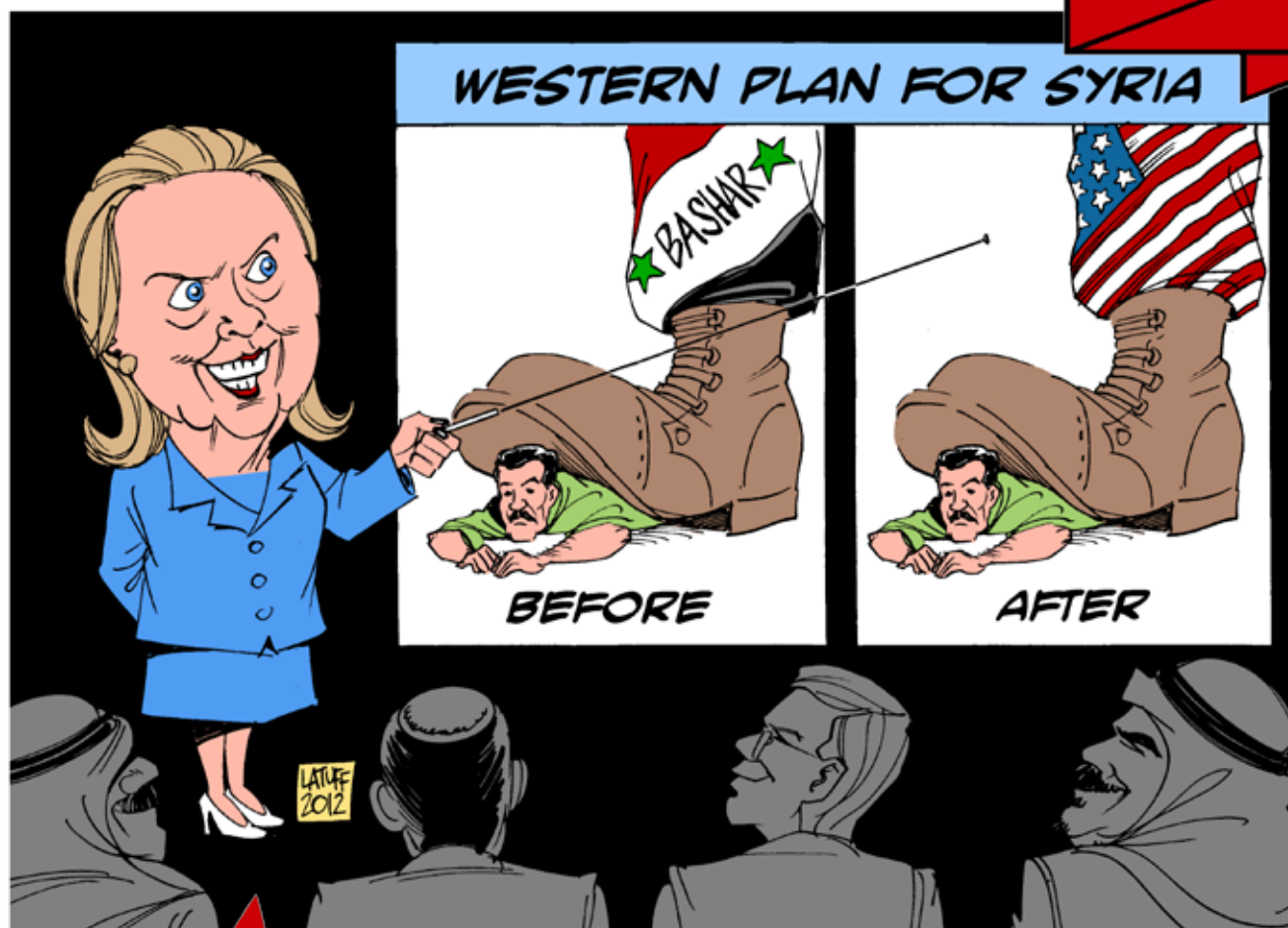


# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

English language Journal of the Revolutionary  
Communist International Tendency (RCIT)

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Cartoon by Carlos Latuff

**Syria: Revolution & Imperialism**

**plus: Palestine/Israel, Greece, Brazil,  
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# Revolutionary Communism

No. 14, September 2013

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Issue No. 14 of the RCIT's journal *Revolutionary Communism (RevCom)* both deals with several important developments which have taken place in the recent past as well as with crucial theoretical questions. In fact, this issue has to be seen as one half of a de facto double issue of our journal. The other "half" is issue *RevCom* No. 13 which appears at the same time as this issue.

Issue No. 13 is a special issue dedicated to the recent crucial events in Egypt. The dramatic ups and downs of the Revolution in Egypt and the recent advance of the Counterrevolution since the military coup on 3<sup>rd</sup> July are probably the most important single feature of the present world situation. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)* has therefore intensively analyzed the contradictory development of the class struggle in Egypt. We have elaborated a program for the working class to defend the democratic gains against the dictatorship of General al-Sisi and to turn the defensive struggle into an offensive towards permanent revolution. A part of this extensive material of analyzes and programmatic articles has been already published in *RevCom* No. 12 and the latest documents are contained the Egypt special issue No. 13.

In fact the process of revolution and counter-revolution in Egypt is immensely rich in lessons and conclusion. This is obviously true for the Arab revolution but also for the understanding the process of permanent revolution in general. Those lessons include but are not limited to the nature of the democratic revolution, the meaning of democratic demands, the relationship of the democratic and the socialist revolution, the understanding of the contradictory developments of the political consciousness of the masses, the concept of the united front and the role of the revolutionary party.

What we have seen in the past months is a colossal failure of huge sectors of centrism – not to speak about the treacherous Stalinists who hailed the military coup in Egypt! – to understand the meaning of the democratic question and the revolutionary approach to it. Lenin once reminded revisionists that they: "... fail to appreciate the significance of democracy. For socialism is impossible without democracy because: (1) the proletariat cannot perform the socialist revolution unless it prepares for it by the struggle for democracy; (2) victorious socialism cannot consolidate its victory and bring humanity to the withering away of the state without implementing full democracy." (V. I. Lenin: A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism (1916), in: LCW 23, p. 74)

We have dealt with this and related crucial questions in various documents and hope to come back to it in the near future.

As our readers can see from reports and pictures in the journal as well as on our website, members of the RCIT have been active not only in terms of propaganda and theory but have also dedicated themselves in organizing rallies and demonstrations in solidarity with the resistance against the military dictatorship in Egypt.

Issue No. 14 – the other "half" of the double issue so to say – deals with other important questions beside Egypt. This is first and foremost the issue of the Syrian Revolution. Since more than two and a half years the workers and peasants in Syria are fighting against the murderous dictatorship of Assad. The RCIT has supported this democratic revolution since the beginning and called the workers and peasants to organize in action councils and militias inde-

pendent of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, secular and Islamist forces in order to achieve their freedom. This is only possible if the workers and peasants take the power and install the dictatorship of the proletariat which means to undertake the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, the replacement of the old state apparatus by the democratically centralized rule of popular councils and the advance towards a socialist transformation of the society.

We have warned at the same time against the interference of imperialist powers. This is obvious in the case of the Eastern imperialist powers (Russia and China) without whom the Assad regime would no longer be in power. This is however also true for the Western imperialist powers – first and foremost the USA, Britain and France. While they have no interest to bring the rebels to power – as leading representatives of the Obama administration openly admit – they want to advance their influence in the region at the cost of Russia and China.

The RCIT – as readers can see from this as well as from past issues of *RevCom* – always combined the unconditional support for the Syrian Revolution without giving political support to its leaderships with a clear rejection of any imperialist interference.

As in the case of Egypt, members of the RCIT have also been involved in internationalist activities in solidarity with the Syrian Revolution as well as against any imperialist interference and aggression. We call the international workers movement to mobilize in support for the Syrian rebels and popular committees with everything from medicine to arms. At the same time the working class must oppose NATO airstrikes and obstruct as much as possible all efforts of Russian and Chinese imperialism to support the reactionary Assad dictatorship.

We also document in *RevCom* No. 14 some outcomes of the recent international work of the RCIT. This includes the call for solidarity with the Greek Trotskyist Savas Michael-Matsas who has been put on trial by the fascist party "Golden Dawn". Another example is a letter of greetings which we have been asked to send to the annual anti war conference organized by the LRCL in Japan.

We are particularly glad to report another advance of the RCIT's efforts to build a powerful international Bolshevik organization. As readers of our journal and our website will know, we have been collaborated with the Brazil blog *El Mundo Socialista* for some time. Our discussions have led to substantial agreements and as a result we have established fraternal relations.

Finally we present in this issue of *RevCom* a contribution from the RCIT to deepen and advance the Marxist theory of imperialism. As our readers will know, we have published some month ago a comprehensive book *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 author, Michael Pröbsting, deals with the developments in the forms and nature of imperialist super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world. In this journal we reprint the final chapter of the book which is a summary of its main conclusion.

We hope that this issue contains a number of interesting documents for our readers and look forward for responses, criticisms and suggestions.

29<sup>nd</sup> August 2013, Editorial Board

# Syria: Against Assad & Imperialism – Victory to the Revolution!

## International Solidarity with the Popular Revolution against the murderous Assad Dictatorship! But Without and Against any Western Imperialist Military Intervention!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 27.8.2013*

1. The workers and peasants in Syria are bearing terrible misery day-to-day by the hands of the murderous Assad Dictatorship. More than 100,000 people have already been killed since the revolution started in March 2011. The latest slaughter of up to 1,300 people – most of them women and children – by a chemical weapons attack against the rebel-held territory in Ghouta, an area north-east of Damascus, is only the latest and particularly revolting massacre which the Russian-backed Assad regime has committed. Various imperialist Western Great Powers – in particular the USA, Britain and France – have hypocritically denounced this latest chemical weapons attack of Assad and threaten with a limited military strike. The RCIT affirms its support for the popular revolution against the reactionary Assad dictatorship. We warn against any illusions in US, British and French imperialism which never cared about ordinary people's suffering and which have only the interest to expand their hegemony. We call the international workers and solidarity movement to support the Syrian Revolution. At the same time it must oppose and obstruct any Western imperialist military attack as well as all material support for the Assad gangsters by Russia, Iran and their allies!

### The Character of the Syrian Revolution

2. The RCIT has supported from the beginning the Revolution of the Syrian workers and peasants against the bourgeois dictatorship of the Assad regime. We support the popular struggle – even if it takes place under non-working class leaderships – to bring down the dictatorship. We warn against any illusions in the secular and religious bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships of the opposition (FSA, Al-Nusra etc.). We support the massive formation of *Local Coordination Councils* and call for their transformation into action councils (like the Soviets in Russia in 1917) and armed militias of the workers and peasants which should coordinate nation-wide. Our perspective is the struggle for a workers government allied with the peasants and urban poor and based on local councils and militias. This however is only possible if a revolutionary workers party is built in time to lead the workers and oppressed to power.

### The Role of Russian and Chinese Imperialism

3. The imperialist Great Powers Russia and China as well as the bourgeois regime of Iran and the Lebanese Hezbollah support the reactionary Assad regime with massive weapon deliveries as well as Iranian and Hezbollah soldiers. It is obvious that without this military support, the Assad dictatorship would have been already defeated. The Eastern imperialists' support for Assad is hardly surpris-

ing. Syria is the most important ally of Russia in the Middle East. It hosts a Russian military naval base in Tartus at the Mediterranean coast. The Assad regime is Moscow's seventh-largest military client and got around \$1.5 billion worth of arms between 2000 and 2010. Russian as well as Chinese monopolies have major stakes in Syria's energy sector (including oil and gas) as well as in infrastructure and tourism. China is also Syria's main importer.

### The Contradictory Interests of US, British and French imperialism

4. Given their desperate situation it is understandable that many ordinary Syrians hope for a Western military intervention. However we warn that the Syrian people have nothing to win but only to lose from such a NATO attack. Any limited imperialist military strike against the Assad forces will not seriously affect the military balance on the ground. Let us not forget that the Libyan people won their armed revolution in 2011 because of its popular character as well as the numerical superiority and numerous sacrifices of the masses against the Gaddafi's mercenary army – not because of the limited NATO air strikes! The Obama administration is no friend but an enemy of the Syrian Revolution! One of its leading representatives, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Martin Dempsey, openly stated just a few days ago: *"The Obama administration is opposed to even limited U.S. military intervention in Syria because it believes rebels fighting the Assad regime wouldn't support American interests if they were to seize power right now."*

5. What are the reasons for the Obama administration and their British and French allies to consider now a limited military strike against the Assad army? To assess this one must keep in mind the imperialists' interests – both Western and Eastern – to roll back the Arab Revolution as well as the inner-imperialist rivalry. The US, Britain and France want to re-stabilize this strategically important region and offset their loss of influence. The US, British and French imperialists want to contain and if possible to end the Syrian civil war to avoid a new spread of the Arab Revolution. The Western Great Powers as well as the small imperialist power Israel fear that the civil war could result in a situation where popular forces hostile against imperialism and Zionism could gain massive influence and threaten their interests in the region. The highly instable situation in Libya since the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime, where thousands of workers and peasants remain armed and organized in popular militias, is a cautionary tale for the imperialists. (As is well known, Libya has been the country where the US consulate and the French embassy have been attacked and US ambassador Christopher Stevens was killed in September 2012.)



These are the reasons why US imperialism supported the counter-revolutionary military coup on 3<sup>rd</sup> July in Egypt; this is why they didn't intervene in Syria on the side of the rebel movement; this is why they have started to blacklist sectors of the rebels (Al-Nusra and others) as "terrorists".

6. At the same time the Western Great Powers want to oust Russian and Chinese imperialisms' hegemony in Syria and bring it under their control. For this purpose they are bribing and creating lackeys amongst sections of the leaderships of the *National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces* and the *Free Syrian Army*. For this purpose they give political and diplomatic backing as well as some material support to them. They also have most likely send some army commands to Syria to strengthen their influence amongst these rebel leaderships.

7. What the Western imperialists would like to see is an "orderly transition" towards a regime which consists of an alliance of some pro-imperialist factions amongst the leaderships of the Syrian rebels and a sector of the old Assad regime. This would ensure a continuation of the order of Assad's bourgeois state apparatus where Assad is replaced by some more pro-Western and anti-Russian politicians. In short, they want to bring a regime to power in Damascus which is not dependent on Moscow and Beijing but on Washington, Berlin, Paris and London.

8. However, as so many things in a world marked by class contradictions, the Western imperialists' interests are marked by various contradictions. They want to gain influence amongst the rebels' leadership while at the same time not helping their struggle in any significant way. They want to contain the Revolution but at the same time ensure that Assad is replaced by one of their men. To this one has to add that the military coup in Egypt on 3<sup>rd</sup> July – which by the way was characteristically hailed by Assad – was a major political blow for US and EU imperialism prestige

in the region. The whole Arab and Muslim world is aware that the Egyptian military would not have moved without the US consent. This was a major setback for the US and EU attempts to regain some popularity in the region after they already suffered a setback with the overthrow of the dictatorships of their trusted lackeys Ben Ali, Hosni Mubarak and Ali Salem. Some politicians in the Western governments certainly hope to regain some popularity amongst the Arab and Muslim masses if they launch some limited military strikes against the murderous Assad army "for humanitarian reasons". However given the overall political and economic interests, it is highly unlikely that Western imperialist powers will launch a serious military intervention – i.e. sending substantial ground troops for occupation – in Syria in the foreseeable future. This could only be the case if major changes take place in the course of the Syrian and Arab Revolution and counterrevolution. As long as this does not take place, the dominant character of the civil war in Syria remains the just liberation struggle by the Syrian popular masses against the Assad dictatorship while the inner-imperialist rivalry remains a subordinated element.

### Revolutionary Tactics

9. The RCIT and its Arab-Jewish section in Israel/ Occupied Palestine reaffirm their revolutionary and anti-imperialist stance. We fight for the victory of the Syrian Revolution and side in the civil war with the rebel forces against Assad without giving the existing religious and secular bourgeois and petit-bourgeois leaderships of the opposition any political support. Revolutionaries in Syria should participate in the rebels and popular struggle but advance an independent socialist strategy fighting for working class power. We call the international workers



Contingent of the RCIT in Austria at a Solidarity Demonstration with the Syrian Revolution, 15.3.2013 (Vienna, Austria)

and solidarity movement to support the Syrian Revolution with money, medicine, weapons and volunteers. The Syrian rebels – who are so terrible short on modern weapons – have every right to obtain arms for wherever possible.

10. The RCIT opposes every kind of imperialist intervention in Syria and the Middle East. This is why we supported respectively support the resistance of the Iraqi, Afghan and Mali people against the Western imperialist occupation forces. This is why we opposed the US/UK/French military strikes in Libya in 2011 as well as in Serbia/Kosova in 1999 while continuing to support the just liberation wars of the Libyan and Kosovar people against Gaddafi respectively Milosevic.

11. Therefore the RCIT calls to resist any military intervention of US, British or French imperialism. If the Western imperialists, including Israel, attack Assad's Syria, we will call for the rebels to fight on two fronts: one against Assad and the other against imperialism. How many forces should be dedicated to each front will depend on who is the more dangerous of the two enemies at any given moment.

12. Russian workers and Iranian workers should oppose and sabotage any military aid for the Assad regime. Likewise workers in the West should obstruct any efforts of the imperialist governments to launch military attacks against Syria. The working class across Lebanon should pressurize Hezbollah to stop its support for Assad. In case of a Western military attack we call for protest demonstrations on the streets of New York, London, Paris and other Western cities.

13. In this crucial situation where the Arab Revolution is threatened by the imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary military coup in Egypt and where an intensified imperialist interference in Syria is possible, the task of forging a revolutionary leadership in Syria and internationally is more urgent than ever. This means nothing less than building a revolutionary workers party as part of the future World Party of Socialist Revolution (which will be the Fifth International in our opinion). Only such a party is capable to lead the workers and oppressed to power and to open the road to socialism. Given the terrible weakness of the revolutionary forces in Syria and worldwide, the most immediate task is to rally the authentic revolutionary forces into a united revolutionary international organization. The RCIT is dedicated to this task!

*\* Victory to the Syrian Revolution! Down with the Assad Dictatorship!*

*\* For international solidarity with the Syrian rebel and popular movement!*

*\* Stop the Russian and Chinese support for the murderous Assad dictatorship!*

*\* USA, UK, and France: No military attacks against Syria!*

*\* Down with the Zionist Apartheid State!*

*\* Solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle! Support the resistance against the imperialist-backed military dictatorship in Egypt!*

*\* For a Workers Government allied with the Peasants and Urban Poor and based on local councils and militias!*

*International Secretariat of the RCIT*

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*For further reading on the RCIT's position on the Syrian Revolution and imperialist interference we refer readers to various English-language statements and articles on the RCIT website:*

*\* Michael Pröbsting: US Administration: "Rebels fighting the Assad regime wouldn't support American interests if they were to seize power", 22.8.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-opposes-syrian-rebels](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-opposes-syrian-rebels)*

*\* Yossi Schwartz: Class struggle and religious sectarianism in Syria, 12.6.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/class-struggle-and-religious-sectarianism-in-syria/>*

*\* Yossi Schwartz: Syria: After the defeat in Qusayr and ahead of the Battle for Aleppo, 11.6.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-after-defeat-in-qusayr>*

*\* ISL-Leaflet: Victory to the Revolution in Syria! <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/victory-to-revolution-in-syria>*

*\* RCIT: Israel: Hands Off Lebanon and Syria!, 6.5.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/israel-hands-off-lebanon-and-syria](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/israel-hands-off-lebanon-and-syria)*

*\* Yossi Schwartz: Turkey, Syria and Egypt: No Political Support for Bourgeois Forces Secular or Islamists, April 2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/isl-disagreement-with-free-haifa](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/isl-disagreement-with-free-haifa)*

*\* Yossi Schwartz: Victory to the Revolution in Syria! The second anniversary of the uprising in Syria, March 2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/victory-to-syrian-revolution](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/victory-to-syrian-revolution)*

*\* RKOB: Austria: Demonstration in Solidarity with the Revolution in Syria on 15.3.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/austria-report-syria-demo-15-3-2013](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/austria-report-syria-demo-15-3-2013) with pictures and videos at [www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-und-bilder-syriendemo-15-maerz-2013](http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-und-bilder-syriendemo-15-maerz-2013)*

*\* RCIT: Victory to the Revolution! Down with the dog Assad! All Power to the Workers and Peasants! For the Socialist Revolution in Maghreb and Mashreq! January 2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/syria-solidarity](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/syria-solidarity)*

*\* 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), Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 8.8.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism).*

*\* Michael Pröbsting: Liberation struggles and imperialist interference, [www.thecommunists.net/theory/liberation-struggle-and-imperialism](http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/liberation-struggle-and-imperialism) ■*



Female Sniper in the ranks of the Syrian Revolution



## US Administration says: “Syrian Rebels fighting the Assad regime wouldn’t support American interests if they were to seize power”

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 22.8.2013

The renowned news agency *The Associated Press* reports about a document of the Obama administration which it has obtained. One of the highest U.S. officials, General Martin Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, stated in a letter to a congressman the refusal of the US government to lend support to the Syrian rebels.

This is how *The Associated Press* summarizes the position of the U.S. government:

*“The Obama administration is opposed to even limited U.S. military intervention in Syria because it believes rebels fighting the Assad regime wouldn’t support American interests if they were to seize power right now, Gen. Martin Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, wrote to a congressman in a letter obtained by The Associated Press.*

*Effectively ruling out U.S. cruise missile attacks and other options that wouldn’t require U.S. troops on the ground, Dempsey said the military is clearly capable of taking out Syrian President Bashar Assad’s air force and shifting the balance of the Arab country’s 2½-year war back toward the armed opposition. But he said such an approach would plunge the United States deep into another war in the Arab world and offer no strategy for peace in a nation plagued by ethnic rivalries.*

*“Syria today is not about choosing between two sides but rather about choosing one among many sides,” Dempsey said in the letter Aug. 19 to Rep. Eliot Engel, D-N.Y. “It is my belief that the side we choose must be ready to promote their interests and ours when the balance shifts in their favor. Today, they are not.” (...) Despite calling for Assad to leave power in 2011, President Barack Obama has steadfastly refused to allow the U.S. to be drawn directly into the conflict.” (1)*

### The Syrian Revolution as part of the Arab Revolution

For revolutionaries this statement of a leading representative of US imperialism is hardly surprising. The RCIT has explained from the beginning that the Arab Revolution – which started in January 2011 in Tunisia and reached Syria in March of that year – is a historic event which shattered the political order that US imperialism and its allies imposed in North Africa and the Middle East in the past decades. Millions of workers, peasants and poor have entered the political arena and fight for bread and freedom. They have overthrown arch-reactionary bourgeois dictatorships in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen. They are fighting a bloody civil war in Syria with more than 100.000 people dead.

But given the lack of revolutionary parties they have suffered and still suffer setbacks. They face enemies in form of either by bourgeois semi-democratic governments which came out of parliamentary elections and who bloc the unfinished democratic revolution (Tunisia, Libya, and Yemen). Or they face open dictatorships which are determined to fully crush the revolutionary process as we see it in Syria, Egypt and Bahrain.

The imperialist powers were all shattered by the Arab Revolution. Since then they either try to crush it via allies or to contain it by trying to buy-off and succumb the forces that have come to power.

The RCIT supported the Syrian Revolution from the beginning, called for the formation of workers and peasants councils and militias to bring down the Assad dictatorship and form a workers’ and peasants’ government. We called for the support of the rebel movement despite its Islamist and secular petty-bourgeois and bourgeois leaderships without giving them any political support. (2)

It has been a slander of the mass rebellion in Syria to denounce it as an imperialist-inspired conspiracy. It started as peaceful mass mobilizations for democratic rights and – after the brutal suppression of Assad’s guards – turned into a civil war. Various leftists have terribly erred in supporting the Assad regime and claiming that US imperialism uses the Syrian rebels as tools.

They justified their support for Assad by referring to the verbal denunciations of the regime in Damascus by the Western imperialist powers and its collaboration with parts of the Syrian rebel’s leadership. Such collaborations certainly did and still do take place. But this is only a subordinated element in the Syrian rebels struggle. The last two and a half years proved that US imperialism has no interest to intervene seriously in Syria at all. Quite the opposite, it is blacklisting the Syrian Islamists forces and warns of the dangers of them coming to power. The document of US General Dempsey emphasizes this explicitly.

The rebels have not even received any significant modern weapons from the Western Powers until now. The situation is very different on the other side of the civil war: Russian imperialism fully supports the Assad regime and sends it huge amount of modern weapons.

Of course circumstances can change and this or that imperialist power might also want to intervene. But programs and tactics have to be based on the reality and not speculations about future possible events. Anything else is daydreaming and phrase-mongering.

It is only natural for imperialist powers to try to utilize civil wars for their interests. In the case of Syria it is obviously that it is part of the sphere of influence of Russian imperialism (and China to a certain degree). Moscow wants to keep its hegemony in Syria and Washington would like to get a foothold there.

As we elaborated in another document, such imperialist interference has happened hundreds of times in the history of liberation wars in colonial and semi-colonial countries. German imperialism for example lent material and military support for the Irish national revolutionaries during the First World War. Similar things happened during the Second World War where for example Japanese imperialism supported the Indian bourgeois independence fighter Bose. And the US and UK imperialists on the other hand supported the Tito partisans in Yugoslavia. Only political

analphabets could conclude from this that these liberation struggles were reactionary and only imperialist tools. (3)

### Lenin on liberation wars and imperialist interference

For Marxists such contradictory struggles are nothing new. Already one hundred years ago the great Russian revolutionary Vladimir Ilyich Lenin explained that in the epoch of imperialism the big powers will always try to interfere and utilize national and democratic conflicts. He insisted that this must not lead Marxists to automatically take a defeatist position in these conflicts. It depends on which factor becomes the dominant aspect – the national, democratic liberation struggle or the imperialist war of conquest.

„Britain and France fought the Seven Years' War for the possession of colonies. In other words, they waged an imperialist war (which is possible on the basis of slavery and primitive capitalism as well as on the basis of modern highly developed capitalism). France suffered defeat and lost some of her colonies. Several years later there began the national liberation war of the North American States against Britain alone. France and Spain, then in possession of some parts of the present United States, concluded a friendship treaty with the States in rebellion against Britain. This they did out of hostility to Britain, i.e., in their own imperialist interests. French troops fought the British on the side of the American forces. What we have here is a national liberation war in which imperialist rivalry is an auxiliary element, one that has no serious importance. This is the very opposite to what we see in the war of 1914-16 (the national element in the Austro-Serbian War is of no serious importance compared with the all-

determining element of imperialist rivalry). It would be absurd, therefore, to apply the concept imperialism indiscriminately and conclude that national wars are "impossible". A national liberation war, waged, for example, by an alliance of Persia, India and China against one or more of the imperialist powers, is both possible and probable, for it would follow from the national liberation movements in these countries. The transformation of such a war into an imperialist war between the present-day imperialist powers would depend upon very many concrete factors, the emergence of which it would be ridiculous to guarantee.“ (4)

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

„On the other hand, the socialists of the oppressed nations must, in particular, defend and implement the full and unconditional unity, including organisational unity, of the workers of the oppressed nation and those of the oppressor nation. Without this it is impossible to defend the independent policy of the proletariat and their class solidarity with the proletariat of other countries in face of all manner of intrigues, treachery and trickery on the part of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations persistently utilise the slogans of national liberation to deceive the workers; in their internal policy they use these slogans for reactionary agreements with the bourgeoisie of the dominant nation (for example, the Poles in Austria and Russia who come to terms with reactionaries for the oppression of the Jews and Ukrainians); in their foreign policy they strive to come to terms with one of the rival imperialist powers for the sake of imple-



Michael Pröbsting speaks at the final rally at the solidarity demonstration for Syria, 15.3.2013 (Vienna, Austria)



menting their predatory plans (the policy of the small Balkan states, etc.). The fact that the struggle for national liberation against one imperialist power may, under certain conditions, be utilised by another "great" power for its own, equally imperialist, aims, is just as unlikely to make the Social-Democrats refuse to recognise the right of nations to self-determination as the numerous cases of bourgeois utilisation of republican slogans for the purpose of political deception and financial plunder (as in the Romance countries, for example) are unlikely to make the Social-Democrats reject their republicanism." (5)

### Taking a revolutionary path today in Egypt and Syria

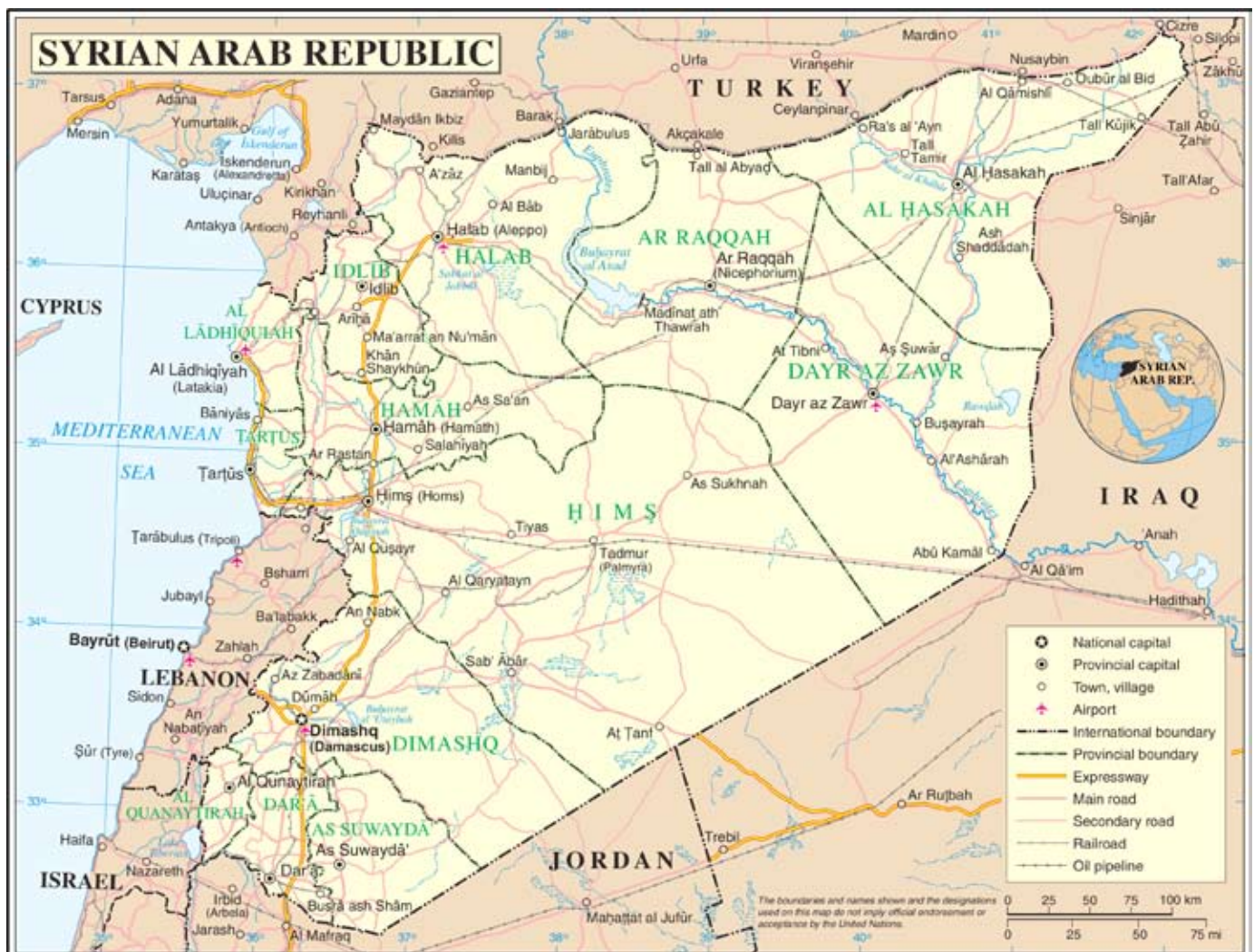
It is important that revolutionaries today who adhere to the tradition of Lenin and the Communist International apply such a concrete and dialectical approach to liberation struggles and refuse a mechanistic and economist approach which can only lead into the counterrevolutionary camp.

It is no accident that the Syrian regime immediately cheered the military coup d'état in Egypt. It understood much better than many so-called Marxists that the coup was a heavy blow against the Arab Revolution and therefore also against the Syrian Revolution.

It is a primary obligation of revolutionaries to support the popular masses' struggle both against the military dictatorship in Egypt and against the Assad dictatorship in Syria. The RCIT is dedicated to this task.

### Footnotes

- (1) Bradley Klapper: Dempsey: Syrian rebels wouldn't back US interests, Associated Press, August 21, 2013, <http://cnsnews.com/news/article/dempsey-syrian-rebels-wouldnt-back-us-interests>
- (2) See Yossi Schwartz: Class struggle and religious sectarianism in Syria, 12.6.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/class-struggle-and-religious-sectarianism-in-syria/>; Yossi Schwartz: Syria: After the defeat in Qusayr and ahead of the Battle for Aleppo, 11.6.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-after-defeat-in-qusayr/>; ISL-Leaflet: Victory to the Revolution in Syria! <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/victory-to-revolution-in-syria>. see also 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), Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 8.8.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism).
- (3) 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), Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 8.8.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism)
- (4) V. I. Lenin: The Junius Pamphlet (1916); in: LCW 22, pp. 310-11
- (5) V. I. Lenin: The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination (1916); in: LCW 22, p. 148 ■



Source: Wikimedia, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Un-syria.png>



## Palestine: On the New Round of So-Called Peace Talks

by Yossi Schwartz, *Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine)*, 3.8.2013

The military *coup* in Egypt is not only a setback for the Egyptian revolution but for the Palestinians struggle as well. As Fox News has reported:

*"Egypt's new government has imposed the toughest border restrictions on the Hamas-run Gaza Strip in years, sealing smuggling tunnels, blocking most passenger traffic and causing millions of dollars in economic losses. Some in Hamas fear the movement is being swept up in the same Egyptian military campaign that earlier this month toppled the country's democratically elected Islamist president, Mohammed Morsi — like the Gaza rulers part of the region's Muslim Brotherhood."* (1)

This coup was organized by the US and was aimed at re-establishing a government fully-controlled by the army and by the real masters of the Egyptian military, US imperialism. (2) The *coup* is supported by the Palestinian authority which sees it as a move that weakens Hamas. It is not a big surprise that, following the coup in Egypt, the American administration arranged for a new round of so-called peace talks between a Palestinian Authority lacking any democratic legitimacy, as it doesn't dare hold elections, and Israel.

### Fake Negotiations

The Palestinian Authority, which has relinquished the right of self determination for the Palestinian people in all of Palestine, would like to see: Israel's withdrawal to the 1949 armistice borders that existed before the 1967 Six Day War; the return of East Jerusalem (*Al Quds*) so that it can made the capital of a mini-Palestinian state; an end to the construction of Israeli colonial settlement in the territories occupied in 1967; lip service paid to the right of return for millions Palestinians evicted from their homeland, starting with the violent inception of Israel in 1948; and the release of up to 5,000 Palestinian political prisoners held in Israeli jails.

Israel is not prepared to budge on the question of settlements on Arab lands occupied in 1967, as their continued presence prevents the territorial contiguity that would make a mini-Palestinian state viable and she's certainly not ready to accept the right of return of the Palestinian refugees. Her best offer was to release 104 Palestinian political prisoners.



Solidarity Demonstration for Gaza: Contingent led by activists of the Austrian RCIT Section, 4.6.2010 (Vienna, Austria)

Even the mass media in Israel understands that nothing can be expected from these so-called peace negotiations. As Jean-Luc Renaudie has written:

*“Hanan Cristal of public television disagreed that Netanyahu was putting in the minimum necessary effort. “He’s more ready than ever to plunge in headfirst,” he said... [ ] Cristal warned that when it came to bigger issues, such as giving up Israeli settlements in the West Bank, opposition in the cabinet could be too great.*

*[Israel’s chief negotiator, Justice Minister Tzipi] Livni also recognised that disagreements within Israel’s right-leaning governing coalition could pose an obstacle to any deal. “There are ministers who don’t want an agreement,” she acknowledged.*

*Hardline ministers have openly opposed the creation of a Palestinian state and have pledged to continue building Jewish settlements on occupied Palestinian land.*

*Deputy foreign minister Zeev Elkin, a hawkish member of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s right-wing Likud party, told public radio “any change (following a peace agreement) is not necessarily positive for Israel’s security, and could make it worse.” (3)*

In addition Defence Minister Moshe Yaalon insists that Netanyahu does not compromise on so-called security issues during the peace process. He urges him to maintain a full military presence in the Jordan Valley, deep inside the West Bank. This of course would completely encircle a Bantustan-like Palestinian “state” by the Israeli military. This, of course, is not negotiations – it is a cover for the continued, unlimited colonization of Arab lands from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea under the Israeli apartheid state. Netanyahu and other Israeli leaders have

been very clear on this. For them, the “peace process” is a just a cover to buy time so that they can establish more facts on the ground, that is, steal more and more Palestinian territory.

**Calculations of US imperialism**

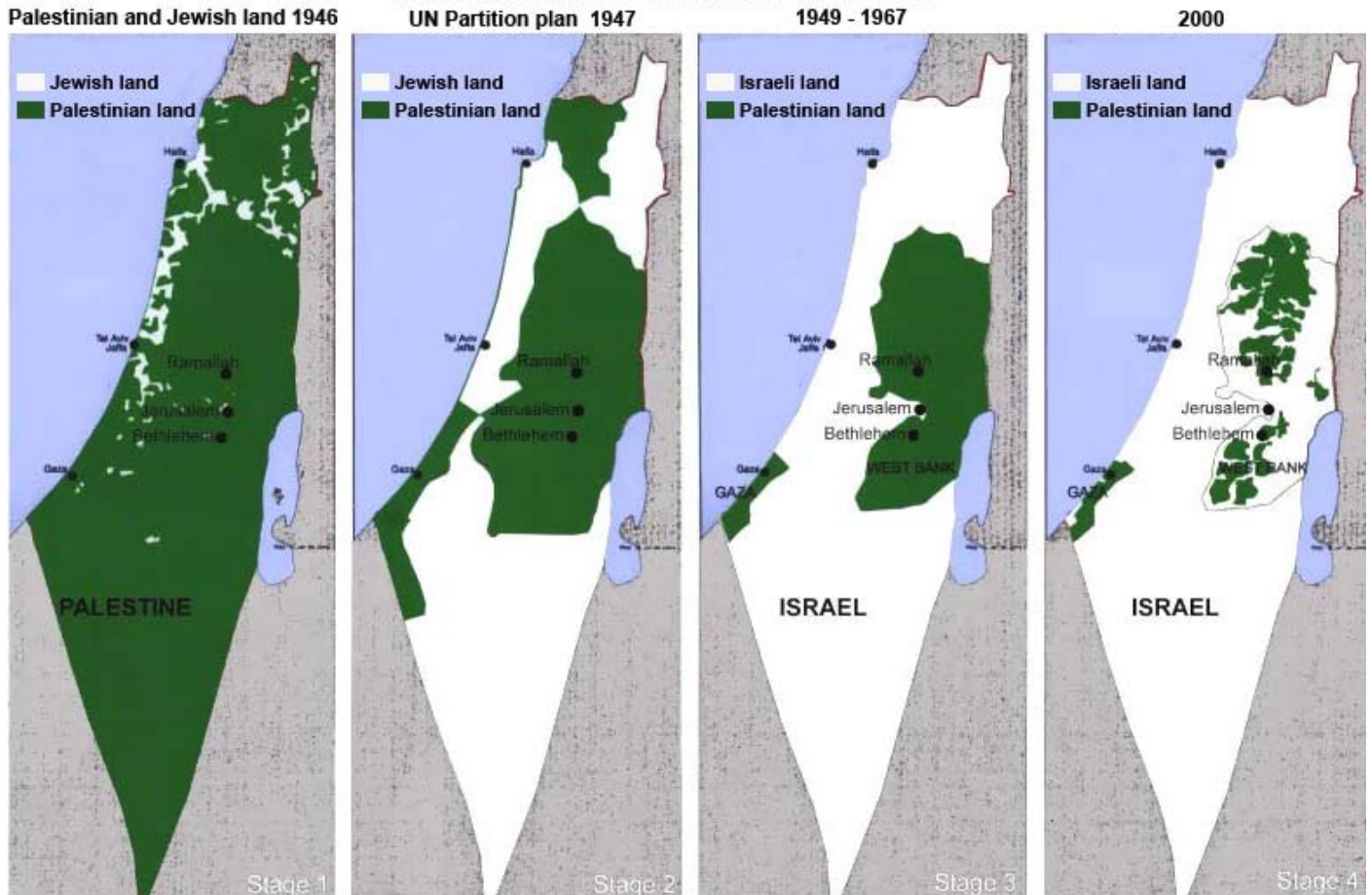
So the obvious question is, for what purpose is the Obama administration backing this empty diplomatic exercise at this stage in time?

*Newsweek’s Middle East editor Christopher Dickey writes in a piece called “In Search of the Obama Doctrine”:*

*“During desperately dangerous times, solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the last best chance for the U.S. to influence events in the region.” Gen. Martin E. Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, wrote in a letter to Carl Levin, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. “Once we take action,” said Dempsey, “we should be prepared for what comes next. Deeper involvement is hard to avoid. The wiser course, Dempsey suggested, is “to isolate the conflict to prevent regional destabilization,” which brings us back, in fact, to the peace process...”*

In other words, the military coup in Egypt as well the latest round of the so-called peace process is part of US policy to regain full control over the Middle East, control that has been severely compromised during the last two and a half years since the outbreak of the Arab revolutions. Like the military coup in Egypt, the aim is to force the workers, the urban poor and the *Fallahins* (peasants) in the region to be subordinated to American imperialism and give up the struggle for social and political liberation, from the theft of lands, and from oppression, and super-exploitation.

**Palestinian loss of land 1946 to 2000**





### Continue and Deepen the Struggle against Zionism, Imperialism and Arab Bourgeoisie!

We of the ISL (RCIT section in Occupied Palestine/Israel) oppose the so called "peace talks" as much as we oppose the military coup in Egypt. US imperialism is neither an honest or dishonest peace broker. Rather, it is the main enemy of the masses who demand bread and authentic democracy. For the masses to win, the control of the imperialists over the region must be broken. The Egyptian army and the Palestinian Authority are on the same side, serving the same imperialist masters. The Palestinian Authority does not represent the interests of the Palestinian working poor and peasants, but rather those of a tiny layer of rich and corrupted officials.

For this reason, we call on the left in Egypt to break with policies that give any support to the army, and to instead act to split the Egyptian military along class lines. For the very same reason, we claim that, for the Palestinians and for the Jews who support the Palestinians, the most urgent task is the struggle for a revolutionary workers party that will unite the Palestinians citizens of Israel with the Palestinians masses from the West-Bank and Gaza and those in exile.

We believe that the only solution to the more than hundred year old conflict in Palestine, is a single democratic state from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, and that this can only be realized as a workers' state supported by the peasants. (5) Nevertheless, as revolutionaries, we will be ready to defend even a mini-Palestinian state won by the Palestinian struggle against the Zionist aggression. However, the outcome of the so-called "peace process" now taking place will not be even a mini-Palestinian state, but rather the continuation of the Israeli occupation, its oppression of the Palestinians, and yet more Jewish colonial settlements in the territories occupied in 1967.

In contrast to the Zionist apartheid state, we say that the only solution is a Free, Red Palestine!

*\* Down with the military coup in Egypt!*

*\* Down with the phony negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority that can only lead to the detriment of the Palestinian masses!*

*\* For a workers' and Falahin government in the whole of historic Palestine!*

*\* For a multi-national workers' state supported by the Fallahins from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea!*

#### Footnotes:

(1) Fox News "Egypt's new rulers virtually seal Gaza as part of campaign against the Muslim Brotherhood" July 24, 2013 <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2013/07/24/egypt-new-rulers-virtually-seal-gaza-as-part-campaign-against-muslim/>

(2) Since the coup took place the RCIT has analyzed this crucial event in detail in a number of articles and statements and will continue to do so. See Yossi Schwartz: Egypt: Mobilize Resistance against the reactionary military regime!, 27.7.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-no-to-military-regime/](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-no-to-military-regime/); RCIT: Revolution and Counterrevolution in Egypt (Editorial for RevCom#12), 22.7.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/editorial-revcom-12/>; Michael Pröbsting: The Military's Coup d'État in Egypt: Assessment and Tactics, 17.7.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-meaning-of-coup-d-etat/](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-meaning-of-coup-d-etat/); Yossi Schwartz: Egypt: The U.S. Support for the Military Coup and the Left's ig-

norance. Notes on the role of US imperialism in the military's coup d'état and the failure of the Egypt left, 11.7.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-us-support-for-military-coup/](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-us-support-for-military-coup/); RCIT: Egypt: Down with the Military Coup d'État! Prepare Mass Resistance! 8.7.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-down-with-military-coup-d-etat/](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-down-with-military-coup-d-etat/); RCIT: Tasks of the Revolution in Egypt, 2.7.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/tasks-of-egypt-revolution/](http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/tasks-of-egypt-revolution/). All articles except the latest one have been published in the RCIT's international journal *Revolutionary Communism* No. 12 (July/august 2013).

(3) Jean-Luc Renaudie: "Israel media question Netanyahu motives for talks" Fox News Published July 30, 2013 AFP <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2013/07/30/israel-media-question-netanyahu-motives-for-talks/>

(4) Christopher Dickey: "In Search of the Obama Doctrine", 26.7.2013, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/07/26/in-search-of-the-obama-doctrine.html>

(5) We have elaborated our historic analysis of Israel as a Zionist Apartheid state and the revolutionary programme for the Palestinian liberation struggle in numerous documents and articles. See e.g. Yossi Schwartz: Israel's War of 1948 and the Degeneration of the Fourth International, in: *Revolutionary Communism*, Special Issue on Palestine, No. 10, June 2013, [www.thecommunists.net/theory/israel-s-war-of-1948-1/](http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/israel-s-war-of-1948-1/); Yossi Schwartz: Israel's Six-Day War of 1967. On the Character of the War, the Marxist Analysis and the Position of the Israeli Left, in: *Revolutionary Communism*, No. 12, July/august 2013, [www.thecommunists.net/theory/israel-s-war-of-1967/](http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/israel-s-war-of-1967/); Michael Pröbsting: On some Questions of the Zionist Oppression and the Permanent Revolution in Palestine, in: *Revolutionary Communism*, Special Issue on Palestine, No. 10, June 2013, pp. 26-28, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/permanent-revolution-in-palestine> ■



RCIT leader Nina Gunic speaks at a Palestine Solidarity Rally in Vienna

## Israel: Protests against Social Cuts

### Israel: Report from the “No Trust in the Government” Demonstration in Rehovot

by Boris Hammershlag, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 25.7.2013

Today at 18:30 an ISL contingent of 5 comrades including 2 of our youth group, marched in the main street of the Israeli-Jewish town of Rehovot. The march was organized by the “Coalition for Social Justice” in my hometown of Rehovot. The demonstration protested the planned budget cuts and austerity program to be imposed on the Israeli Jews in the near future.

We came to this march prepared with a large sign saying: “For a Multi-National Workers and Peasants’ State from the River to the Sea!”; also, the 2 members of our Youth Group (TIGER – acronym for Revolutionary Youth – Ramleh) divided some 150 ISL statement leaflets among themselves to be distributed to the public as well as demonstrators.

At the beginning of the march the organizers let me shout some slogans, since they came ill-prepared with their own. The slogans I raised resonated among the radical sections of the demo including Hadash-Ramleh, Hadash-Rehovot, while it made the labor Zionists very uneasy but not hostile being the “civilized folk” that they are. The slogans were:

Rehovot-Cairo/Aleppo/Ramallah – the Same Revolution!  
 The Answer to the privatization – R-E-V-O-L-U-T-I-O-N!  
 Hu Ha – Who Goes There – R-E-V-O-L-U-T-I-O-N!  
 Let the Tycoons Pay for the Crisis They Created!  
 Stop Being Afraid – Start Unionizing!  
 The Occupation is a Disaster in the Service of the Rule of Capital!  
 The Cuts are a Disaster in the Service of the Rule of Capital!

A Workers Government – Not a Tycoon Government!  
 About half the way I was overpowered by the Zionists’ reformist slogans and I decided it’s a fight not worth fighting. Next time I will get into the organizing committee and will insist on some revolutionary slogans on a turn-by-turn basis.

The girls of the youth movement handed out almost all of the 150 leaflets in Hebrew to the ~50 demonstrators and many spectators. These girls worked like a machine and their cheerful looks caused people to smile and be nice to them. They reported that about every third person through the leaflet on the ground after the march left. However, we didn’t experience any danger or hostility.

Later on at the central park we met with another comrade of ours who took upon himself to take photographs of our activity. After the Zionists made their speeches and the Hadash-Ramleh contingent came unprepared and just murmured some incoherent ramble about helping the needy, I took over with my initiative of 5 minute Hyde-Park segment where yours truly made his speech which was well received by the radicals, at least, and other speakers took the stage with me holding the Megaphone for them.

A person approached me after my speech and asked to join the ISL. I took his info and we will see how serious this guy really is.

Overall it was invigorating and enjoyable just 5 minutes from home.

Long live the Bolshevik Revolution! ■



Demonstration against Social Cuts: Activists of the RCIT Section in Occupied Palestine/Israel, 25.7.2013 (Rehovot, Israel)



## Zimbabwe: No to ZANU PF Dictatorship! No to Passive Resistance!

### Build Rank and File Unions to Call for a Congress Of Workers! Forward to a General Strike to Conquer our Demands! Form a Workers Party and Break with the Popular Front!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Workers Group, Zimbabwe (RWG-ZIM), 6.8.2013, [www.rwgzimbabwe.wordpress.com](http://www.rwgzimbabwe.wordpress.com)*

The elections held on the 31st resulted in a landslide victory for ZANU PF in the presidential election, a two thirds majority in the Parliament and the regaining of control of most local councils they had lost to the MDC's. The elections have generally been described by all observers, the parties and the western nations as peaceful but by some as not being free and fair due to instances and accusations of bussing, a shambolic voters role, massive disenfranchisement, double voting, suspicious voting slips and pens among others. In an initial statement the main MDC (referred to as the MDC-T) has rejected the election as a huge farce and met on Saturday to offer a way forward to their members who were becoming restless with some calling for a boycott of parliament and street protests. The other MDC (MDC-N or just MDC) has also rejected the outcome citing massive rigging of the elections by ZANU PF and security agents with the help of Israeli agents but resolved not to boycott the government.

What is clear is that the MDC-T is now desperate to regain confidence from its western imperialist handlers among its members and has resolved to boycott parliament and other state institutions demanding a re-run. In a clear sign of political impotence they have also resolved to present evidence of vote rigging and manipulation to SADC and the AU, the same bodies whose observers endorsed the elections. But most tellingly the MDC-T states it will achieve all its aims through peaceful means. It would have been foolhardy for anyone to expect the MDC-T to go beyond this and call for the mobilisation of the masses into the streets as this will be much difficult to control and may develop beyond the call for a re-run to include radical demands.

As we speak the mood across the country is one of surprise and shock for the masses who had put so much faith in the MDC-T. They are more shocked by its resolution to pursue a useless route. It's true that to a large extent ZANU PF manipulated the voting system in their favour in order to defend itself against western imperialism and on behalf of Chinese led imperialism, but also critically over the years the MDC-T has lost its original appeal because of its record in office, as well as its initial limited radical tactics. The way it conducted its congress and selection of public office representatives also added to an already gloomy situation for the party. Some have also hinted to the nascent internal struggles and infiltration as additions to a list of factors that have made it possible for ZANU PF to retain its dominance. On the other hand Mugabe based on his pre-election speech and also in order to destroy the opposition, might offer positions to the MDC-T.

The key observer bodies, SADC and AU, have endorsed the elections and the outcome effectively ending their mediation role of over five years and also setting the tone

for inevitable albeit grudging acceptance of the results by western countries and the USA which are eager to participate in the diamond industry and also tone down the ZANU PF indigenisation drive despite their recent condemnation of the outcome. That observers known to be funded directly by western states have castigated the manner in which the poll was run and the results will do little to sway the western states resolve to end this disastrous episode that has not boded well for them in terms of regaining dominance ahead of Chinese imperialism.

The key lesson for workers, youths and the poor masses is the inability of reformism to resolve even the basic democratic issues. Firstly, that a hated regime can steal its way to power and yet get away with it shows that real democracy is not compatible with a capitalist system where economic geo-political interests ride above people's wishes and interests. Secondly and more importantly, this election has and will expose the reformist MDC-T party as a degenerated part in the imperialist game with no intentions and capacity to move beyond electoral, diplomatic, judicial, religious and legal routes in their fight for the rights and interests of the poor masses it claims to represent.

In our pre-election statement we wrote that, "*The elections to be held on the 31st of July 2013, though not a fundamental national development, will point to the trajectory to be taken in the implementation of capitalist exploitation and state brutality on the workers and the poor masses. Whichever party wins the elections will without doubt and despite all election rhetoric go full swing to impose massive austerity as demanded by imperialism. The events in Egypt prove that democracy is not enough to cater for the needs of the poor. Workers and the poor should mobilise and organise now to be able to defeat such moves and protect their livelihood and interests*". Both ZANU PF and MDC have been fighting on behalf of their imperialist sponsors to oppress and exploit the masses and resources of this country.

We call on the workers, youths and poor masses to reject the impending ZANU PF dictatorship through independent mobilisation on the basis of genuine workers and poor masses demands as well as active and militant working class methods. International capitalism certainly cannot solve its crisis without proving that bourgeoisie democracy is but a mask for the bourgeoisie dictatorship. Zimbabwe is living proof of the futility of trying to polish the mask on behalf of the dictatorship! We also call on the workers and the poor masses to reject the call for passive resistance and symbolic protests and instead mobilise for a general strike as a key element of revolutionary protests led by independent local organs to avoid betrayal and the hijacking of the struggle by reformist groups bent on squandering the fight of the poor.

*\* Workers, youths and the poor form action committees to fight*



the growing and coming attacks on the wages and conditions of the poor and the livelihood of the majority poor!

\* Form rank and file committees in our movements and unions to advance the workers program, lead general and political strike actions and break with the reformist leadership!

\* Workers and poor masses break with the MDC and ZANU (PF) through building rank and file unions and a congress of all workers, youths and the poor in struggle that prepares for a general strike!

\* Workers form an independent workers party to break the popular front of the MDC and ZANU PF dictatorship and that champions the interests of the workers and the poor masses!

\* Jobs for all can only be won by the workers' conquest of their own economic plan, by sharing the work, by shortening the hours and ending poverty by implementing a sliding scale of prices and wages!

\* Provide free quality health care and education for all run by the workers, students, educators, and health care providers them-

selves!

\* The big capitalists and imperialist companies must be made to pay to end the poverty and misery. If they cannot or will not we demand they must open their books expose their business secrets and then to nationalize their assets and put them under workers control!

\* For a workers government that defends workers and peasants against the local and foreign capitalists on the basis of the armed people building a workers' state that implements decisions for the benefit the workers and the poor!

\* For an African socialist revolution as part of an international revolution that alone can guarantee a better life for all!

\* For a new world party of socialist revolution based on the Transitional Program of 1938 to lead the revolution to end capitalism and open the road to socialism!

Note: The Revolutionary Workers Group, Zimbabwe is affiliated with the Liaison Committee of Communists. ■

### Map of Zimbabwe



Source: WikiMedia, <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e4/ZimbabweOMC.png>

## Greece: Down with the Trial against Savas Michael-Matsas!

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 23.7.2013*

**W**e have been informed that comrade Savas Michael-Matsas will have stand in court on 3<sup>rd</sup> September. Savas Michael-Matsas is the General Secretary of the Greek EEK (Revolutionary Workers Party, Section of the Coordinating Committee for the Re-foundation of the Fourth International). He is accused by the fascist party *Golden Dawn* of "defamation" because of the EEK's "condemnation of the criminal violent activities of this group against the immigrants. The slogan "smash fascism" is considered as "incitement to violence", and the call for participation to the demonstration as "disturbing the civil peace". (quoted from an interview with Savas Michael-Matsas in the German daily newspaper *Junge Welt*)

Naturally this is a disgusting provocation by the Nazi scum of *Golden Dawn* who regularly beat up or even kill migrants and working class activists. The RCIT condemns the fascist provocation and expresses its full solidarity with comrade Savas Michael-Matsas and the EEK. We call the international workers movement to raise its voice for international solidarity against fascism!

Fascism must be beaten by working class mobilizations including armed self-defense units to fight back the Nazi hooligans as well as to eradicate the roots of fascism – the capitalist system with its inherent crisis and misery!

*Down with the Trial against Savas Michael-Matsas! Drop all charges against him!*

Below we reprint a model statement which the EEK/CRFI comrades are circulating. We call organizations and activists to sign and send it to the EEK (eek@ath.forthnet.gr).

### **Petition before the courts of the Greek State to stop the trail of Savas Michael-Matsas**

The Nazi organization "Golden Dawn" has launched a lawsuit against Savas Michael-Matsas, in his position as Secretary-General of the EEK, accusing him of "defamation" and "incitement to physical attacks". At the same time, the Nazis circulate online photos of Savas Michael with the fierce anti-Semitic appeal "Hit the Jewish vermin". The Greek State authorities have accepted the demand for defamation and prosecution of Savas Michael will take place in the courts of Athens on September 3, 2013.

We strongly denounce this witch hunt launched by the Nazis, with the connivance of the Greek authorities, and demand an end to the persecution of Savas Michael and all anti-fascists.

**Name:**

**Profession:**

**Organization:**

**Country:**



Savas Michael-Matsas, Leader of the EEK in Greece

## Declaration of Fraternal Relations between El Mundo Socialista and the RCIT

### Declaração de relações fraternas entre El Mundo Socialista e o TCRI-Tendência Comunista Revolucionária Internacional

*Statement of the El Mundo Socialista, 26th August 2013, <http://elmundosocialista.blogspot.com.br>*

The Blog *El Mundo Socialista* (EMS) announces its political approximation and the establishment of fraternal relations with the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT).

This is based on the political analyzes and conclusion which the RCIT has made of major events in the international class struggle and with which this blog agrees. It is therefore only natural that we start joint political work.

Our agreements include the RCIT's analyzes of the revolutionary events in the Arab world (including the counter-revolutionary military coup in Egypt and the civil war in Syria), Israel's role as the spearhead of imperialism in the Middle East, the need to review and renounce the concepts and practice of the tradition of the degenerated Fourth International and its splits after 1948-52, the question of the capitalist state China which in recent years is in the process to become an advanced imperialist power, and the question of the capitalist restoration process in Cuba. All these are issues which lead us to establish fraternal relations with the RCIT. ■

O Blog *El Mundo Socialista* (EMS) anuncia sua aproximação política e do estabelecimento de relações fraternas com a *Tendência Comunista Revolucionária Internacional* (RCIT-em Inglês).

Esta baseia-se na análise política e conclusão que a RCIT fez de grandes eventos na luta de classes internacional e com a qual esse blog concorda. Por isso, é natural que se comece o trabalho político conjunto.

Nossos acordos incluem as análises da RCIT dos acontecimentos revolucionários no mundo árabe (incluindo o golpe militar contra-revolucionário no Egito e a guerra civil na Síria), o papel de Israel como ponta de lança do imperialismo no Oriente Médio, a necessidade de rever e renunciar aos conceitos e a prática da tradição da degenerada Quarta Internacional e seu racha após 1948-1952, a questão da China de estado capitalista que nos últimos anos está em processo de se tornar uma potência imperialista avançada, e a questão do processo de restauração capitalista em Cuba. Todas estas são questões que nos levam a estabelecer relações fraternas com o RCIT. ■

### Map of Brazil



Source: Mappery, <http://mappery.com/map-of/Brazil-Map-2>



# Greetings to the 51st International Antiwar Assembly in Japan

*Letter from the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 25.7.2013*

Dear comrades,

The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) and its sections in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Occupied Palestine, USA and Austria send you the warmest internationalist greetings! We congratulate you – the Executive Committee for the 51st International Antiwar Assembly (uniting the All-Japan Federation of Students' Self-Governing Associations (Zengakuren), the Antiwar Youth Committee and the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (Revolutionary Marxist Faction, JRCL (RMF)) – for organizing the 51st International Antiwar Assembly in Japan.

Since Japan is one of the world's biggest imperialist powers, your campaign of mobilizing workers and youth against the militaristic policy of the reactionary government of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe is of huge importance not only for the Japanese but also for the international working class. In this you are following the principle of communist internationalism as it was put in the well-known slogan by the German workers leader Karl Liebknecht: "*The main enemy is at home!*". This is also the principle which the RCIT and its section are adhering. In the last few months we have been active in organising protest actions against the intervention of French and EU imperialism in Mali as well as in solidarity with the Palestinian people against imperialist Israel and in solidarity with the Syrian Revolution. (1) We also defeated an attempt by the Zionists to open a trial against a leading RCIT comrade in Austria because of an Anti-Zionist speech he gave at a pro-Palestinian demonstration which we co-organized during the Gaza war in November 2012. (2)

You rightly denounce not only Japanese imperialism but also its lackeys inside the workers movement like the Stalinist JCP. Like the French Stalinists who welcome the imperialist adventure of its ruling class in Mali or the Israeli CP which supported the expulsion of the Palestinian people in 1948, the Japanese Stalinists too support their imperialist masters. They not only defend the territorial claims of the Japanese monopoly bourgeoisie on the Senkaku/Diaoyu-islands but also of the Dokdo/Takeshima Island against South-Korea. They even supported its own imperialism against China and the USSR (the Kurile/Chishima Islands, the Habomai Islands and the Shikotan Island) when the later still were degenerated workers states.

We agree with you that the conflict around the Senkaku/Diaoyu-islands is an expression of the growing rivalry between Japan, the USA and China about the hegemonic position in East Asia. It is an expression of the increasing contradiction between the imperialist powers in their search for supremacy and for super profits by plundering the semi-colonial world as we have outlined in our recently published book "*The Great Robbery of the South*". (3)

You correctly say that the Stalinist rulers in Beijing have "*transformed China's economic structure into state capitalism while maintaining the signboard of a 'socialist state'!*" However we think it is not sufficient to say that China has be-

come a capitalist state. It is also necessary to state *which* kind of capitalism China has become: a semi-colonial or an imperialist capitalist country? In our opinion China is an emerging imperialist power which is driving to expand its influence and exporting capital. (4)

This is not only an important scientific question from the point of view of Marxist theory but also from the point of view of Marxist tactics. Which position should revolutionary Marxists take in the conflict between Japan and China? If China would be a semi-colonial country and Japan an imperialist country, revolutionaries in Japan would be obliged to support China in this conflict (while at the same time putting forward all the necessary political denunciations against the ruling Stalinist-capitalists in Beijing). If on the other hand one considers both countries as imperialist, revolutionary Marxists would take a revolutionary defeatist position in both countries, i.e. they would state "*The main enemy is at home!*" both in Japan as well as in China. The later is the position of the RCIT as we have outlined in a longer article. (5) What is your position?

We like to finish our letter by drawing your attention to the "*Open Letter: Revolutionary Unity in the Struggle for the Fifth Workers International!*" which the RCIT has published in May this year and which we attach below as an appendix. (6) It summarizes the main issues of the international class struggle and which position in our opinion revolutionaries should take. We emphasize the deep crisis of working class leadership and the need for authentic revolutionaries to seriously discuss the possibilities for closer collaboration and in possible fusion. We would be highly interested in your opinion on it.

Again, we wish you good luck for your congress!

*Forward in the international class struggle for the liberation of the working class and all oppressed!*

*Forward in building the revolutionary Fifth Workers International!*

Internationalist Greetings,  
International Secretariat of the RCIT

## Footnotes

(1) See on Palestine e.g. the ISL-Leaflet: The Nakba Day, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/nakba-day-2013>; Yossi Schwartz: Growing Trade Union Support for Boycott Actions against Apartheid State Israel, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/bds-against-israel>; ISL: Occupied Palestine/Israel: Report of Demonstration on Nakba Day, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/report-nakba-day>; Land Day in Palestine: Solidarity Rally in Austria on 30th March, <http://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/land-day-2013-report> (with pictures and videos); ISL-Report from Land Day in Palestine, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/report-land-day-palestine>;

On Mali see RCIT-Statement: Down with France's Colonial War in Mali! 19.1.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/>

africa-and-middle-east/no-to-france-s-war-in-mali; Report, Pictures and Videos from a solidarity rally can be found here <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/rally-for-mali-in-vienna-25-1>.

On the Syrian Revolution we have published a number of articles and statements as well as participated in organizing solidarity demonstrations. See e.g. Yossi Schwartz: Class struggle and religious sectarianism in Syria, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/class-struggle-and-religious-sectarianism-in-syria>; Yossi Schwartz: Syria: After the defeat in Qusayr and ahead of the Battle for Aleppo, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-after-defeat-in-qusayr>; ISL-Leaflet: Victory to the Revolution in Syria! <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/victory-to-revolution-in-syria>; RCIT-Statement: Israel: Hands Off Lebanon and Syria! <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/israel-hands-off-lebanon-and-syria>; Austria: Demonstration in Solidarity with the Revolution in Syria on 15.3.2013 (including pictures as well as a video of a speech with English subtitles), <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/austria-report-syria-demo-15-3-2013>.

(2) See on this „Victory! The Charge against RKOB Spokesperson and Palestine Solidarity Activist Johannes Wiener has been dropped!“, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/solidarity-with-wiener-won>; “Austria: Israeli Cultus Community attempts to criminalize partisanship for the Palestinian Resistance! Charge of “Sedition” against RKOB Spokesperson and Palestine Solidarity Activist Johannes Wiener is a Pretext for Attack on Freedom of Expression”, Statement of the RKOB, 20.12.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/no-criminalization-of-solidarity-with-palestine>; “Austria:

Pro-Israeli War-Mongers try to throw 20-year old Palestine Solidarity Activist into Prison. RKOB spokesperson Johannes Wiener is accused of „sedition“ because of a Pro-Palestine speech during the Gaza War”, Statement of the RKOB, Austrian section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 13.12.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/no-to-criminalization-of-rcit-activist>. The speech can be seen at <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/video-gaza-16-nov-2012>, <http://www.heute.at/news/oesterreich/wien/art23652,826047>, <http://www.heute.at/news/oesterreich/wien/sts23561,9345>

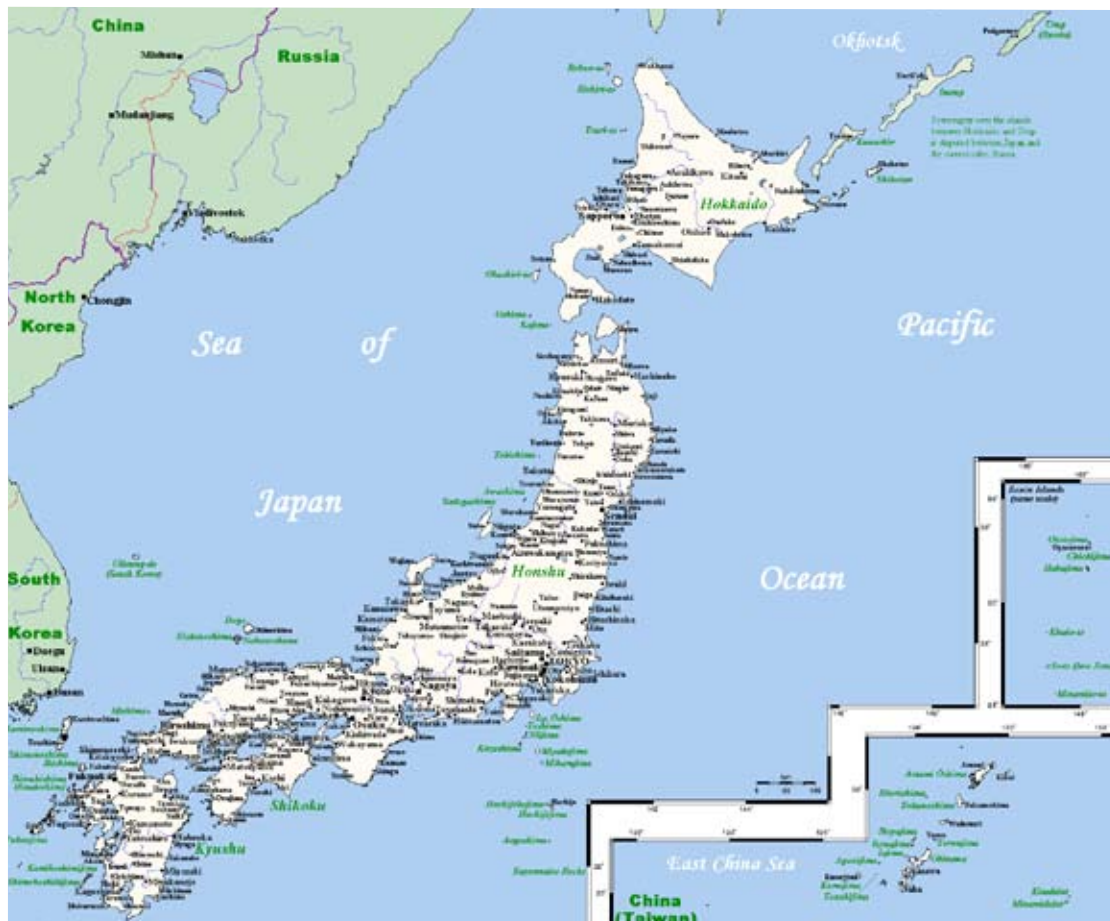
(3) Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South. Continuity and Changes in the Super-Exploitation of the Semi-Colonial World by Monopoly Capital. Consequences for the Marxist Theory of Imperialism. For details of the book see <http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/>

(4) See on this the RCIT study by Michael Pröbsting: China’s transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power; in: Revolutionary Communism No. 4 (2012), p. 4-32, [www.thecommunists.net/theory/why-china-is-imperialist](http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/why-china-is-imperialist).

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

(6) RCIT: Revolutionary Unity in the Struggle for the Fifth Workers International! Open Letter to All Revolutionary Organizations and Activists, 15.5.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/open-letter-to-revolutionaries> ■

## Map of Japan



Source: Wikimedia, <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/ab/JapanCitiesTownsOMC.PNG>



## Imperialism and Exploitation Today

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

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)

The following document is an excerpt of the book "THE GREAT ROBBERY OF THE SOUTH" which the RCIT has published recently. It has been written by Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT. It has been published as the final chapter of the book in which the author summarizes the main findings of his study.

You can find more details about the book and how to order it on page 32 in this journal and on our website [www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net](http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net).

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In this final chapter we want to summarize the main results of our study. In order to emphasize more clearly the most important conclusions, we will structure this summary in the form of thesis.

1. Marxism is the scientific doctrine of the working class to guide them in achieving liberation from exploitation and oppression. Hence it is the task of Marxists to study and internalize the method and fundamental doctrines of Marxism as it was elaborated by the revolutionary workers movement and its most outstanding theoreticians including Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Furthermore, the Marxist method becomes a dead doctrine if it is not constantly enriched by studying new developments in the class society and if it is not continuously developed on the basis of the genuine method of materialist dialectics. Finally, Marxism exists and breathes as the unity of theory and practice, knowledge and action. The purpose of advancement of Marxist theory is to serve as a guide for action. In order to achieve this Marxist theory must fuse with the revolutionary working class movement. The embodiment of such a unity of theory and practice is and can only be the collective of communist men and women who fuse Marxist knowledge and action into a collective program and politics – in other words, into the formation of the revolutionary workers party and its pre-party formations. The *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT) is dedicated to the task of building such a party.

2. An important issue for the advancement of the revolutionary working class movement and the Marxist theory is the issue of the relationship between the imperialist countries and the semi-colonial world. The reason for this is that there have been important changes in this relationship in recent decades. 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 a huge majority of the world working class lived in the South – outside of the old imperialist metropolises. Therefore 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 any revolutionary organization today. A correct understanding of the consequences of the shift of the world proletariat towards the South is also just as important for the building of the revolutionary party and the new working class International.

3. Lenin's theory of imperialism is essential for understanding today's world. Lenin emphasized that the epoch of imperialism is the epoch of capitalism in decline. It is characterized by the increasing dominance of the economy by monopolies and of world politics by a few Great Powers. As a result of this the world is divided between oppressing and oppressed nations. Super-exploitation of the oppressed countries by the imperialist monopolies is an essential feature of imperialism. Likewise is the bribery of the upper strata of the proletariat in the imperialist countries by the monopolies out of the extra profits from this super-exploitation. Trotsky and the Fourth International upheld Lenin's theory of imperialism thoroughly.

4. The essence of Lenin's theory concerning the relation between the imperialist and the oppressed countries is still valid despite the fact that today nearly all countries of the South are formally independent. They are – what Lenin called – 'semi-colonies', i.e. countries which are formally independent but which are nevertheless nationally oppressed and super-exploited by the imperialist monopolies and powers. These semi-colonies occupy a subordinated position in the world economy and politics. In order to politically characterize a specific country in the world, it is therefore not sufficient to declare that it is capitalist and ruled by a capitalist class. Neither is it sufficient to describe the specific political regime of the given country (dictatorship, theocracy, bourgeois democracy, left-wing Bonapartism etc.). One must rather start with the *class characterization* and this includes its position in the imperialist world order, i.e. is it an imperialist-capitalist or a semi-colonial capitalist country. The semi-colonial national bourgeoisie therefore is – as Trotsky said – only to a certain degree a ruling class. It is at the same time to a certain degree also an oppressed class.

5. Various centrist currents like the SWP/IST and the CWI understand imperialism as aggressive, expansionist politics. This means that they divorce a specific form of politics from its economic foundation – monopoly capital. This was always wrong. It is, however, particularly wrong in the present period of globalization where the global dominance of monopolies is massively growing. ("*Globalization = Monopolization + Internationalization*"). Today the

biggest 147 corporation's control 40% of the world economy. These monopolies are closely connected with the imperialist states which give them the necessary political and military weight to enforce their interests around the world.

6. Contrary to the claims of various revisionists who thought that capitalism was in a phase of economic upswing in the 1990s and 2000s, in reality the opposite was the case. Capitalism has tended towards stagnation since the early 1970s and this turned into a period of decline since 2007/08. The background for this is the increasing structural over-accumulation of capital and the related tendency of the profit rate to fall. It is increasingly difficult for the capitalists to invest their capital profitably so they move more and more of their capital into the sphere of speculation, etc. As a result, the rate of accumulation of productive capital is slowing down more and more.

7. Of course this tendency towards stagnation and decline must not be understood as a gradual, one-way process. It is rather a dialectical process since the capitalist economy proceeds in economic cycles. In addition to this, even the epoch of imperialism knows longer phases of upswing. But all in all and *over the long run* capitalism is in decline and the average rate of profit tends to fall – a fact which becomes also evident if one looks at the development of world capitalism in the past four decades.

8. Against this background of declining and increasingly parasitic capitalism, the monopolies are doing everything in their power to increase their profits. They use their power to modify the effects of the law of value and to appropriate a higher share of surplus value at the cost of the capitalists that do not obtain monopoly positions. They sharpen the rivalry against each other. But most importantly, the monopolies increase the exploitation of the working class and the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial countries.

9. This drive of monopoly capital to increase the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world led to a massive export of capital which created a shift of the production, and hence the working class, to the South. As a result, the production of capitalist values increasingly came from the South. Such a shift is a confirmation of Lenin's and Trotsky's understanding of imperialism.

10. The degree of this shift of capitalist value production to the South is massively distorted and underestimated in the official figures produced by bourgeois economists. There are a few reasons for this. First, the category "Gross Domestic Product" (GDP) confuses real and fictional values. Given that the financial sector, which creates no value, is mainly based in the rich imperialist countries, the GDP figures of the North are artificially inflated and hence lower than the share of the South in the World GDP in the official statistics. Second, there is a massive swindle contained in the GDP figures since a substantial portion of the value created in the South is appropriated in the North via the market price on which the commodity is sold in the North. Therefore, a substantial portion of the value created in the South appears in the official GDP figures as created in the North. Third, we have the massive super-exploitation of the workers in the South and the appropriation of extra profits by the monopoly capitalists in the North. Again, these profits are often counted as part of the Northern GDP but in reality are produced by the workers

in the South.

11. This massive growth of the global working class was mostly due to the growth of the proletariat outside of the old imperialist metropolises. The process of industrialization has necessarily led to a massive shift of the weight of the proletariat from the imperialist metropolises towards the poorer countries. A hundred years ago – at the time of Lenin and Trotsky – the proletariat in the colonial and semi-colonial world was still quite small. This has changed dramatically in recent decades. As a result the huge majority of the world working class today lives outside of the old imperialist metropolises.  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the wage laborers and 83.5% of all industrial workers live and work in the semi-colonial countries and emerging imperialist China. (In in the year 1950 only 34% of the global industrial workers were living in the South and in 1980 this share was about 50%.)

12. In reality, the actual shift of the proletariat towards the semi-colonial and emerging imperialist countries is even bigger than official statistics indicate. This is the case for several reasons:

i) The bourgeois category "wage earners" includes not only workers. Generally one can say that in the rich imperialist countries a considerable minority of wage earners are not part of the working class, but are part of the salaried middle class (supervisory personnel, police, lower-grade manager, etc.). In the poorer countries the salaried middle class is much smaller.

ii) Moreover, we have to take into account the labor aristocracy. This uppermost part of the working class, which is bribed by the bourgeoisie with various privileges, represents a much bigger sector of the working class in the imperialist countries than in the semi-colonial proletariat.

iii) Furthermore, the proletariat in the poorer countries is larger in size than the actual numbers in the official statistics indicate. A considerable part of the workers in these countries are formally accounted not as wage earners, but as formally self-employed due to the large informal sector. However, in fact, they are part of the working class.

In short, the proportion of semi-colonial countries and emerging imperialist China in the world working class could even be as high as 80%. We can therefore conclude that today the heart of the world proletariat is in the South and in particular in Asia (where 60% of the global industrial workforce is living).

13. An important consequence of this is that the process of the World Revolution is not one in which the first line is focused on and decided in the old imperialist countries. Rather, the proletariat in the semi-colonial world and emerging imperialist China will play a decisive role. The Arab revolution underlines our thesis of the increasing importance of the semi-colonial proletariat.

14. The RCIT concludes from this that the international workers organizations must pay particular attention to the South. The huge weight of the Southern proletariat must be reflected in their massive participation not only in the international workers organizations but also in their leaderships. The questions of particular importance for the Southern working class – the super-exploitation, national liberation struggles against imperialism, etc. – must take a central place in the organizations' propagandistic and practical work. It follows that the struggle for political and organizational independence of the working class focuses



particularly on the broad mass of the working class – i.e. its lower and middle layers. It must reflect the growing significance of the proletarians of the poorer countries, of women, migrants, etc. They must strive to attract and organize them and also to represent them in their own ranks and leadership structures. The future revolutionary communist world party, therefore, has a strong semi-colonial, young, female, migrant face or it fails in its task.

15. Faced with the stagnation and decline of capitalism, the capitalists have waged a vicious offensive against the global working class on all continents in the last decades. Both in the rich, imperialist countries and in the poorer, semi-colonial countries the capitalists increased the rate of exploitation – this means that they obtained a higher profit by increasing the rate of surplus value (i.e. the proportion of non-paid labor time appropriated by the capitalist in relation to the paid labor time received by the workers in the form of wages). The capitalists were able to succeed in this not only by raising the productivity of the workers, but also and increasingly, by prolonging the working day and by depressing the wages. This later method – depressing the wages below the value of labor power – was mentioned by Marx but has been largely ignored by Marxists since then. The increasing of the rate of exploitation took place in the past decades in all regions but, particularly in the semi-colonial world and China. It particularly affected the lower and middle strata of the proletariat. These developments are reflected in the declining wage share, the growing *précarisation* of labor and rising unemployment, and the growing poverty and inequality in income.

16. One of the most important ways for the monopolies to counter their declining rates of profits is super-exploitation in the capitalistically less developed countries. These foreign markets provide monopoly capital with:

- i) Exploitation of cheaper labour force via the export of capital,
- ii) Additional markets for their commodities and
- iii) Access to raw material.

17. The colonial and semi-colonial markets offer monopoly capital several methods in which it can obtain an extra profit. They are chiefly:

- i) Capital export as productive investment
- ii) Capital export as money capital (loans, currency reserves, speculation etc.)
- iii) Value transfer via unequal exchange
- iv) Value transfer via migration

18. Surplus value is the share of the capitalist exchange value which is not paid by the capitalists for wages or for machinery, raw materials, etc. but which they appropriate. If the monopolies export capital and invest in factories in the semi-colonial countries, they can extract an extra-profit. They can employ cheaper labor forces but still sell the commodities at the average market price in the imperialist countries. Or they sell the commodities at a market price below the average price in the semi-colonial countries. The imperialist monopolies repatriate the major part of these extra-profits from the semi-colonies to their parent company. According to the World Bank, the transnational corporations repatriated between 2/3 and 4/5 of their profits in the years 1990 to 2006.

19. Capital export becomes increasingly important for the imperialist countries. Between 1/7 and 1/5 of their

accumulated capital moves into other countries in their desire for higher profits. As a result, the share of foreign capital in the total social capital in the semi-colonial regions has risen dramatically in the last two decades. Imperialist capital is now directly responsible for between 1/10 and 1/8 of capital accumulation in semi-colonial Asia, 1/6 and 1/4 in Africa and Latin America and 1/9 and 1/5 in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

20. Marx referred to foreign trade as an important source for capital to counteract the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. The basis for this is that given the lower level of development of productive forces, capital in the (semi-) colonial countries has a higher organic composition, i.e. the share of human labour is higher relative to constant capital. As a consequence they produce relatively more surplus value and hence a higher average rate of profit. However, when the commodities of the (imperialist) more developed countries and the commodities of the (semi-) colonial less developed countries are exchanged at the world market, the law of value enables imperialist capital to gain an extra profit from an unequal exchange. It's cheaper commodities (because of the higher productivity) beat the more expensive commodities from the semi-colonial countries, force the latter to sell their commodities below its value, etc. Therefore, the stronger (imperialist) capital can sell its commodities *above* its production price and still remain cheaper on the world market than the less competitive (semi-colonial) capital. The latter is forced to sell its commodities *below* its production price and often still remains more expensive on the world market than its imperialist rivals. As a result, the stronger (imperialist) capital successfully appropriates a part of the surplus value which is created by the weaker (semi-colonial) capital. This means that unequal exchange provides an important basis for a massive transfer of value from the capitalistically less to the capitalistically more developed countries.

21. The monopolies can appropriate an extra profit via capital export as money capital (loans, currency reserves, speculation, etc.) This form of super-exploitation has gained huge proportions in the past decades. Between 1980 and 2002 the semi-colonial countries have repaid eight times what they owed in 1980! Nevertheless, by 2002 their amount of still existing debts has increased to \$2,400 billion, more than four times of what they owed in 1980! The semi-colonies lost – by paying for the debts to the imperialist sharks – about 1/27 of their annual national product in the 1980s and this loss rose to 1/16 of their annual output in the period 1997-2006.

22. In addition, the semi-colonial world loses by the deterioration of the terms of trade, i.e. the prices of commodities which they export in relation to the prices of commodities which they import. In the period 1957-2000, the terms of trade worsened for the non-oil producing developing countries by more than a third. According to Augustin Papić, an invisible transfer from the semi-colonial to the imperialist countries due to the negative development (for the South) of terms of trade took place in the 1990s which resulted in a loss of about 200 billion US-Dollars a year. At the same time, the imperialist countries become increasingly dependent from the so-called Third World in agriculture and raw materials.

23. Just as the monopoly capital extracts surplus profits from the semi-colonial world, there is also an ap-

propriation of extra profits through migration. Imperialist capital draws profit by paying the migrant workers *below the value of their labour force* in several ways:

- i) The capitalists can exploit the migrants often with no or only limited costs for their education since the migrants are often educated in their home country.
- ii) The capitalists often have to pay either no or only reduced costs for the pension and social security of the migrants since they have limited access to social services and when they get old they often go back to their home country.
- iii) The capitalists usually pay the migrants a wage which is substantially lower than the wage for the workers from the ruling nation. To achieve this they utilize various forms of national oppression (lack of rights if they are not citizens of the imperialist country, discrimination of the migrant's mother language, various forms of social discrimination, etc.). These forms of oppression are not only valid for first generation migrants but also for migrants of the second and third generation.

For these reasons the RCIT defines the migrants as in their huge majority "*a nationally oppressed layer of super-exploited labour force.*"

24. It is very difficult to calculate the full extent of the imperialist plundering of the semi-colonial world. Eastern German and UN economists estimated in the late 1980s and the early 1990s that the semi-colonial world was robbed by about 20-25% of their annual output. In all likelihood this share is higher today, as a very provisional and rough estimate shows.

i) Net transfers of financial resources from the semi-colonial countries to the North was about \$1 trillion, which is the equivalent of 5% of these countries annual GDP in 2010.

ii) There are illicit flows out of the Developing Countries of about more than US\$1 trillion annually.

iii) We take the estimation of about \$200 billion a year loss by the "invisible transfer" for the 1990s which was a share of the semi-colonial GDP of about 3.3%. We calculate a similar share for now because we lack more actual assessments. But we note briefly that this is certainly a serious underestimation because since the 1990s the role of globalised production chains of multinational corporations has significantly increased and hence their opportunities to manipulate price setting and by this hiding the true value transfer from the South.

iv) Concerning the loss for the semi-colonial countries by migration we take the same proportion of their total loss as the UN did in their calculation of 1992. This was US\$250 billion in 1990 which amounted to about 10-12% of the developing countries annual national income. We estimate the same proportion for today. Again this is certainly an underestimation given the huge increase of migration since then.

v) We shall also add the various other forms of values transferred to the imperialist monopolies, which are mentioned above (loss by currency exchange, royalties for patents etc.), that are some additional hundreds of billions of US-Dollars.

If we add these various figures we can calculate that the



Lenin, Founder of the Marxist Theory of Imperialism, speaking at a Mass Rally (Source: <http://www.rosa-blindada.info/b2-img/Lenin.jpg>)



imperialist robbery of the semi-colonial world has certainly increased since the early 1990s. It can be estimated that the value transfer from the semi-colonial world to the North is at least about 30% of the semi-colonial annual GDP, if not rather more.

And this calculation is not complete since:

i) We have not integrated the huge profits which the capitalists make by migrant labor in the imperialist countries themselves.

ii) We have not integrated the extra profits which are hidden via pricing through which the profits appear as being created in the North while the surplus value is in fact produced via super-exploitation in the South.

iii) And we have not integrated the profits of the imperialist monopolies appropriated abroad which are not transferred back.

Despite the lack of precise calculations we can definitely say that imperialist plundering of the semi-colonies plays a very important role to the disadvantage of the so-called Third World and to the advantage of the imperialist monopolies.

25. While, of course, specific pre-conditions which facilitated the development of capitalism existed already in Western Europe, the systematic plundering of the colonies in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century played a huge role for the formation of capitalism – the phase of the primitive accumulation. It was the emergence of imperialism and the systematic exploitation of the South which hindered the latter from developing its productive forces in a similar way as it happened in Western Europe and the USA. This imperialist dominance led to a distorted economic development of the colonial world.

26. Various centrist currents reject openly or by implication the Leninist Theory of Imperialism. What these centrist criticisms have in common is that they deny implicitly or explicitly the fundamental contradictions of the imperialist epoch of which the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world by monopoly capital is one of the prime features. Related to this is their open or implied ignorance of the existence of the labor aristocracy as a top layer of the proletariat which is bribed by the monopolies. Centrism denies or ignores these essential features of imperialism because clear recognition of these would oblige them to openly struggle against all political, ideological and organizational currents related to the labor aristocracy. It would also oblige them to openly struggle against their own imperialist powers with all the consequences including defending all semi-colonies attacked by their imperialist power and calling for the defeat of the latter. Centrism is not capable of such a consistent internationalist position. The reason is that it reflects in one or another form a petty-bourgeois class viewpoint, or more precisely, the pressure of the labor bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy as well as the progressive intelligentsia which adapts to the capitalist class and its state. Therefore, they usually ignore the lower and oppressed strata of the proletariat. For the same reason they usually negate openly or secretly the need to smash the capitalist state and the necessary violent character of the armed uprising and the socialist revolution in general. This is why the Bolshevik Party wrote in its Programme of 1919 that “*the ‘centrist’ movement is also a bourgeois distortion of socialism*”.

27. One of the essential pillars of the revisionist re-

jection of the Leninist Theory of Imperialism is their refusal to understand the so-called Third World countries as dependent semi-colonial nations. Organizations like the SWP/IST, the CWI, the IMT or the CMR/IMRT refuse to characterise the countries of the South as “semi-colonies”. They argue that the relationship between the imperialist states and the South has fundamentally changed since the times of Lenin and Trotsky so that their theoretical model is no longer accurate today. Some claim that Lenin and Trotsky only dealt with colonies, but not with formally independent semi-colonies. However, the founders of the Third and Fourth International not only wrote extensively about the semi-colonial countries but also emphasised that the semi-colonies, in essence, are similarly exploited and oppressed by imperialism as colonies are. Certainly, the *form* of super-exploitation changed but not the *essence*. In fact, given the capitalist industrialization of the South, the semi-colonies’ global share of capitalist value production is growing and their super-exploitation by the imperialists is increasing.

28. Centrists like the CWI, IMT or the SWP/IST claim that countries like Argentina or Iraq are not semi-colonies but “semi-industrialized capitalist countries” or even some form of imperialist country. Another category used by centrists for Southern countries like Turkey, Brazil, Iran and others is “sub-imperialist”. All these concepts are revisionist distortions of the central idea of the Third and the Fourth International’s concept to understand the imperialist world as divided in oppressor and oppressed nations based on a relationship of super-exploitation. They ignore that the so-called “sub-imperialist” countries are super-exploited by monopoly capital. They ignore that economic inequality between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries, as well as super-exploitation, is today higher than any time before. Related to this, these centrists ignore the still existing national question of the semi-colonial countries caused by the imperialist subjugation.

29. Many centrist groups like the CWI, IMT or the SWP/IST either openly reject or implicitly ignore the Leninist conception of the Labor Aristocracy. This is a major failure because the labour aristocracy is one of the most important social pillars of monopoly capital in the imperialist countries. It is the main social basis for reformism and the labour bureaucracy. Lenin, Trotsky and the Communist International were of the opinion that the economic basis of the labour aristocracy is the *super-exploitation* of these oppressed nations by the imperialist monopolies and the *extra profits* which monopoly capital can acquire by this. From these *extra profits* the monopolies can bribe the upper, aristocratic sectors of the working class and, particularly, the labour bureaucracy in the imperialist countries. Such ignorance by the centrists is often combined with an opportunistic overstatement of the progressive character of the labour aristocracy.

30. Such tendencies are also often combined with an underestimation of the importance of the middle and lower strata of the working class and of the nationally oppressed layers. We call such an approach “*Aristocratism*”. It can lead to a denial of the systematic nature of national oppression and economic super-exploitation of the migrants in the imperialist countries (as it is the case with the left-centrist LFI). A much more reactionary conclusion, which resulted from a wrong understanding of the

questions of the labor aristocracy and the character of the migrant's oppression, was the shameful support of many British left-reformists and centrists – like the Stalinist CPB, the CWI, the IMT etc. – for the chauvinist strike "*British Jobs for British Workers*" in 2009. At that time British workers at the Lindsey Oil Refinery wanted to stop the hiring of migrant workers – a social-chauvinist campaign which Marxist revolutionaries correctly condemned sharply.

31. One of the most important questions today is the emergence of China as a new imperialist power in the late 2000s. The main reasons for China's successful development into an imperialist power were:

i) The continuing existence of a strong, centralized Stalinist bureaucracy which could suppress the working class and ensure its super-exploitation.

ii) The historic defeat of China's working class in 1989 when the bureaucracy bloodily crushed the mass uprising at the Tiananmen Square and in the whole country.

iii) The decline of US imperialism which opened the space for new powers.

32. This continuing existence of a strong, centralized Stalinist bureaucracy and the historic defeat of China's working class in 1989 enabled the new capitalist ruling class to subjugate the majority of the massively growing proletariat to super-exploitation. Based on this, the capitalists – both Chinese and foreign – could extract a massive surplus value for capital accumulation. While foreign imperialist monopolies profited from this super-exploitation of the working class, it was the Chinese bourgeoisie that was the main beneficiary. As a result Chinese capital developed monopolies which play an important role not only on the domestic market but increasingly also on the world market. Today China's monopolies are amongst the most important capital exporters. China is not only an emerging economic power, but also a political and military power. It already has the second biggest military budget. In addition it is the fifth biggest nuclear power and the sixth-biggest arms-exporting country.

33. There should be no illusions about a peaceful settlement of the inner-imperialist rivalry of the Great Powers. An imperialist war between the great powers USA (and/or Japan) and China is increasingly becoming nearly unavoidable in the coming decade. Both powers need control over Eastern Asia which is central for world capitalist value production as well as trade. For this reason it is nearly inevitable that imperialist powers will try to influence and exploit conflicts and wars (e.g. conflicts in the South China (or East) Sea, Libya, Syria, Iran).

34. The RCIT considers the USA as well as China as imperialist powers. In a military conflict between the two (or between Japan and China), we Bolshevik-Communists will reject taking the side of one of the two rivaling imperialist powers. It would be a war of the respective ruling classes to increase their hegemony and super-exploitation of the semi-colonial countries. The correct tactic in such a conflict therefore is the revolutionary defeatism where workers in both camps raise the slogan "*The main enemy is at home*" and strive to turn the imperialist war into a civil war against their own ruling class.

35. In a conflict between an imperialist power and a semi-colonial country in the South China (or East) Sea, Marxists have to analyze every war concretely. They have to work out if the imperialist drive to subjugate a given

(semi-)colonial nation is the dominant aspect in the war or if a national defense struggle is subordinated to a proxy war for an imperialist power. From this follows if the Bolshevik-Communists take a revolutionary defeatist or a revolutionary defensist position concerning the struggle of the (semi-)colonial nation.

36. Trotsky's concept of Permanent Revolution is based on the dialectical concept that the revolution can not be divided schematically into stages which are separated from each other. This does not mean that there are not different stages in the development of the revolution. This is, of course, the case. But in all stages of the revolution it is one and the same class which must lead the struggle in order to win the democratic as well as economic goals of the revolution: the working class. Naturally the working class must seek allies amongst the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. But it is the proletariat and only the proletariat which can lead the struggle to victory. From this follows that in all stages of the revolution the strategic goal is to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and not power for any other class. While temporary blocs with sectors of the bourgeoisie can not be excluded it would be criminal for the working class to subordinate its goals and interests in order not to wreck a potential alliance with such bourgeois forces. It would be even more criminal to support the taking power of power by bourgeois forces. Every sector of the semi-colonial bourgeoisie will look for a compromise with imperialism and betray the working class and the popular masses. The theory of permanent revolution assumes that if the revolution is not continued up to the socialist seizure of power, it will inevitably end with the victory of the ruling class and a counter-revolution. Similarly, the theory of Permanent Revolution considers that the revolution can not last victoriously in a single country (as Stalin claimed), but must be spread internationally. The modern economy, especially in the age of global capitalism, makes all countries dependent on the international exchange of goods, technology and knowledge. Moreover, sooner or later the imperialist powers would not tolerate a victorious revolution in a single country. Marxists therefore support the strategy of permanent revolution not because it is more radical or "exciting", but because it represents the only realistic way to overcome the capitalist system and establish a truly socialist society. The Program of Permanent Revolution in the semi-colonial countries contains numerous social, democratic and anti-imperialist demands and combines them with the question of power. This can be seen in the RCIT Program.

37. The epoch of imperialism is an epoch of enormous sharpening of contradictions between the classes and states. This is why it is an epoch which is marked by conflicts – including wars – between imperialist powers and semi-colonial countries and also between rivaling imperialist powers. However, Marxists don't put all wars in the same box. There are wars and there are wars. There are wars between rival oppressors and there are wars between oppressors and oppressed. Hence, there are reactionary, unjust wars and progressive, just wars.

38. Marxists are therefore never against war in principle but distinguish between wars which serve the interests of the oppressed classes and those which only serve the ruling classes. Wars between imperialist ruling classes or between reactionary ruling classes pursuing their anti-



people interests are reactionary, unjust wars. The working class must oppose both camps and fight for the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war against the ruling classes. In wars between imperialist ruling classes and semi-colonial people or between reactionary ruling classes and oppressed classes or nationalities, such wars are unjust from the point of view of the imperialist/reactionary camp, but are just wars from the point of view of the semi-colonial and oppressed people's camp.

39. Based on these principles, Marxists took a defeatist position in World War I in both imperialist camps. During World War II, the Marxists – in the person of Trotsky and the Fourth International – took a similar position in the war between imperialist Germany and Japan on one hand and imperialist Britain, France and USA on the other hand. (In regard to the war between imperialist Germany and the degenerated workers state, the USSR, as well as the Chinese war against Japan or the Uprising in India against British imperialism, the Fourth International called for the defense of the non-imperialist camp.) Equally, Marxists would take such a position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides were there a war between imperialist Japan and/or USA on one side and imperialist China on the other side.

40. The revolutionary workers movement has a strong tradition of anti-imperialism. For example, the Communist International and the French Communist Party rallied their forces in the 1920s in support for the Rifians' struggle until "*Moroccan soil was completely liberated*" from both Spanish and French imperialists. Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International continued this revolutionary anti-imperialism. They supported the struggle of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism in the 1930s and 1940s despite the fact that it was led by the reactionary general Chiang Kai-shek. In the last decades revolutionaries continued to uphold such a consistent Marxist anti-imperialism. In the war between semi-colonial Argentina and British imperialism on the Malvinas islands in 1982, we called for the defeat of British imperialism and the victory of Argentina, without giving any political support for the reactionary military dictatorship in Buenos Aires. In the Gulf Wars in 1991 and 2003 we Bolshevik-Communists called for the defense of Iraq against the imperialist attack without giving any political support to the Saddam Hussein regime. Similarly, we stand on the side of the Afghan resistance against the imperialist occupiers since 2001 despite being led by the reactionary Taliban forces. Similarly, we supported the Hezbollah-led resistance in Lebanon in 2006 and the Hamas-led resistance in Gaza in 2008/09 and 2012 against Israel. We also call for the defeat of the French and EU military forces in Mali and for the military victory of the Islamist rebels.

41. We reject the existence of a Jewish state in Palestine because it can only exist as long as the expulsion of the Palestinians continues to exist. Hence we reject a "two-state solution". This would deny the Palestinians the right of return to their homeland. Likewise, a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza only would be reduced to a Bantustan, a dependent de-facto colony of the much richer and more powerful Israel. The State of Israel must be destroyed and be replaced by a secular, workers' and peasant republic in the whole of Palestine – from the river to the

sea. In this state, the Palestinians and all those Jews, who accept the elimination of their privileges in the apartheid state of Israel, can live together equally and peacefully.

42. The basis of revolutionary anti-imperialism is the struggle for class independence of the proletariat from all petty-bourgeois and bourgeois influence and domination. For this it is necessary to fight with the masses against all their present-day leaders who serve the ruling class in one way or another. These misleaders can be the stooges of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the workers movement – i.e. the reformist bureaucracy in the trade unions, in social democratic, ex-Stalinist and Stalinist parties. In the semi-colonial world these misleaders are often open petty-bourgeois or bourgeois forces (nationalists, Islamists etc.). Such a struggle for class independence includes the application of the united front tactic. Revolutionaries take into account that the masses still have illusions in non-revolutionary forces. When the revolutionaries advocate calls to advance the class struggle – with the formation of action councils, mass demonstrations, occupations, strikes, general strikes etc. – they direct these calls not only to the broad masses of the workers but also to the mass organizations of the class (including their leaderships). The leadership of these organizations must be actively addressed for joint actions. Given the extreme minority status of the revolutionary forces, they must seek to participate in mass struggles led by reformists and intervene in these struggles with practical initiatives, a sharp and independent propaganda profile including explaining and warning of the treacherous role of the non-revolutionary leaderships and by putting demands on these leaderships. In doing this the revolutionaries must not give the impression that they themselves believe in the good intentions of the reformist leaders, but that they want to help the masses to make their own experience. The goal of such a united front tactic, as it was developed by the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, is to break the influence of the non-revolutionary forces amongst the masses and to rally them under the leadership of a Bolshevik party.

43. In the semi-colonial countries this approach also includes the anti-imperialist united front tactic. This tactic usually focuses on the terrain of minimum or democratic demands – like the struggle against imperialist domination, for national independence and unity, for democracy and democratic rights, against the domination of the domestic industries and markets by imperialist monopolies, etc. Revolutionaries seek to draw into such a united front not only the workers' organizations but also those of the petit-bourgeoisie (the peasantry, the small urban property holders, the professionals etc.) and even sections of the national bourgeoisie itself, where ever the latter is compelled to resist imperialism by the pressure of the masses. We have, however, no illusions that such sections of the bourgeoisie will consistently fight for any democratic goals – as the labor bureaucracy will not fight consistently for any working class demand.

44. It happens repeatedly that imperialist powers try to interfere in national or democratic liberation struggles in the semi-colonial world. While sectarian "anti-imperialists" mechanistically always make a minus where the bourgeoisie in their country makes a plus, the Marxists approach such wars and uprisings from an internationalist and independent working class perspective. We sup-

port those uprisings and civil wars which are favorable for the advance of the working class struggle, organizations and consciousness. We fight against those forces whose triumph is a direct and immediate threat for the working class struggle. For the same reason we oppose all forms of imperialist attack since the strengthening of imperialism automatically means a disadvantage for the working class. This leads necessarily to the application of a combined, dialectical approach of military tactics. In World War Two we could already see this when the Fourth International had to combine defensist and defeatist tactics. Such combined, dual military tactics also had to be applied in the Bosnia War 1992-95 or the Kosova War 1999. It is even more important today (Libya 2011, Syria) and will be so in the future. Given the increasing inner-imperialist rivalry – particularly if one takes the rise of emerging Chinese imperialism into account – we will see more and more cases where imperialist forces try to interfere and exploit civil wars in the semi-colonial world.

45. The Stalinist and ex-Stalinist parties in Europe – most of them are united in the *European Left Party* (ELP) – played a double role in imperialist wars in the past decades. On one hand they participated in the anti-war movement in order to raise their profile but also to spread pacifist ideas and to contain anti-imperialist voices. However, while many rank and file members of these parties honestly participated in these anti-war activities, the leaders of the Communist Parties had a different and cynical calculation. For them anti-war activities were manoeuvres to boost their weight in the bourgeois political establishment. Where they could enter the capitalist government, they became active supporters of the imperialist war on terror. For example, the *Parti Communiste Français* (PCF) was part of the Jospin government in France 1997-2002 which actively participated in the NATO wars against Serbia in 1999 and Afghanistan in 2001. In Italy the *Partito della Rifondazione Comunista* of Fausto Bertinotti joined the neoliberal government of Prodi and supported the Italian participation in the imperialist occupation of Afghanistan. Such is the “principled opposition” of the “Communist”

Parties against imperialist wars and occupations. It is only logical that they collaborated and praised the *Iraqi Communist Party*, which supported the US occupation of Iraq. It is also no accident that the PCF and the *Front de Gauche* of Jean-Luc Mélenchon support the French military intervention in Mali since January 2013.

46. Another example of the social-imperialist policy of the European Left Party is their position on the Zionist Apartheid state Israel. In their official statements they naturally oppose war and occupation. But they support – in classic Stalinist tradition – the existence of the colonial settler state Israel and endorse a Palestinian state only in the West Bank and Gaza alongside of the much more powerful and richer Israel. The ELP’s recognition of the Apartheid state Israel’s “right to exist” leads it to a refusal to support the Palestinian resistance. Worse, important ELP parties like the German LINKE repeatedly state that they are in “Solidarity with Israel”. They forbid their members of parliament to even support a boycott campaign against Israel or to participate in the *Gaza Freedom Flotilla*.

47. What nearly all centrists in the imperialist countries have in common is a platonic “Anti-Imperialism”. This means a social-pacifist or even social-imperialist capitulation to the pressure of their imperialist bourgeoisie transmitted via the labour bureaucracy and the left-liberal intelligentsia – covered by a formal opposition to imperialism and wars in words. They adapt to the imperialist pressure of their own bourgeoisie by failing to call and work for the defeat of their own ruling class, by failing to call and work for the victory of the oppressed people in the semi-colonial world against their own imperialism.

48. Usually, the centrist justify their failure in defending the semi-colonial people by referring to the bourgeois, reactionary or even dictatorial nature of the regime in these countries respectively the leadership of such resistance movements (e.g. Islamists). Thus they ignore that the attitude of Marxist revolutionaries towards a war must not be derived from superficial appearances on the level of the political superstructure but must instead focus on the objective character of the classes involved. *It is important but*

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*not decisive for the formulation of the correct revolutionary tactic, if a given regime has a more democratic or a more fascist character, if it is religious or secular, if it uses a more progressive rhetoric or not – what is decisive is its class character, i.e. which classes does it rest on and the which classes do its action serve and respectively strike against.*

49. The Malvinas War in 1982 between British imperialism and semi-colonial Argentina showed the inability of the major forces of centrism in Britain (like the CWI or the SWP/IST) to call for the defeat of their own ruling class and for the military victory of Argentina. Instead they either took a neutral position or even supported the “right of national self-determination” of the 1,800 British colonial settlers on the Malvinas. Similarly, these organizations took a neutral, social-pacifist position during the imperialist attack on Iraq in 1991. The CWI openly continued such a social-pacifist position since the beginning of the imperialist “War on Terror”. Their leaders explicitly rejected any support for the military struggle of the people in Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and Mali under the leadership of petty-bourgeois Islamist forces. Their political adaption to the labor bureaucracy in the imperialist heartlands even goes so far that they advertise a program of “*Socialist Zionism*”: they refuse to call for the smashing of the Israeli settler state and instead call for “*a socialist Palestine side-on-side with a socialist Israel*”.

50. The opportunism of the SWP/IST expressed itself in its combination of a *platonic anti-imperialism* (i.e. half-heartily opposing the imperialist war without calling for the victory of the military resistance of the oppressed people) with a popular-frontist alliance with the Muslim small bourgeoisie in Britain where they formed the RESPECT party during the 2000s. In Germany, their opportunism even goes so far that they have integrated themselves into the LINKE party bureaucracy. They have a number of positions in the regional and central leadership and in the parliamentary apparatus as well as two deputies in the federal parliament – Christine Buchholz and Nicole Gohlke. These deputies subordinate themselves to the pro-Zionist decisions of the LINKE leadership mentioned above and don’t even dare to vote against them inside the party leadership.

51. The CMR/IRMT group supports a formally “left-wing” version of such a centrist platonic anti-imperialism. They claim that conflicts between imperialism and semi-colonies are about an “*abstract question of territorial integrity*”. They deny that there exists a national question. They wrongly counter-pose class issues and democratic issues as if the working class has no interest in tackling the democratic questions! Based on their denial of an exploitive and oppressive relationship between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries, the CMR/IRMT justifies their refusal to defend the semi-colonial countries against imperialist attacks. Not surprisingly, they collaborate closely with such extreme right-wing centrist forces like the British AWL whose historic leader, Sean Matgamna, publicly stated that one could hardly criticise the arch-reactionary Zionist Apartheid state Israel if it would attack Iran!

52. The perspectives of the imperialist subjugation of the semi-colonial world and the class struggle have to be seen in the context of the world historic period we are in. At the beginning of the 1990s, the ruling class could cover up the susceptibility of the crisis of their system because

of the historical defeats of the proletariat: the political revolution in the Stalinist states were defeated and turned into democratic counter-revolutions and the restoration of capitalism. But already at the beginning of the 2000s, the contradictions of capitalist globalisation and imperialist war against terror led to a growing global political destabilisation. There was a pre-revolutionary development that eventually turned in the late 2000s into a new *world historic revolutionary period*. The current crisis is therefore not a coincidence, but a lawful necessity of doomed capitalism. The vulnerability of capitalism to crisis has turned into its open decline.

53. We consider the present period as one of a historic crisis of the capitalist system. It is a period where the inner contradictions of this system are posed in such a sharp way that they unavoidably provoke pre-revolutionary and revolutionary as well as counter-revolutionary situations. In other words, the aggravation of the class contradictions will pose the question of power – which class rules in the society – more often than in the past periods. The present period is therefore one in which the destruction of capitalism and the historical leap forward towards socialism is on the agenda. Even bourgeois strategists foresee an increasingly unstable world in which the economic contradictions sharpen, in which the US’s hegemony declines while imperialist China is rising and where, hence, political and military conflict increase (See e.g. US’s National Intelligence Council recent report “*Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds*”).

54. In the next decades capitalist value production and the working class will grow rather in the South than in the North. According to a recent *Hays/Oxford Economics Report* the global labor force is expected to grow by 932 million workers between 2010 and 2030. While the labor force in the old imperialist countries will stagnate, all of the labor force growth is expected to come from the South. Interestingly, China will not play a significant role in this growth but rather it will be in other countries of the South. The ten countries in which the biggest increase of workers is forecasted are: India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Congo, Philippines, Egypt and Tanzania. This means that the central weight of the working class will be shifted even more to the South than it already is. A *World Bank Report* from 2007 forecasts that by 2030 out of a global labor force of 4.144 billion, 3.684 billion (or 88.9%) will work in the South and only 459 million (or 11.1%) in the old imperialist countries. The labor aristocracy will only form a small part amongst the world working class. In 2030 about 85.6% of the global labor forces are forecasted to be unskilled. If we bear in mind that the labor aristocracy is again only a minority amongst the skilled workers, it becomes obvious that this bribed, privileged layer will be only a very small minority amongst the future proletariat. However, as long as the revolutionary workers vanguard does not successfully push back the bureaucracy and the aristocratic elements, the labor aristocracy will still have substantial influence inside the official workers movement.

55. As a result from this growth of value producers in the South, capitalist value production will shift to the South too. We do not only think about China, but also other countries like India, Brazil and those capitalist semi-colonies which Goldman Sachs calls the “*Next Eleven*”:

Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Korea, Turkey and Vietnam.

56. Given this further shift of capitalist value producers and value production to the South, the imperialist monopolies – the multinational corporations, the financial institutions etc. – will become even more dependent on appropriating a substantial share of surplus from the semi-colonial world. In other words, to stem the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, the monopolies *must* increase their super-exploitation of the South.

57. The single most important world's region which will gain in importance is Asia. This is not only for the obvious fact that it is the most populous continent but also because it is the continent with the most significant growth in capitalist value production as well as labor forces. A reflection of this development is the fact that 25% of the world's crude and half the world's merchant tonnage currently pass through the waters of the South China Sea alone. Additionally, it is the continent which saw the emergence of a new imperialist power – China. Therefore, the old imperialist powers all increasingly focus their attention to increase their influence in Asia and to counter the rise of China. Japanese imperialism will increase its military expenditures in the future in order to stop China's growth as a power and to defeat relatively independent states like North Korea.

58. The second most important region is the Middle East and North Africa. The main reasons are on one hand that this region is home to 3/5 of the world-wide oil reserves and more than 2/5 of the world-wide gas reserves. In addition 4 of the 6 biggest oil exporters are from this region. Naturally neither the region's reserves nor the imperialists desire to get access to them will change in the foreseeable future. At the same time the region is also home to a growing and young proletariat which started the Arab Revolution in spring 2011. Despite the unfinished character of the revolution and the various setbacks, the working class and the poor have already experienced their power to overthrow ruling dictatorships. This is an experience which no one can rob them and on which they will build for their future struggles.

59. Another important feature will be the rising importance of super-exploited migrant workers for the imperialist economies in Western Europe, North America and Australia. Given the stagnation of capital accumulation in these countries as well as the superannuation of the native population, the only possibility for the monopoly capitalists to get new, young and cheap labor forces are additional imports of migrants. The consequences of these developments will be a growing multinational composition of the working class in the imperialist countries and an increasing influence of non-aristocratic layers who are coming from the South and who face additional oppression. The mass demonstrations of Latino migrant workers on May Day in the USA and the prominent role of migrant workers and youth in the anti-war mobilizations in Europe are an indication of the future important and progressive role of migrant workers in the class struggle.

60. At the same time we also have to expect growing racist and social-chauvinist tendencies by bourgeois forces in the imperialist countries – including by the labor bureaucracy and their shrinking aristocratic basis inside the workers movement. These forms of chauvinism include,

of course, the open reactionary right-wing racism which praises the superiority of their own nation or of the "white race". It also includes the finely woven forms of liberal chauvinism which praises the superiority of the imperialist "democratic" aristocratic civilization and the liberal values which have to be taught to the "backward" migrants "in the interest of their own enlightenment". Islamophobia is one of the results of this bourgeois-liberal current. Increasing calls for immigration control and discrimination of migrants at the domestic labor market will be another result. The program of the Bolsheviks-Communists – struggle for complete equality and self-determination on all levels, against any privileges and aristocratism in the domestic workers movement, for revolutionary integration – will therefore become even more important in the coming period.

61. What will be the result of the developments that the capitalist world economy is in decline, the value production increasingly shifts to the South and therefore the imperialist Great Powers not only increase their rivalry but also become increasingly dependent on the capitalist production and the raw materials from the South? The only possible conclusion from this is an intensification of the tendencies we already saw in the last decade: more imperialist interventions and wars in the South as well as an increasing rivalry between the Great Powers leading to more armament. These two tendencies are related to each other. Faced with their decline each imperialist Great Power – the USA, Germany/France/EU, China, Russia and Japan – have to struggle more to increase or even just to keep their share in the world market as well as their place in the world political hierarchy. This is why they are forced to be even more aggressive against each other and against the semi-colonial countries. This is why the "war against terror" – or whatever will be the code name for imperialist aggression – will continue. It will however continue not only from the side of the USA, but increasingly also by the other Great Powers.

62. The consistent anti-imperialist struggle – supporting a military victory of the semi-colonial country and calling for the defeat of the imperialist power on the basis of a socialist program for class independence – will be of decisive importance in the coming period. In conflicts between imperialist powers – as we see it in East Asia between Japan and China (and at some point unavoidably also the U.S.) – Bolshevik-Communists will stand for revolutionary defeatism on both sides, i.e. call for the defeat of both sides and for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war. This will be probably be very contentious in the workers movement since many Stalinist, Bolivarians and centrists look to imperialist China as a progressive alternative to Western imperialism and will support it in such conflicts.

63. Given the dramatic decline of the USA, the rise of China (and to a certain degree Russia) and the strong will (and lesser unified ability) of the European Union to play a growing global role, there will be more conflicts and wars in the semi-colonial world where Great Powers support – veiled or openly – different sides. While such conflicts can degenerate into proxy wars, this will often not be the case. The revolutionary civil wars of the Libyan and Syrian popular masses since 2011 against reactionary dictatorships are examples of conflicts where imperialist powers sup-



ported different sides (or even had a limited military intervention like in Libya 2011). This, however, does not rob the rebellions of their character as authentic democratic revolutions. It will be an important task for revolutionaries to analyze each such conflict concretely and intervene with a correct revolutionary tactic. The dual military tactic in cases of limited imperialist interventions – where revolutionaries continue to support the progressive side in a given war but oppose sharply the intervention of imperialist powers on their side – will be an important instrument in such cases.

64. It is however necessary to fully understand the contradictory nature of these developments. The world capitalist production's shift to the South forces the imperialists to increase their reactionary drive to subjugate the semi-colonial countries. This is why we can speak about a *tendency towards colonialization*. In order to stabilize economic exploitation in a period of growing instability, the imperialists must enforce their control over the semi-colonies via political and military means. They must put the gun to the heads of the semi-colonies. (e.g. the US occupation wars in Afghanistan and Iraq). However, at the same time there is also another, contrary, tendency: The combination of the shift of the capitalist production to the South and the increasing rivalry between the Great Powers has the effect that they allow the bourgeoisie in the semi-colonial countries a certain room to maneuver. The bourgeoisie of a given semi-colonial country can look for support from Great Power B if Great Power A puts more pressure on it. We have already seen in the past years that various Latin American and African countries have looked increasingly for trade agreements and foreign direct investments from China to counter the pressure from the USA. These two tendencies might look to some as a formal contradiction. But in reality it is a dialectical contradiction, born out of the essence of the contradictions in imperialist capitalism itself. They are just two sides of the same coin. The imperialists are forced – because of the economic shift to the South and the increasing rivalry between themselves – to increase their attempts for more subjugation of the semi-colonies. But the same shift leads to a contrary dynamic – more room to maneuver for the semi-colonial bourgeoisie. These contradictory tendencies will lead towards more zigzags, sharp turns and massive instability in the relationship between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries.

65. We have outlined that the massive amount of accumulated capital, the development of the productive forces, etc. requires a world market, which is the reason for globalization. A retreat to relative isolation – as there was such a tendency amongst the US ruling class in the 1920s and 1930 – is impossible today. However, the same process of globalization which creates improved conditions for profits and extra-profit also creates at the same time enormous contradictions and crisis. Furthermore, capitalism rests – and will rest as long as it exists – on national states. Without them the capitalist ruling classes can neither organise their domestic basis for exploitation nor possess a strong arm for support on the world market. The increasing rivalry between the Great Powers is undermining this globalization. The monopolies need a market as big as possible. But at the same time they need absolute dominance, unrestricted access for themselves but maxi-

mum possible restriction for their competitors. As a result there will be a tendency towards forms of protectionism and regionalisation. Each Great Power will try to form a regional bloc around it and restrict access for the other Powers. By definition, this must result in numerous conflicts and eventual wars.

66. In the semi-colonial world, these global developments could lead to situations where the ruling class of a given semi-colonial country restricts the imports or foreign investment from this or that imperialist country. The nationalization of companies of the Spanish oil multinational corporation Repsol in Argentina under the bourgeois Peronist government of Argentine President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner in 2012 is an example for this. Revolutionary Marxists differentiate between the class character of imperialist and semi-colonial countries and hence between the imperialist and the semi-colonial bourgeoisie. This has important consequences for Marxists in the case of conflicts including wars between the two, as we have demonstrated. Such a differentiation is therefore also necessary in the case of protectionist measures. Bolshevik-Communists strongly oppose any form of protectionist measures (including for migrant labor forces!) by the imperialist ruling class. This is particularly true for the massive import restrictions for goods from semi-colonial countries (e.g. in the agricultural sector). On the other hand, we support import control of commodities from and nationalization of imperialist companies by the ruling class of semi-colonial countries. Of course, such a support by the workers movement must be critical for two reasons: first the semi-colonial bourgeoisie will try to utilize such steps as much as possible for their own interests and not for the working class. And, secondly, we strongly reject the bourgeois-reformist illusions that a capitalist semi-colonial country could prosper for any longer period outside of the world market.

67. Nevertheless we support such steps because, first, they weaken the main enemy of the oppressed people – the imperialist powers. This in turn is not only important for the proletariat in the South, but also for the workers in the imperialist countries themselves. And, secondly, they imply the potential for struggles against imperialism which the working class in the semi-colonies can utilize to strengthen its independent organizations, to strengthen its links with allied petty-bourgeois classes and layers and, finally, to turn in a better, more powerful position against its own domestic bourgeoisie.

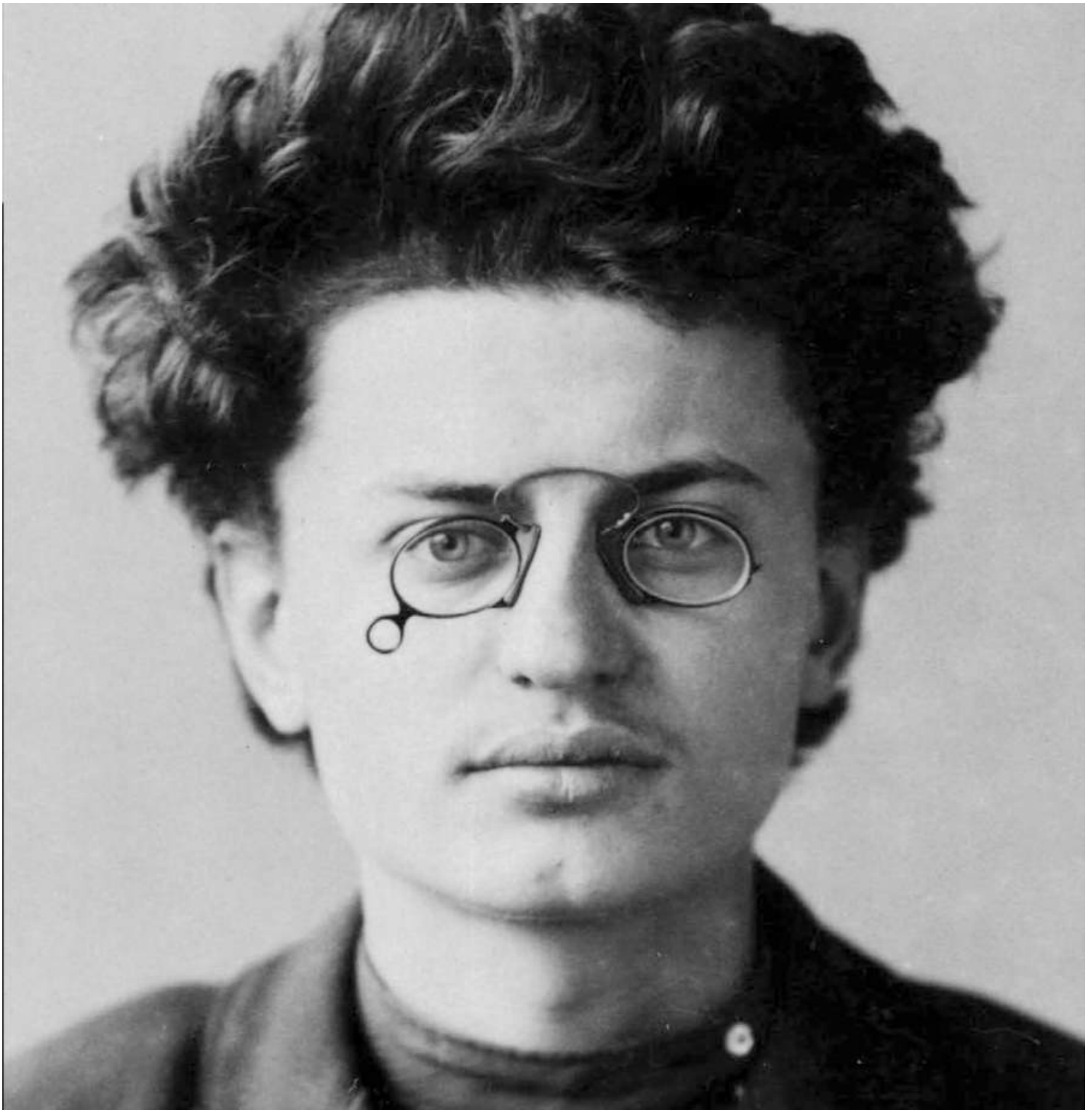
68. The decline of the world economy, the sharp and abrupt changes, the political and military crisis, etc. – all this will unavoidably provoke massive class struggles on a global scale. However, these struggles can only lead to a lasting solution if they culminate in a world-wide socialist revolution. The working class will learn in the coming struggles and gain massive experience. However, there are huge obstacles for the working class struggle. The biggest obstacles of all are the corrupt labor bureaucracies, the reactionary clerical leaders and the bourgeois-populist parties. In addition to this the vanguard of the working class is faced with various forms of revisionist concepts which sound revolutionary but, in reality, are just centrist distortions of authentic Marxism. In this context, the application of the united front tactic, including the anti-imperialist united front tactic, towards these manifold bourgeois and

petty-bourgeois leaderships will be of central importance in order to break the workers away from these misleaderships.

69. The working class can not arrive spontaneously at a revolutionary consciousness. To transmit the revolutionary program into the working class and to fight against the treacherous leaderships, a communist organization is the necessary pre-condition. Such a communist combat organization is the collective of revolutionary workers and those coming from other classes, but who break with their class origins and dedicate themselves completely to the struggle for working class liberation. The RCIT is dedicated to build a revolutionary International which understands the programmatic and practical lessons of the new historic period. Such a new International must fight for

a Transitional Program which combines daily economic demands and the issues of democratic and national liberation with the strategy for working class power in the enterprises and the state.

70. The RCIT summarized the lessons of the class struggles and the political developments in the past decades in its programme "*The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto*". Based on this program we are fighting for the formation of a revolutionary *Fifth Workers International*. We know that success or failure to build such a revolutionary combat party will decide the fate of humanity. We want to fight together for this goal with all revolutionary-minded workers and activists. Join us in this struggle! Join the RCIT! ■



Leon Trotsky, Leader of the Russian Revolution and Founder of the Fourth International (Source: <http://www.walkingbutterfly.com/wp-content>)



## Announcement of a new Book from the RCIT

# Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South

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

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

In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He shows that the relationship between the small minority of rich capitalist countries and the huge majority of mankind living in the semi-colonial world forms one of the most important elements of the imperialist world system we are living in. *The Great Robbery of the South* shows that the past decades have been a complete confirmation of the validity of Lenin's theory of imperialism and its programmatic conclusions.

*The Great Robbery of the South* demonstrates the important changes in the relationship between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries. Using comprehensive material (including 139 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that never before has such a big share of the world capitalist value been produced in the South. Never before have the imperialist monopolies been so dependent on the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world. Never before has migrant labor from the semi-colonial world played such a significant role for the capitalist value production in the imperialist countries. Never before has the huge majority of the world working class lived in the South – outside of the old imperialist metropolises.

### The Author

Michael Pröbsting is a revolutionary activist since 30 years. He is the author of many articles and pamphlets in German and English language. He published books or contributed to books on *Rosa Luxemburg* (1999), on the *World Economy* (2008), on *Migration* (2010) and the *Arab Revolution* (2011). He is the *International Secretary* of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*.

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.

You can view more details of the book as well as excerpts at the special website which we have created for this book:

**[www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net](http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net)**

You can order the book via

\* our contact address [rcit@thecommunists.net](mailto:rcit@thecommunists.net),

\* online via the RCIT's website [www.thecommunists.net](http://www.thecommunists.net)

\* the special website for the book

**Price:** 15 Euro / 20 US-Dollars / 13 British Pound (plus delivery charges) ■

# 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*



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

## Announcement of a new Book from the RCIT

# Michael Pröbsting: Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?

## The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism

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

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

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

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

*Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* examines these developments from the viewpoint of Marxist theory, the nature of the

ruling bureaucracy in Stalinist states, and the process of restoration of capitalism under such regimes.

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

You can view more details of the book as well as excerpts at the RCIT website:

[www.thecommunists.net/theory/new-book-on-cuba](http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/new-book-on-cuba)

You can order the book via

\* our contact address [rcit@thecommunists.net](mailto:rcit@thecommunists.net),

\* online via the RCIT's website [www.thecommunists.net](http://www.thecommunists.net)

\* the special website for the book

**Price:** 8 Euro / 12 US-Dollars / 7 British Pound  
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Michael Pröbsting is a revolutionary activist since 30 years. He is the author of many articles and pamphlets in German and English language. He published books or contributed to books on *Rosa Luxemburg* (1999), on the *World Economy* (2008), on *Migration* (2010) and the *Arab*

*Revolution* (2011). His latest book, *The Great Robbery of the South* (published in 2013), analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He is the *International Secretary* of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*.

# Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?

*The Road from  
the Revolution to the  
Restoration of Capitalism*



By Michael Pröbsting

Published by the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency*



# Revolutionary Communist International Tendency:

## What does the RCIT stand for?

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

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

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

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

This revolution must be carried out and lead by the working class, for she is the only class that has nothing to lose but their chains.

The revolution can not proceed peacefully because never before has a ruling class voluntarily surrendered their power. The road to liberation includes necessarily the armed rebellion and civil war against the capitalists.

The RCIT is fighting for the establishment of workers' and peasant republics, where the oppressed organize themselves in rank and file meetings in factories, neighbourhoods and schools – in councils. These councils elect and control the government and all other authorities and can always replace them.

Real socialism and communism has nothing to do with the so-called "real existing socialism" in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba or Eastern Europe. In these countries, a bureaucracy dominated and oppressed the proletariat.

The RCIT supports all efforts to improve the living conditions of workers and the oppressed. We combine this with a perspective of the overthrow of capitalism.

We work inside the trade unions and advocate class struggle, socialism and workers' democracy. But trade unions and social democracy are controlled by a bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is a layer which is connected with the state and capital via jobs and privileges. It is far from the interests and living circumstances of the members. This bureaucracy's basis rests mainly on the top, privileged layers of the working class - the workers' aristocracy. The struggle for the liberation of the working class must be based on the broad mass of the proletariat rather than their upper strata.

The RCIT strives for unity in action with other organizations. However, we are aware that the policy of social democracy and the pseudo-revolutionary groups is dangerous and they ultimately represent an obstacle to the

emancipation of the working class.

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

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

In a war between imperialist states we take a revolutionary defeatist position, i.e. we don't support neither side and advocate the transformation of the war into a civil war against the ruling class. In a war between an imperialist power (or its stooge) and a semi-colonial country we stand for the defeat of the former and the victory of the oppressed country.

The struggle against national and social oppression (women, youth, sexual minorities etc.) must be lead by the working class. We fight for revolutionary movements of the oppressed (women, youth, migrants etc.) based on the working class. We oppose the leadership of petty-bourgeois forces (feminism, nationalism, Islamism etc.) and strive to replace them by a revolutionary communist leadership.

Only with a revolutionary party fighting as its leadership can the working class win. The construction of such a party and the conduct of a successful revolution as it was demonstrated by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in Russia are a model for the revolutionary parties and revolutions also in the 21 Century.

For new, revolutionary workers' parties in all countries!  
For a 5<sup>th</sup> Workers International on a revolutionary basis!  
Join the RCIT!

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







