be-postponed-after-second-terror-attack-in-two-weeks/ar-BBBVidg?li=BBBoPWjQ&ocid=SK2MDHP>

3) <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/manchester-terror/>

Dialectics and Wars in the Present Period

Preface to Rudolf Klement's 'Principles and Tactics in War'

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), June 2017

Below we reprint an article written by Rudolf Klement, one of Trotsky's secretaries, who was at the time of its writing a member of the International Secretariat (IS) of the *Movement for the Fourth International*. Before we give some additional information on the background of this article, we would like to present some thoughts on the importance of this document.

Klement's article is particularly valuable because it demonstrates a *dialectical* approach to the issue of war between states and classes. As the RCIT has discussed repeatedly, with the decay of capitalism, the resulting brutal offensive of the ruling classes and imperialist powers, as well as the accelerating rivalry between the Great Powers, have all led to a dramatic increase of democratic and national liberation struggles in addition to conflicts between various states.

On such a backdrop it is hardly surprising that the vanguard of the working class and the oppressed is increasingly faced with contradictory conditions. In addition to conflicts between two or more Great Powers, armed confrontation can also break out between different non-imperialist states in which *both* sides serve as the proxy of a Great Power. However, it is equally possible that only one side in such a conflict plays the role of a proxy while the other assumes a more independent position. Such conflicts between non-imperialist states can also involve one side attacking another because the latter supports

democratic rights or a just war of liberation. Qatar's being attacked by the Saudi-led bloc – encouraged to do so, in fact, by Trump – is a current example of this last case. (1)

The continuing Syrian Revolution – a legitimate democratic liberation struggle against the brutal tyranny of the Assad regime – is yet another relevant case. Here, on one side, is the Assad regime which receives massive support from Russian imperialism along with that given it by the Iranian regime. On the other hand, in Syria there is a heterogeneous mixture of secular and Islamist petty-bourgeois organizations, a number of which receive, to varying degrees, support from other states (Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the US, etc.). (2)

The ongoing war in Yemen is another example of such a complex situation: In this case there is a just war of defense led by the petty-bourgeois Islamist *Houthis*, backed by Iran, against a Saudi-led coalition, which tacit support by Western imperialism. (3)

In the context of this introductory discussion, it behooves us to contemplate yet another entirely possible scenario: If, in the near future, US imperialism launches a war against North Korea, a small Stalinist bureaucratic workers' state, the latter will most assuredly be supported by the emerging imperialist power China. (4) In such a situation, the RCIT would defend North Korea against the US, regardless of China's support for Pyongyang.

By contrast, in situations like the civil war in Donbass in

Books 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.

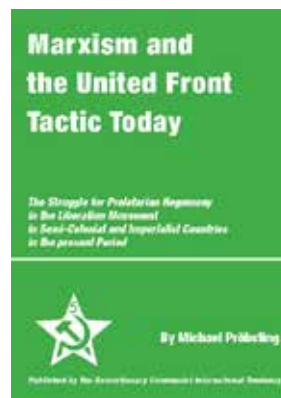
The following paragraphs are the back cover text of the book which give an overview of its content.

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.



eastern Ukraine, in the autumn of 2014 a once legitimate popular uprising against the reactionary, pro-Western coup in Kiev was transformed into a proxy war between Western and Russian imperialism, thereby leading us to switch to a neutral position, where we had previously supported the Donbass rebels. (5)

In this brief introduction, we don't intend to elaborate in detail our positions on these or similar conflicts, but rather refer readers to the numerous documents which we have published in the past. For now, we only wish to draw attention to an extremely important theoretical problem: What stand should revolutionaries take in conflicts in which imperialist or reactionary forces intervene, in one way or other, on *both* sides?

Unfortunately many socialists answer this question in a mechanistic, simplistic way, automatically concluding that, because of the interference of imperialist and or reactionary forces on both sides, they are best advised to take a *neutral* position. While such a conclusion may be both correct and applicable in a number of cases (as our changed position on Donbass cited above illustrates) it can also be incorrect in other cases. As we have elaborated elsewhere in more detail, revolutionaries have to take into account the origin, history and driving factors (as well as secondary) of any given conflict, as well as the class nature of the different camps. (6)

If this is not done, Marxist analysis and the revolutionary art of elaborating tactics would be reduced to a mere tallying of pluses and minuses. However, in fact, reality is a *"concrete totality, a unity of the universal and the particular"* – to use the words of the distinguished Soviet philosopher of the 1920s, Abram Deborin. (7)

Hence, Marxists are obliged to undertake a concrete and dialectical study of any given conflict and to take into account all factors and their interrelationships. Hegel once noted in his *Science of Logic* that the universal must not be understood as a merely abstract but *"as the universal which embraces within itself the wealth of the particular."* (8) This is why a conflict or war has to be studied in *all* its aspects, with the general, fundamental, as well as its secondary, particular, characteristics. Such an approach must follow Lenin's dialectical method to study a thing or a process *„from appearance to essence and from less profound to more profound essence."* (9)

Those socialists who always take a neutral, abstentionist position in such complex conflicts and wars, mistakenly believe that such a line will ensure that they defend the independence of the working class. However, in fact, they only defend the working class' independence from reality by preventing it from advancing its own interests by participating in the concrete struggles between the social forces.

In contrast to such abstentionists, Marxists have to study concretely a given conflict or war and derive the appropriate tactics from it. Without such an approach Marxism is reduced to a sample of abstract truisms and a tactical passivity of waiting on the sidelines for better times, while in reality millions of workers and oppressed are fighting for their democratic and social rights against the ruling classes.

In conclusion, we repeat what we already stated some years ago: *"It is true that imperialist powers have historically tried to utilize democratic struggles for their own ends and*

interfere in them. Such interference must be opposed by Marxist forces. But as Lenin said, in the epoch of imperialism the big powers will always try to interfere and utilize national and democratic conflicts. However, this fact should not lead Marxists to automatically adopt a defeatist instead of a revolutionary-defensist position in such conflicts. Rather, the position taken by Marxists should depend on which factor becomes dominant – the national, democratic liberation struggle or the imperialist war of conquest." (10)

Footnotes:

(1) See on this Michael Pröbsting: Qatar-Gulf Crisis: Another Offensive of the Arab Counter-Revolution, 10 June 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/qatar-gulf-crisis/>

(2) The RCIT has published numerous documents on the Syrian Revolution which can be viewed on the Africa and Middle East section of our website: <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/>. Our most important recent documents on this issue are:

RCIT: Syria: Condemn the Reactionary Astana Deal! The so-called "De-Escalation Zones" are a First Step towards the Partition of Syria and a Conspiracy by the Great Powers to Defeat the Revolution, 7 May 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/astana-deal/>

Michael Pröbsting: Is the Syrian Revolution at its End? Is Third Camp Abstentionism Justified? An essay on the organs of popular power in the liberated area of Syria, on the character of the different sectors of the Syrian rebels, and on the failure of those leftists who deserted the Syrian Revolution, 5 April 2017, <https://www.thecommunists.net/theory/syrian-revolution-not-dead/>

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Yossi Schwartz: The War in Yemen, Iran and US-Imperialism, 20.4.2015, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 35, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/yemen-war-us-and-iran/>

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(7) Abram Deborin: Lenin als revolutionärer Dialektiker (1925); in: Nikolai Bucharin/Abram Deborin: *Kontroversen über dialektischen und mechanistischen Materialismus*, Frankfurt a.M. 1974, p. 125 (out translation)

(8) Georg F. Hegel: *Science of Logic*, Prometheus Books, New York 1969, p. 58

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Principles and Tactics in War

By Rudolf Klement, *The New International*, May 1938, *Theoretical Journal of the SWP (US-Section of the Fourth International)*

Introduction

We reprint here an article written by Rudolf Klement, one of Trotsky's secretaries, who was at the time a member of the International Secretariat (IS) of the *Movement for the Fourth International*. Klement, born in Germany in 1908. (1) He was a student of philosophy (2) and an accomplished linguist (he spoke six languages) and his devotion to the movement was without equal.

He joined Trotsky in exile in Prinkipo in May 1933, moved to France with him and parted company only when Trotsky was deported to Norway in 1935. Klement was entrusted with the post of Administrative Secretary of the IS. It undoubtedly shows the confidence placed in Klement by Trotsky and the rest of the *Movement for the Fourth International*.

The article, "*The tasks of the proletariat in war*", was written in December 1937 under the pseudonym of W(alter) St(een). It was first published in English in May 1938 under the title "Principles and Tactics in War" in the *New International*. (3)

Klement explains the revolutionary principles that guide the Marxist understanding of war. But he also does much more. As an active revolutionary he is concerned to lay down those measures the international working class needs to undertake faced with different kinds of wars. Today, with imperialism's forces massing in the Gulf, Klement's article has lost none of its strength as a guide to action.

Klement explains the importance of revolutionary defeatism in the imperialist countries, and goes on to show how this should express itself in the case of a war against a non-imperialist opponent which is carrying out a progressive struggle against the imperialist power. He makes clear that the article contains little that is new. He bases himself squarely on the 1934 document "*War and the Fourth International*" (4), written by Trotsky and adopted by the international Trotskyist movement. Klement's article was occasioned by the need to clear up an important confusion which was threatening to disrupt the *Movement for a Fourth International*.

Towards the end of 1937 Klement, IS member Walter Held and other exiled German Trotskyists, began the publication of *Der einzige Weg* (The Only Road). The first issue carried a short review of "*The Case of Leon Trotsky*", the transcripts of evidence given to the Dewey Commission

The review highlighted one particular exchange between Trotsky and Albert Goldman, his lawyer, in which Trotsky dealt with the question of how French workers should react if French imperialism were to make an alliance with the USSR. (5) Klement says that this short quotation had given rise to "false interpretations" and that it was necessary to put the matter straight.

In fact the article threatened to detonate a row which had been rumbling on for some time within the Belgian section of the MFI, the Parti Socialiste Révolutionnaire. At the heart of this dispute was a fundamental political difference between Trotsky and the leader of the PSR, Georges Vereeken.

No sooner had Vereeken seen the review than he accused Trotsky of "going back to Stalinist policies". He continued:

"The extract which the IS finds so interesting, will ideologically disarm our comrades . . . I consider this opinion totally false, dangerous and certain to lead to our movement to end up in the holy alliance of the bourgeois democratic countries." (6)

Without Trotsky's knowledge, Klement launched a political counter-offensive against Vereeken and the PSR leadership. On the 18 December he wrote a stinging letter to the PSR EC. In one particularly telling passage he wrote: *"Comrade Vereeken lacks the most elementary notion of what revolutionary defeatism is. This results both from the fact that he identifies revolutionary defeatism with the sabotage of the whole war machinery and from the fact that he sees political opposition to the government as nothing but integration into the holy alliance. This is most astonishing since up to now, in explaining revolutionary defeatism, we have always stressed that it doesn't consist of blowing up bridges or acts of individual terrorism against the military command, but rather of continuing the class struggle during the war and preparing the masses for the revolution, which means irreconcilable political opposition to the bourgeois regime."* (7)

His letter ends:

"To omit nothing which can favour the military actions of the states which the international proletariat has the duty to defend, here means using every means (revolutionary agitation and military sabotage) to weaken the activity of one's own imperialism. This is no way means that in such cases we should become partisans of individual terrorism, for in the first place we should have no intentions of substituting this for revolutionary action to bring down the regime, and because such sabotage and terror can and must take on a mass character, can and must do so—for here lies its chance of effectiveness—with the sympathy and support of the proletariat in the army and outside it.

"Obviously it will be difficult in the reality of war to practise both revolutionary defeatism in one's own country and defencism towards the USSR etc, and to combine the two. But the conclusion to be drawn is not that we should close our eyes to such necessities, and limit ourselves to repeating schematically: revolutionary defencism everywhere! That way we should find ourselves at the crucial moment without a real directive. Instead we should be thinking now about arming the members for every eventuality. This is also the only way to prevent the temptation to join the holy alliance taking hold of revolutionary militants in difficult situations." (8)

Three days after this letter the initial draft of "*The Tasks of the Proletariat in War*" was finished. Within a few short months the article had been published in English, French and German and was to form a new weapon in the arsenal of the revolutionary programme on war.

In July 1938 Klement was assassinated by the Stalinist secret police, the GPU. His headless corpse was found floating in the Seine at Meulan, outside Paris. The life of this "unselfish and courageous" young man was over.

Klement's death was a loss for revolutionaries all over the world. Fifty years later his article is still important, and can serve to educate and guide the new ranks of revolutionaries who will complete Klement's work,

stopped in its tracks by Stalin's executioners.

Notes

(1) And not 1910 as often suggested. Writings: Supplement 1934-40, p. 950, n776

(2) E.g. Oeuvres, Grenoble 1984, p.30, n5

(3) To our knowledge, the article has only been reprinted twice before. Firstly by Workers Power (Dec 1980) and more recently by Revolutionary History (Vol.1, No.1, Spring 1988)

(4) Writings 1933-34, New York 1975, pp. 299-329

(5) The Case of Leon Trotsky, New York 1969, pp. 289-290

(6) From PSR EC minutes, 15.12.37. Cited in Vereeken: The GPU in the Trotskyist movement. New Park Publications, London 1976, pp. 263-264

(7) Ibid, pp. 265-266

(8) Ibid, p. 267

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The review of the book *The case of Leon Trotsky* in the first number of the periodical *Der Einzige Weg* quotes the following interesting statement of comrade Trotsky on the difference in the tasks of the proletariat during a war between France-Soviet Union and Germany-Japan (reproduced here somewhat more completely):

"Stolberg: Russia and France already have a military alliance. Suppose an international war breaks out. I am not interested in what you say about the Russian working class at this time. I know that. What would you say to the French working class in reference to the defense of the Soviet Union? 'Change the French bourgeois government', would you say?"

"Trotsky: This question is more or less answered in our document, The War and the Fourth International, in this sense: In France I would remain in opposition to the government and would develop systematically this opposition. In Germany I would do anything I could to sabotage the war machinery. They are two different things. In Germany and in Japan I would apply military methods as far as I am able to fight, oppose, and injure the machinery, the military machinery of Japan, to disorganise it, both in Germany and in Japan. In France it is political opposition against the bourgeoisie, and the preparation of the proletarian revolution. Both are revolutionary methods. But in Germany and Japan I have as my immediate aim the disorganisation of the whole machinery. In France I have the aim of the proletarian revolution . . ."

"Goldman: Suppose you have the chance to take power during a war, in France, would you advocate it if you had the majority of the proletariat?"

"Trotsky: Naturally." (p. 289)

Within the limits of a book review it was naturally impossible, with this isolated, half-improvised, necessarily incomplete and special colloquial statement, to develop the general problems of the revolutionary struggle in wartime or even to throw a sufficient theoretical light on that special question. Since the above quotation thereupon unfortunately led to misunderstandings, and worse yet, to malicious distortions ("preparing for the civil peace in France", renunciation of revolutionary defeatism, etc!), it is well to make up here for the previous neglect.

As to the basic principles of the revolutionary struggle against war and during it, considerations of space compel us to confine ourselves here to our theses on war,* which

were adopted in May 1934 by the International Secretariat of our movement, have since formed one of the most important programmatic documents of Bolshevism, and acquire more topical importance with the passing of every day.

With regard to the specific question that interests us, comrade Trotsky, in the statement above, makes reference to the following points in the theses on war:

"44. Remaining the determined and devoted defender of the workers' state in the struggle with imperialism, the international proletariat will not, however, become an ally of the imperialist allies of the USSR. The proletariat of a capitalist country which finds itself in alliance with the USSR must retain fully and completely its irreconcilable hostility to the imperialist government of its own country. In this sense, its policy will not differ from that of the proletariat in a country fighting against the USSR. But in the nature of practical action considerable differences may arise, depending on the concrete war situation. For instance, it would be absurd and criminal in case of war between the USSR and Japan for the American proletariat to sabotage the sending of American munitions to the USSR. But the proletariat of a country fighting against the USSR would be absolutely obliged to resort to actions of this sort—strikes, sabotage, etc."

"45. Intransigent proletarian opposition to the imperialist aims of the given government, the treacherous character of this 'alliance', its speculation on capitalist overturn in the USSR, etc. The policy of a proletarian party in an 'allied' as well as in an enemy imperialist country should therefore be directed towards the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power. Only in this way can a real alliance with the USSR be created and the first workers' state be saved from disaster." (p 21)

The wars of recent years did not represent a direct struggle between imperialist powers, but colonial expeditions (Italy-Abyssinia, Japan-China) and conflicts over spheres of influence (China, Chaco, and in a certain sense, also Spain), and therefore did not for the time being, degenerate into a world conflict. Hitler hopes to attack the USSR tomorrow just as Japan attacks China, i.e. to alter the imperialist relationship of forces without directly violating the essential interests of the other imperialisms and thereby temporarily to localise the conflict. These events, occurring since 1934, have clearly shown that the above-quoted theses on the attitude of the proletariat of imperialist countries are valid not only in an anti-Soviet war but in all wars in which it must take sides—and those are precisely the ones involved in recent years.

* * *

War is only the continuation of politics by other means. Hence the proletariat must continue its class struggle in wartime, among other things with the new means which the bourgeoisie hands him. It can and must utilise the weakening of its "own" bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries in order relentlessly to prepare and to carry out its social revolution in connection with the military defeat engendered by the war, and to seize the power. This tactic, known as revolutionary defeatism, is one of the strongest levers of the proletarian world revolution in our epoch, and therewith of historical progress.

Only, where the struggle is imperialistic only on one

side, and a war of liberation of non-imperialist nations or of a socialist country against existing or threatening imperialist oppression on the other, as well as in civil wars between the classes or between democracy and fascism—the international proletariat cannot and should not apply the same tactic to both sides. Recognising the progressive character of this war of liberation it must fight decisively against the main enemy, reactionary imperialism (or else against the reactionary camp, in the case of a civil war), that is, fight for the victory of the socially (or politically) oppressed or about-to-be oppressed: USSR, colonial and semi-colonial countries like Abyssinia or China, or Republican Spain, etc.

Here too, however, it remains mindful of its irreconcilable class opposition to its “own” bourgeoisie—or its political opposition to the Soviet bureaucracy—and does not surrender without resistance any of its independent positions. As in the imperialist countries it strives with all its strength for the social revolution and the seizure of power, the establishment of its dictatorship, which, moreover, alone makes possible a sure and lasting victory over the imperialists. But in such cases, it cannot and does not, as in the imperialist camp, seek revolutionary victory at the cost of a military defeat but rather along the road of a military victory of his country.¹

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

This situation is utilised with a vengeance right now and certainly will be tomorrow, by the social patriots of the social democratic, Stalinist or anarchist stripe, in order to have the proletarians permit themselves to be slaughtered for the profits of capital under the illusion of helping their brothers of the USSR, China and elsewhere. It serves the social traitors, furthermore, to depict the revolutionists not only as “betrayers of the fatherland” (just as they are now shouted down as agents of Franco). All the more reason why the proletariat, especially in the imperialist countries, requires, in this seemingly contradictory situation, a particularly clear understanding of these combined tasks and of the methods for fulfilling them.

In the application of revolutionary defeatism against the imperialist bourgeoisie and its state there can be no fundamental difference, regardless of whether the latter is “friendly” or hostile to the cause supported by the proletariat, whether it is in—treacherous—alliance with the allies of the proletariat (Stalin, the bourgeoisie of the semi-colonial counties, the colonial peoples, anti-fascist liberalism), or is conducting a war against them. The

methods of revolutionary defeatism remain unaltered: revolutionary propaganda, irreconcilable opposition to the regime, the class struggle from its purely economic up to its highest political form (the armed uprising), fraternisation of the troops, transformation of the war into the civil war.

The international defense of the proletarian states, of the oppressed peoples fighting for their freedom, and the international support of the armed anti-fascist civil war must, however, naturally take on various forms in accordance with whether one’s “own” bourgeoisie stands on their side or combats them. Apart from the political preparation of the social revolution, whose rhythm and methods are in no way identical with those of war, this defense must naturally assume military forms. In addition to revolutionary support it consists, consequently, in military support of the progressive cause, as well as in the military damaging of its imperialist opponent.

The military support can naturally take on a decisive scope only where the proletariat itself has the levers of power and of economy in its hands (USSR, and to a certain extent, Spain in the summer of 1936). In the imperialist countries which are allied with the countries conducting progressive and revolutionary wars, it boils down to this: that the proletariat fights with revolutionary means for an effective, direct military support, controlled by it, of the progressive cause (“Airplanes for Spain!” cried the French workers). In any case, it must promote and control a really guaranteed direct military support (sending of arms, ammunition, food, specialists, etc), even at the cost of an “exception” from the direct class struggle.² It will have to be left to the instinct and revolutionary perspicacity of the proletariat, which is well aware of its tasks, to make the right distinction in every concrete situation, to avoid injuring the military interests of the far-off ally of the proletariat out of narrow national class struggle considerations, no matter how revolutionary they seem, as well to avoid doing the dirty work for its “own” imperialism on the pretext of giving indirect aid to its allies. The only real and decisive aid that the workers can bring the latter is by seizing and holding the power.

It is otherwise—so far as the outward form of its struggle goes—with the proletariat of the imperialisms engaged in a direct struggle against the progressive cause. In addition to its struggle for the revolution, it is its duty to engage in military sabotage for the benefit of the “enemy”—the enemy of its bourgeoisie but its own ally. As a means of revolutionary defeatism in the struggle between imperialist countries, military sabotage, like individual terror, is completely worthless. Without replacing the social revolution, or even advancing it by a hair’s breadth, it would only help one imperialism against another, mislead the vanguard, sow illusions among the masses and thus facilitate the game of the imperialists.³ On the other hand, military sabotage is imperiously imposed as an immediate measure in defense of the camp that is fighting imperialism and is consequently progressive. As such, it is understood by the masses, welcomed and furthered. The defeat of one’s “own” country here becomes not a lesser evil that is taken into the bargain (a lesser evil than the “victory” bought by civil peace and the abandonment of the revolution), but the direct and immediate goal, the task of the proletarian struggle. The defeat of one’s “own”

country would, in this case, be no evil at all, or an evil much more easily taken into the bargain for it would signify the common victory of the people liberated from the existing or threatening imperialist yoke and of the proletariat of its enemy, over the common overlord—imperialist capital. Such a victory would be a powerful point of departure for the international proletarian revolution, not least of all in the “friendly” imperialist countries.⁴

Thus we see how different war situations require from the revolutionary proletariat of the various imperialist countries, if it wishes to remain true to itself and to its goal, different fighting forms, which may appear to schematic spirits to be “deviations” from the basic principle of revolutionary defeatism, but which result in reality only from the combination of revolutionary defeatism with the defense of certain progressive camps.

Moreover, from a higher historical standpoint these two tasks coincide: in our imperialist epoch, the national bourgeoisie of the non-imperialist countries—like the Soviet bureaucracy—because of its fear of the working class which is internationally matured for the socialist revolution and dictatorship, is not in a position to conduct an energetic struggle against imperialism. They do not dare to appeal to the forces of the proletariat and at a definite stage of the struggle they inevitably call upon imperialism for aid against their “own” proletariat. The complete national liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries from imperialist enslavement, and of the Soviet Union from the internal and external capitalist destruction and anarchy, the bourgeois democratic revolution, the defense from fascism—all these tasks can be solved, nationally and internationally, only by the proletariat. Their fulfilment grows naturally into the proletarian revolution. The coming world war will be the most titanic and murderous explosion in history, but because of that it will also burst all the traditional fetters and in its flames the revolutionary and liberation movements of the entire world will be fused into one glowing stream.

To present clearly, even now, to the proletariat the problems of the coming war and its combined tasks—this serious and difficult task is one of the most urgent of our day. The Bolshevik-Leninists alone have taken it upon

themselves to arm the proletariat for its struggle and to create the instrument with which it will gain its future victories: the programme, the methods, the organisation of the Fourth International.

Brussels, December 1937

Notes

1. We leave aside the case where wars between two non-imperialist countries are only or predominantly the masked combat between two foreign imperialisms—England and America in the Chaco war—or the case where the war of liberation of an oppressed nation is only a pawn in the hand of an imperialistic group and a mere part of a general imperialistic conflict—Serbia from 1914 to 1918.

2. It may confidently be assumed that for the French bourgeoisie in wartime a strike of the Marseilles harbour workers, which makes an exception of war shipments to Russia in which it is least of all interested, would be particularly vexatious! No less nonsensical would it be, for example, in the course of a printers’ strike, not to allow the appearance of the labour papers which are needed for the strike struggle itself.

3. Lenin wrote on 26 July 1915 (see *Gegen den Strom*) against Trotsky’s false slogan of “Neither victory nor defeat” and said polemically:

“And revolutionary actions during the war surely and undoubtedly signify not only the wish for its defeat but also an actual furtherance of such a defeat (for the ‘discerning’ reader: this by no means signifies that ‘bridges be blown up’, that abortive military strikes should be staged, and in general that the revolutionists should help bring about a defeat of the government).” (My emphasis—RK)

4. Naturally military sabotage in favour of the non-imperialist opponent of one’s own bourgeoisie is not to be extended in favour of its imperialist ally. The German proletarians, for example, would seek to disorganise militarily the eastern front, to help Soviet Russia; for the western front, where a purely imperialist war would be raging between Germany and a France allied to the USSR, “only” the rule of defeatism would be valid—for the French proletariat as well as for the German.

