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WORKERS AND OPPRESSED UNITE!

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Learning the Lessons from Defeats to prepare for Victories!

The October issue of the RCIT's journal *Revolutionary Communism (RevCom)* has two main points. One is the *Open Letter on the Arab Revolution* which the RCIT has issued recently. The second one is the *Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation* which the RCIT's international leadership has discussed and adopted in early September. In fact these documents are related to each other. As we analyze in our *Theses*, the Arab Revolution remains the key to the world situation. Furthermore the democratic revolution, which started in December 2010 / January 2011 is facing enormous dangers after the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Egypt. The reactionary plot by the imperialist Great Powers – in particularly the USA and Russia – to contain and liquidate the Syrian Revolution pose an additional threat for the Arab Revolution. (See on this the RCIT's resolution on the imperialist Geneva Accord in this issue.)

These developments underline once more the terrible crisis of leadership. The lack of any sizeable authentic revolutionary organization in the Arab world leaves the field open for petty-bourgeois democratic forces as well as Islamists to derail the revolutionary struggle. The bankruptcy of the Morsi government in Egypt delivered the Mubarakist elite the pretext for its 3rd July coup.

However the Arab Revolution is continuing. We refuse any suggestion like various demoralized petty-bourgeois intellectuals that the revolutionary process in the Arab world has come to an end. But to defeat the massive dangers for the revolution, the working class needs a program, a plan to struggle, and above all revolutionary workers parties. All this must be achieved and built in time.

This is not only an urgent task for the Arab countries itself but for the international workers movement as a whole. The Arab Revolution is not an isolated phenomena but only the most advanced sector of the international class struggle which is characteristic for the new revolutionary historic period opening in 2008. The political explosions which we saw in the recent past in Brazil, Turkey, Greece and other countries are also testifying our assessment.

Furthermore the fate of the Arab Revolution is highly dependent on the development of the international class struggle. The united support of the imperialist Great Powers for General Al-Sisi as well as the Geneva Accord demonstrated how important international politics is to hammer blows against the struggle of the workers and oppressed in North Africa and Middle East. On the other side, revolutionary developments of the class struggle in other parts of the world as well as a militant international solidarity movement with the Syrian and Egypt Revolution can have highly accelerating effects for the Arab Revolution.

However, to have any lasting and decisive impact the class struggle must be transformed from spontaneous outbursts and uprisings or ones which are led and controlled by petty-bourgeois or bourgeois forces, the workers vanguard must organize itself in revolutionary parties and lead the masses of the workers and oppressed.

The precondition for this however is first the elaboration of the correct programmatic lessons of the experiences of the past victories and defeats. Only on such a solid basis is it possible to organize the vanguard of the workers and oppressed in revolutionary parties.

The RCIT understands its mission to build a programmatic and organizational international centre which shall support the workers vanguard to lead the working class to victory.

This is why we direct our *Open Letter on the Arab Revolution* to all revolutionary organizations and activists both in the Arab world as well as internationally.

Any organization – be it nationally or internationally – which claims to serve the working class liberation struggle must be measured by its approach towards the most important international class struggle events. The Russian Left Opposition in the 1920s, led by Leon Trotsky, was centrally formed not only on "Russian issues" but also international issues like the failed revolution in Germany 1923, Britain 1926 and the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee as well as the Chinese Revolution 1927. In addition it emphasised clarity on fundamental programmatic and theoretical issues (Socialism in One Country, Permanent Revolution etc.). Similarly we need clarity on the most important issues of the class struggle today. The revolutionary programmatic line exists international or not at all. Trotsky once remarked aptly: "*Marxist policies 'in one country' are as impossible as the construction of a socialist society 'in one country'.*" (Leon Trotsky: *Unifying the Left Opposition* (1930); in: *Writings 1930*, p. 99)

This is why *Revolutionary Communism* analyzes also other important events in the international liberation struggle of the workers and oppressed. In this issue we publish two reports from our fraternal group in Brazil *El Mundo Socialista* about the recent upswing of strikes.

We also publish two articles from Yossi Schwartz about the simmering unrest in Palestine against the Zionist occupation.

We also elaborate the revolutionary tactics in Greece after the villainous murder of the antifascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas by Nazi thugs of Golden Dawn. In addition we report about a public meeting on Greece where Nina Gunić, a leading member of the RCIT, held a speech on the perspectives of the class struggle. And we reprint a letter of solidarity with the Greek Trotskyist leader Michael-Matsas.

In another article Nina Gunić shows the criminal policy of TEPCO and the Japanese government when faced with the nuclear catastrophe in Fukushima.

Our recently published book *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* in which the author, Michael Pröbsting, analysis the capitalist restoration implemented by the Castro bureaucracy, has caused interest amongst a number of organizations and activists. We report about a public debate on the book which took place in early September in Vienna (Austria)

We complete this *RevCom* issue with large extracts from a highly interesting pamphlet of Trotsky – *The Spanish Revolution and the Dangers threatening it* – in which he elaborates on the lessons of the unfinished democratic revolution in Spain in 1931. We consider Trotsky thoughts useful for an understanding of the current developments in the Arab Revolution.

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

The Arab Revolution is a central touchstone for socialists!

Open Letter to All Revolutionary Organizations and Activists

Issued by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 4.10.2013

The Arab Revolution is the sharpest political expression of the deep social contradictions inherent to the new historic revolutionary period that began in 2008. The fundamental tendencies inherent to capitalism – decay and collapse – have accelerated. The world economy is infected by the highly instable temperature curve of financial bubbles, debt traps, crises of over-production whose fundamental cause are the crisis of capitalist over-accumulation and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. Social crises, mass unemployment, and the destruction of the environment are consequently accelerating. Concomitant with these developments, are the end of the absolute hegemony of US imperialism and the emergence of new imperialist powers – in particular China – as well as the increasing inner-imperialist rivalry. Against this background, the sentiment of unrest and rebellion amongst the workers, poor, as well as the middle class is spreading throughout the world.

It is because of these fundamental historic tendencies that the RCIT has insisted from the beginning of this historic period that this era bears a fundamentally revolutionary character which embodies enormous potentials for revolutionary uprisings as well as of counter-revolutionary dangers.

The Arab Revolution is the first massive link which broke in the chain of the imperialist world order. A number of bourgeois dictatorships which were either direct vassals of US imperialism (Ben Ali, Mubarak, Saleh) or Russian imperialism (Syria) or which had a privileged position in the capitalist world economy (i.e. Gaddafi's regime in Libya) faced spontaneous popular uprisings beginning in early 2011. Some of these have been toppled. The ends of others are in the balance.

The Arab Revolution remains the focal point of the world situation until today. It has weakened the position of the small imperialist power Israel and has thereby improved the conditions for the Palestinian liberation struggle. This struggle must be transformed into a permanent revolution to smash the Israeli state and to replace it with a *democratic, Palestinian, multinational and socialist Workers and Fal-lahin Republic*.

However, the heroic liberation struggles of the workers, peasants, and urban poor stand at a crossroads. In Egypt the counter-revolution gained an important victory when the army command under General Al-Sisi organized a military coup d'état on July 3 and slaughtered thousands of people protesting against the new dictatorship. The Syrian Revolution is also endangered by the conspiracy of the imperialist powers, the USA and Russia. The Great Powers seek to liquidate the Syrian Revolution as an important component of the Arab Revolution. Their aim is to impose a negotiated transition of power to another bourgeois reactionary regime – based on the same bloody Baathist state apparatus (probably without the Assad clan), plus some co-opted lackeys of the rebel leaderships, and the

dissolution of the numerous popular committees and the disarmament of the militias.

To defeat these dangers, the organizations of the working class and the oppressed around the world must rally to support the Arab Revolution. However, the preconditions for the victorious seizure of power by the workers and peasant are a correct understanding of the tasks and dangers of the revolution and – most importantly – the formation of authentic revolutionary parties nationally and internationally.

The Arab Revolution, as the current key issue of the world situation, is the central touchstone for socialists. Where they stand on the Arab Revolution, which side of the barricades they choose, which tactics they apply – these show the true color of all forces who claim to be for the interests of the working class. Unfortunately, many so-called “socialists” have either joined the camp of counter-revolution or prefer to take a neutral stand in these class struggles. And amongst those socialists who find themselves in the camp of the workers and oppressed, many either adapt opportunistically to bourgeois or petty-bourgeois forces or sink into confusion and sectarianism.

It is of paramount importance that revolutionaries draw the correct lessons from the victories and defeats of the Arab Revolution and unite their forces on the basis of the necessary programmatic conclusions in order to advance their unity with the masses in struggle. The RCIT calls on all revolutionary organizations and activists in the Arab countries, as well as worldwide, to study the lessons of the Arab revolution, and to enter into a discussion about them with us, in order to examine the possibility of our joining forces and to advance the formation of a strong international revolutionary communist organization.

What are the main lessons of the Arab Revolution?

The RCIT and its sections have analyzed the Arab Revolution attentively from its beginning, have derived from these analyses programmatic conclusions, and have participated wherever possible in solidarity activities. We have documented this in numerous statements, studies, and articles (see the Appendix to this document). Here we want to elaborate what we consider as the most important lessons and to highlight which political positions constitute the main obstacles for the workers' movement to play a progressive role in the class struggle.

A precondition for socialists to play a progressive role in the class struggle is the ability to recognize a revolution

The Arab Revolution has demonstrated that most so-called socialists – who may like to talk a lot about “revolutions” – are incapable of recognizing one when it is actually taking place. We maintain that the events in the Arab world since

early 2011 reflect a *revolutionary process*. After decades of capitalist dictatorships, the popular masses are rising up against their reactionary rulers and are struggling for freedom, bread, and justice. They have already overthrown several dictators (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen), or are still trying to achieve this (Syria, Bahrain, Sudan). Thus, the Arab Revolution is in the stage of an *unfinished democratic revolution*. It will inevitably be defeated if the working class does not build a revolutionary leadership in time, thereby completing the democratic revolution by transforming it into a socialist revolution, and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Those who deny the profoundly revolutionary character of this process because of the backward leaderships of the masses or because of the insufficient political consciousness of the masses, only demonstrate that they understand neither revolutions nor history. Revolutions in history have usually started with weak, backward leaderships and insufficient consciousness of the masses (e.g. France 1789, Europe 1848, Russia 1905 and 1917, China 1925-27 and 1949, Spain 1931-39, Algeria 1954-62, Iran and Nicaragua 1979). Many times – due to a lack of revolutionary leadership – the masses were unable to overcome these weaknesses and the revolutions were crushed. This, however, does not change the character of these historic events as revolutions. To develop a program and fight for the correct tactics, revolutionaries have first to recognize the character, potential, and corresponding tasks of the Arab Revolution. As long as they deny or downplay its potential, they are doomed to confuse the face of the revolution with its back.

A precondition for socialists to play a progressive role in the class struggle is the ability to distinguish between revolutions from counter-revolutions

An abstract praising of “Marxism” has no meaning if it does not correspond with a correct program examined in light of both historical precedents and the actual experience of the class struggle. It is, therefore, not surprising that huge segments of the Stalinists as well as of pseudo-Trotskyist and Maoist/Hoxahist centrism support the reactionary Assad dictatorship in Syria in the civil war against the uprising masses – either by openly praising the regime (as have done both *Syrian CP's*, the *Zionist CP* in Israel, the *Greek KKE*, as well as many other *CP's*, *DHKP/C* and other Maoist/Hoxaist groups in Turkey, the *WWP* and *PSL* in the USA, etc.) or by giving it “critical (or not so critical) support” (e.g. *Socialist Action*, *RCG*, *Socialist Fight* in Britain).

They justify their support for the counter-revolution by claiming that the Syrian rebels are “CIA-sponsored Al-Qaida terrorists.” They can only make such claims because they have closed their eyes to reality and have stopped thinking. In fact, these regime backers are supporting the camp which actually receives the preponderance of imperialist support – i.e. the Assad regime is strongly propped up by money and weapons supplied by Russian (and Chinese) imperialism. These Assad supporters praise the regime’s terror against the people and the rebels despite the fact that the latter hardly get any military aid from the West. With their blindness to reality, they manage to slander the Syrian Revolution because they ignore its concrete historic development as a peaceful mass uprising which was

transformed – after numerous killings by Assad’s butchers – into an armed popular rebellion. They manage to spread such nonsense because they fantasize that US imperialism’s world-wide war against the Islamist rebels – in Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia, Pakistan, and in Syria (Jabhat al-Nusra) – is simply a mysterious conspiracy, and that the Islamist rebels are in fact CIA agents. They rave that the rebels are “tools of US imperialism” despite the fact that the majority of rebels have publicly denounced the pro-US leadership of the SNC/FSA. In short they replace dialectical materialism with idealistic conspiracy-theory.

Similarly, a number of so-called “Marxist” parties have hailed the July 3 military coup of the Mubarakist army command as “the Second Revolution” or an “advance of the revolution” (this, for example, is the position of the CP of Egypt as well as of Israel, the ex-Stalinist social-democratized *European Left Party*, the *Revolutionary Socialists* Egypt and their British sister group *SWP*, as well as the other Clif-fite groups like the *ISO(US)* or the *IS-Network* in Britain, the *IMT* of Alan Woods, the *Morenoite LIT-CI*, the *LCC*). Some of these “Marxist” pro-coup organizations, (for example, various Communist Parties and the *IMT*), even supported the mass killings by the army of Muslim Brotherhood supporters occupying squares, and denounced the Islamist as “fascists”, “terrorists” or “the counter-revolutionary Vendée”. The *European Left Party* appeals to the imperialist powers USA, EU, and Russia to organize “Geneva-2” negotiations between the Assad regime and the rebels in order to disarm the rebels and to impose a transfer of power to another bourgeois regime.

Other leftist forces take a neutral “Third Camp” position in the struggles against the bourgeois dictatorship in Egypt and Syria. Doing so, they refuse to distinguish the progressive and the reactionary camp, the camp of the popular struggle for democracy and the camp of the ruling class’ reactionary dictatorship. Such a failure to recognize which camps’ victory improves the chances for an advance of the revolution and which camps’ victory means the physical smashing of the revolution – such an inability is nothing but a betrayal of the working class and peasants struggle. Examples for such a cowardly “Third Campist” position in Syria are the Hoxahist *CIPOML* (which includes the *PCOT/PT* in Tunisia), Woods’ *IMT*, the *CWI* or the *CoReP*. Most of them, as well as the Clif-fite groups, also take – after the bloody massacres by the army command sobered their initial enthusiasm for the military coup – a similar “Third Campist” stand in Egypt today.

In defense of such a shameful refusal to support the democratic struggle against the reactionary dictatorships of Al-Sisi and Assad respectively, these groups usually point to the bourgeois and reactionary character of the leading forces of these struggles (e.g. the Muslim Brotherhood, Jabhat al-Nusra, pro-Western bourgeois liberals). Despite a rich history of class struggle, the leaderships of these groups have still failed to understand that Marxists don’t judge the character of a revolution primarily by the policy of its current leadership, but by its objective social character, the class forces involved, and consequently the potential of the revolution. This is why Marx and Engels defended the deeply religious-influenced struggles of the Irish and the Polish people against their colonial oppressors; why Lenin and the Bolsheviks defended the imperialist, “democratic” regime of Kerensky against General Kornilov’s coup

d'état in 1917; why the Communist International defended numerous national liberation struggles despite their Islamist or tribal leadership as well as, for example, it called to side with the bourgeois regime of Stambuliski in Bulgaria against the coup d'état in 1923; or why Trotsky called revolutionaries to critically support the "*decadent bourgeois democracy*" of the anti-working class Popular Front regime in Spain against General Franco in 1936-39.

All these allegedly Marxist supporters of Assad and the Egyptian counter-revolutionary junta fail to understand that the necessary political struggle against the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois secular and religious leaderships can *only* be successful if revolutionaries join the camp of revolutionary mass struggle and civil war. They must prove themselves as the foremost fighters against the reactionary dictatorship and criticize the existing mid-leaderships for their failure to deploy a successful strategy for victory. Only by joining the camp of the revolution and fighting inside it against the wrong leaderships, can revolutionaries win the trust of the masses and win them for an alternative, socialist program for workers' power.

Fighting Imperialism consistently or Siding with the Counterrevolution in the name of "Anti-Imperialism"?

Those who side with the Assad dictatorship justify this by referring to US imperialism's support for the Syrian rebels. They remain completely silent – and they must, due to lack of arguments – about the massive military support for Assad by Russian imperialism. Furthermore, they shut their eyes to the fact that, until now, Western imperialism has by-and-large only supported the rebels rhetorically. As a result, the rebels hardly have any modern weaponry. These "Marxist" supporters of Assad simply ignore the fact that the Western and Eastern imperialist powers are simply competing for influence in Syria and throughout the entire region, and at the same time that both imperialist camps have an overriding interest in containing and liquidating the Arab Revolution. (note how all imperialist powers cheered on the Egypt coup!)

To draw two historical analogies, based on the same criteria they use to support Assad, such "Marxists" would have had to drop their support for Republican Spain in 1936-39 against Franco fascism or for the Chinese nationalists against Japan 1939-45 just because Western imperialists gave limited support to the progressive forces in these conflicts. Such "Marxists" are obviously unable to cope with so many contradictions in real life politics, so they drop dialectical thinking and replace it with a simple black and white view of the world; worse still, they cannot even distinguish between black and white.

The RCIT considers it the duty of all socialists to oppose any military attack of US and EU imperialism on Syria. In the event of such a military attack, we will call for the defeat of the imperialist aggressors. We advocate that workers boycott any material support – mostly by Russia and Iran – for the Assad dictatorship. We call for building an international solidarity movement with rallies supporting and providing material assistance – medicine, clothing, arms etc. – to the Syrian Revolution whose success is central for shattering the imperialist order in the Middle East. This is the only possible line of authentic anti-imperialism!

To Break the Masses away from their (Petty-)Bourgeois Leadership, the Application of the United Front Tactic and the Critique of the Misleaderships are indispensable tools for revolutionaries. Equally Socialists must reject the Reformist Policy of the Popular-Front with (Petty-)Bourgeois Parties.

To advance the democratic revolution, the masses must build their independent organs of struggle – popular committees, armed militias under control of the workers and peasants, etc. This is the best way to form a leadership from within their own ranks and to lay the basis for a future break with their present-day leaderships – be it bourgeois or petty-bourgeois Islamists or pro-imperialist liberals. The task of a revolutionary party is to help the masses in the formation of such independent organs of struggle, and to advance their break with the treacherous leaderships.

However such a strategy cannot be implemented by simply calling the masses to break with the Islamists, Liberals, etc. Revolutionaries *must* start by joining the struggles of the masses as they take place today, despite the current backward consciousness of the masses and regardless of the non-revolutionary leadership they now follow. Revolutionaries must defend the masses against its direct enemies – like the bloody regimes of Assad or Al-Sisi – not only in abstract but by concretely defending and joining the struggles, even if they take place under a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois leadership. In short, revolutionaries have to apply the united front tactic. This means to call organizations of the workers and oppressed – even if they are reformist, Islamist, or liberal – for joint actions, practical coordination, popular committees, etc. without giving them any political support. Of course, revolutionaries should limit such a united front only to the practical struggle against the reactionary dictatorship and for the defense of democratic rights.

The central aim of adopting this united front tactic is to fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers who for now still follow the non-revolutionary leaderships. To this end, revolutionaries should direct the proposal to form a united front in particular to the rank and file of the non-revolutionary parties and organizations, but also to their official leadership. However, the common struggle must never lead revolutionaries to give up the necessary criticism of the insufficient policy of the petty bourgeois and bourgeois leaderships, and in particular to criticize them sharply when they betray a struggle.

However, it is precisely this combination of a concrete united front policy and the necessary critique of the existing non-revolutionary leaderships which is lacking amongst most so-called Marxists. In Egypt, many condemned the bloody massacre of the army command of thousands of demonstrators on August 14 and later. But they stubbornly refuse to draw the only possible consequence – to defend and, if possible, join the square occupations in Rabaa Al-Adawiya and in al-Nahda Square and the protest marches in Egypt against the dictatorship even when these demonstrations are led by the Muslim Brotherhood as the biggest mass organization in the country. Similarly, revolutionaries must side with the Syrian Revolution *not in abstract*, but also with its most concrete expression – the numerous rebel militias – which are fighting against the murderous

Assad army, and which are overwhelmingly led by secular or religious (petty-)bourgeois forces.

Instead various “Marxists” pursue a popular front policy, i.e. political alliances with (petty-)bourgeois forces. For example, the Egypt *Revolutionary Socialists* – praised by all groups in the Cliffite tradition – called to vote for Morsi in 2012; then they supported the bourgeois *National Salvation Front* in late 2012; then they praised the military coup on July 3; and now they have formed yet another popular front (called “*Revolution Path Front*”) with the petty-bourgeois 6th April Movement (which hailed the July 3 coup too) and the bourgeois *Strong Egypt Party* of the former Muslim Brotherhood leader and presidential candidate, Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh. So, in effect, the continually blindfolded and confused *Revolutionary Socialists* today constitute a small Popular Front instead of defending in practical actions the mass demonstrations – led by the Muslim Brotherhood – against the military dictatorship.

Amongst those who correctly support the Syrian rebels against Assad’s army, many unfortunately don’t combine this support with the necessary denunciation of (petty-)bourgeois leaderships. To be more precise, while they light-heartedly condemn the Islamist rebels, they flinch from attacking the pro-Western, bourgeois leadership of the SNC and FSA. (See, for example, the joint statement from August 30, 2013 of the British groups *Socialist Resistance* (section to the Mandelite “Fourth International”), *IS-Network*, *Anti-Capitalist Initiative* and *Workers Power/League for the Fifth International*).

Authentic revolutionaries must combine the support for the liberation struggle of the workers and peasants – despite its non-revolutionary leadership – with the necessary criticism against these forces. This is the only path to promote the socialist perspective of class independence.

To Conclude the Democratic Revolution, the Working Class – in alliance with the Peasants and the Urban Poor – must Take Power and Build the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The Arab Revolution is currently at the stage of an *unfinished democratic revolution*. (As such it bears some similarities with the Spanish Revolution between 1931-39) This means that, in the present situation, the struggle against the dictatorships, against the powerful repressive apparatuses, against the suppression of democratic rights, against imperialist interference and dependency, for a new constitution, against poverty, etc. are in the forefront. Equally, without exception, the masses are led by bourgeois or petty-bourgeois pro-capitalist forces.

But in order to win, i.e. in order to secure a consistently democratic solution, as Trotsky wrote, the “*democratic revolution must grow over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a permanent revolution*” This means that the democratic revolution can only succeed if it overthrows the ruling capitalist class and breaks with all imperialist powers (Western and Eastern). In other words, the working class – in alliance with the peasants and the urban poor – must take power, smash the capitalist state machinery, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The counter-revolution of July 3 in Egypt is a powerful verification of this basic truth of Marxism: If the working class does not smash the capitalist state machinery in time, it will get smashed by this Leviathan. Of course, we don’t confuse the military dictatorship with fascism, and are fully aware that the class struggle continues. Sooner or later the workers and poor will regain their combative strength. Nevertheless, the successful coup d’état of General Al-Sisi was an important setback for the Egypt Revolution.

The RCIT renounces any program which suggests that the



Source: www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/n_africa_mid_east_pol_2009.jpg

struggle for democracy can be won in a separate stage, without the concomitant conquering of power by the working class. Such reformist confusion can only result in an open or hidden popular front policy, i.e. the reactionary subordination of the working class under the bourgeoisie. (See, for example, the respective reactionary support of the Stalinists in Egypt and Syria for the Al-Sisi's and Assad's dictatorships in the name of "democracy," or the popular-frontist coalitions of the Hoxahist PCOT/PT in Tunisia, or of the Cliffite RS in Egypt.) In fact, those who want to fight for democracy without linking it to working class power can easily drift into siding with the *anti-democratic, pro-imperialist camp*.

Another serious deviation is the sectarian renunciation of the democratic revolution by *replacing* – instead of combining – the program of the democratic revolution with the program of the socialist revolution. Arguments like "*we don't raise democratic demands like the Constituent Assembly because it is utopian to believe it can be implemented without workers' government*" (WIVP South Africa) or "*the masses have already overcome their bourgeois-democratic illusions*" (LCC) either betray an economist's ignorance of the democratic part of the *Transitional Program* or are simply wishful thinking divorced from reality. As long as the masses prove with their deeds that they desire democracy and are far away from a socialist consciousness, authentic revolutionaries must actively advocate the democratic program (like freedom of assembly, press, Revolutionary Constituent Assembly, etc.) and combine it with the perspective for a workers and peasant government.

Understanding the Inner-Imperialist Rivalry between the Great Powers US, EU, Russia and China is Key to understand the current World Situation

The RCIT has explained in the last years that the emergence of China as a new imperialist power is a major factor in understanding the accelerated decline of the US and the increasing rivalry and conflicts in world politics. The growing influence of the Eastern imperialist powers, China and Russia, play an important role in shaping the political and economic conditions not only in Africa, Central Asia, and Latin America but also in the Middle East. Assad's dictatorship would no longer exist if it did not receive huge economic and military support from Russia (and to a certain degree China).

However, hardly any of the socialist groups is able to recognize the imperialist character of China. Most Stalinists, as well as groups like *Socialist Action* (Britain) or the *Spartacist* family (ICL, IBT, IG), consider China to be a "socialist" country or as a "degenerated workers state." Others, like the FLTI, insist that China is a "semi-colony" under the command of Obama. Such a misunderstanding of the class character of Chinese imperialism makes these groups incapable of understanding important turns in world politics such as the recent retreat of Obama on Syria. Equally, it offers a nonsensical justification for the pro-Assad left to not only oppose a US war in Syria – which is of course the duty for every socialist – but also to hail the Russian imperialist support (with China's backing) for the Assad regime.

The RCIT is convinced that the inner-imperialist rivalry – in particular between the US and China – will substantially increase in the coming years. It is of decisive importance

that the workers' movement do not subordinate themselves to any of the imperialist camps, but instead follow a proletarian internationalist line. Otherwise it runs into danger of adapting to social-imperialism.

In the Period Ahead, Building a strong international Bolshevik Organization is the Key

The Arab Revolution is at a crossroads. The counterrevolution has raised its head and scored an important victory in Egypt. The imperialist Great Powers are conspiring to save the reactionary Baathist state apparatus in Syria (probably without Assad) so that they can disarm and smash the revolutionary masses.

The overriding challenge now is to learn the lessons of the victories and defeats of the Arab Revolution and to unite authentic revolutionaries on a program corresponding to the tasks of the present period. One might object that the revolutionaries today are weak and cannot decisively influence the fate of the Arab Revolution. True, we revolutionaries are weak and, in addition, the policy of betrayal of many so-called "Marxists" – in fact left-reformist and centrist renegades – discredits authentic Marxism in the eyes of the masses. But as Bolshevik-Communists, we don't draw from this the cynical conclusion that revolutionaries should confine themselves to merely commenting on the class struggle. Passivity and demoralization will never advance the building of a revolutionary party. No, the task is to offer the vanguard of the workers and oppressed an analysis of the relation of forces and a perspective for the struggle, as well as to join and to support the vanguard in order to improve the preconditions to overcome the crisis of leadership.

Of course, this is neither a short-term nor an easy task. But revolutionaries must plan in the long view. As we have explained in past documents, the present historic revolutionary period will not be a short one, but rather a protracted period marked by sharp ebbs and flows of the class struggle. It will see some victories but – given the lack of the badly needed revolutionary leadership – mostly defeats and temporary semi-victories. But it is a known law of the revolutionary struggle that the road to victory is paved with defeats which, however, are the basis for the necessary experience for the working class and its vanguard to unite and start anew on a higher political foundation.

These struggles and these experiences of the workers vanguard and the masses are the ferment out of which the Bolshevik-Communists will build the revolutionary party as well as a World Party for Socialist Revolution (which, in our opinion, will be the Fifth International). This is the task the RCIT is fighting for. We call all fighters in solidarity with the Arab Revolution and the world-wide liberation struggle of the working class and the oppressed to join forces in the struggle to build new revolutionary parties and a new Fifth Workers' International.

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

For a more extensive overview of the RCIT's analysis and programmatic conclusion of the Arab Revolution as well as of our documents on the world situation, on Islamism and strategies for the liberation struggles we refer those who are interested to our website www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east respectively www.thecommunists.net/theory. ■

Syria: Down with the Imperialist Geneva Accord!

Stop US and Russian imperialist interference in Syria! No imperialist-controlled “peace” negotiations which can only result in defeat for the Revolution! International Solidarity with the Syrian Revolution against the murderous Assad Dictatorship!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 15.9.2013

1. The U.S.-Russian accord on chemical weapons in Syria is a counter-revolutionary deal which must be rejected by the Syrian popular resistance as well as by the international workers movement. It is a threat to the Syrian Revolution because it increases the grip of the Great Powers to interfere in Syria under the pretext of the “control of chemical weapons”. It reflects the determination of the unholy alliance of the Great Powers – despite their rivalry about whose lackey rules in Damascus – to contain and liquidate the Syrian Revolution and to arrange a controlled transition towards a pro-imperialist regime which would retain the old Baathist state apparatus. Finally the Geneva accord reflects the diminished hegemony of US imperialist hegemony and the rise of Russian and Chinese imperialisms.

2. The US and Russian foreign ministers John Kerry and Sergey Lavrov agreed after three-day negotiations a six-point plan. It aims to eliminate Syria’s stockpiles of chemical weapons by mid-2014. According to the US-Russian deal, the Assad regime has a week to declare its chemical weapons and must allow international inspections. UN weapons inspectors should be on the ground in Syria by November with the goal of eliminating the stockpiles by mid-2014. Despite several weeks of saber-rattling of Obama and Holland, the agreement did not mention any threat of force if Syria failed to comply, instead stating that the regime would become the subject of an as-yet unwritten UN Security Council resolution.

3. While revolutionaries of course welcome the enforced retreat of the Obama administration which wanted to teach Assad and the world “a lesson” by launching a limited military strike, the workers and oppressed should have no illusions about the Geneva accord. There is nothing progressive in it. As all authentic socialist and democratic forces around the world, the RCIT wants to see the Assad regime incapable to direct chemical weapons against its population. But the truth is that neither the Western nor the Eastern imperialists care about this. This was only a pretext for their power game to expand their influence in Syria and the region. If the imperialists would seriously care about Assad’s chemical weapons, why did they sell it to him?! British corporations – sanctioned by the government of Prime Minister David Cameron – sold the regime in Damascus chemical weapons even 10 months after the Syrian uprising began! (1) Why don’t they send gas masks for free to the Syrian population?! Why don’t they aid the Syrian popular resistance with arms, medicine and shelter without strings so that it can defeat the murderous Assad regime which has already slaughtered 100.000 people since the beginning of the Revolution on 15 March 2011?! In addition, only paid lackeys of the bourgeois media can fail to notice the hypocrisy of the two powers with the biggest arsenals of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons

in the world decry Assad’s stockpiles. However the people have not forgotten that US imperialism has deployed massively chemical, biological and uranium-enriched weapons in all its wars in the past decades (Vietnam, Bosnia, Kosova, Afghanistan, Iraq) causing much more death than Assad killed in East Ghouta. And who can forget the genocide which Russian troops have committed in Chechnya in the two wars in the 1990s and 2000s where they killed at least 150.000 people (out of a population of 1.2 million people!) with all kind of weapons?!

4. The real background for the recent crisis and the Geneva accord – as we explained in our statement of 27 August and other documents before (2) – is a) the desire of all imperialists to contain the Syrian Revolution as well as b) their rivalry for which Great Power controls Syria and can expand its influence in the Middle East. Contrary to the hallucinations of Stalinist and Bolivarian Assad supporters, U.S. and EU imperialism never had the intention to support the Syrian Revolution and to overthrow the Assad regime by a civil war. They made this clear in declarations and by their lack of any serious support for the rebels. (3) What they did and do desire is to bribe the bourgeois leadership of the rebels and to get influence amongst the rebels in order to have a better starting position in future negotiations. This is particularly important for the U.S. and the EU since the Assad regime is basically a semi-colonial lackey of Russian and Chinese imperialism.

5. The Geneva accord also destroys once more another myth of wide sectors of the left: that Russia and China are not imperialist powers but a) either progressive (Russia) or even socialist (China) states as many Stalinists and Bolivarians claim or b) that Russia and China are weak semi-colonial countries which serve as lackeys of US imperialism (as many centrists claim). While US imperialism remains the biggest imperialist force until now, the course of the Syria crisis demonstrated that the Eastern imperialists have been strong enough to stop Obama’s military adventure.

6. The Westerns as well as the Eastern imperialist’s primary interest is to contain the Arab Revolution in general and the Syrian Revolution in particular. A popular revolutionary overthrow of the Assad regime would have tremendous ramifications in the whole Middle East and could open a second wave of the revolutionary process after the counter-revolutionary setback by the 3rd July military coup in Egypt. It would be a particular threat to the small imperialist power Israel – an arch-reactionary bridge head of Western imperialism since its foundation. We remark as a side note that the foundation of Israel in 1947/48 was supported by the Stalinist Soviet Union both in the UN negotiations as well as by sending arms to the Zionists which used them to slaughter and expel the Palestinian

people. (4) Getting rid of Syria's chemical weapons also means that any future government after Assad would be a military weaker enemy for the Zionist Apartheid regime as US foreign minister John Kerry indicated on 14 September. (5)

7. The Geneva accord increases the danger of a negotiated settlement imposed by the Great Powers which would change some figures (probably including Assad) but leave the reactionary, thoroughly anti-democratic Baathist state apparatus by and large intact. Such a reactionary deal would of course include the integration of sectors of the rebel leadership. At the same time it would unavoidable lead to a crackdown against the radical and popular forces of the resistance movement. Sectors of the official leadership of the rebels are already preparing for such a counter-revolutionary settlement.

8. The RCIT denounces the bourgeois leadership of the Syrian National Coalition which submissively makes advances to Western imperialism. This leadership is the inner enemy of the Syrian Revolution. Immediately after the Geneva accord it elected a new provisional prime minister, Ahmad Tumeh, *"with hopes he will boost the opposition's credibility as international efforts are increased to restart a peace process to end the country's civil war."* (6)

9. The RCIT warns that the Geneva accord is another threat not only to the Syrian but also the whole Arab Revolution. The Revolution already suffered a defeat with the bloody 3rd July coup in of General Al-Sisi in Egypt. An imperialist settlement of the Syrian civil war – imposed by US and Russian imperialism – would present another important defeat for the working class and the oppressed. It would – as the coup did in Egypt – weaken the popular militant forces which are fighting against bourgeois dictatorships and for democratic rights. It would push back further the unfinished democratic revolution. All this demonstrates once more that if the democratic revolution remains unfinished, the counter-revolutionary forces of the old regime and the imperialist lackeys will recover and roll back the revolution. Only if the working class – in alliance with the poor peasantry and the urban poor – advances the democratic revolution to its end, i.e. only if it takes power and combines the democratic with the socialist revolution, only then can real democracy and social justice be won.

10. However, nothing is lost so far. The chief task of revolutionaries and all socialists and democrats is to double their efforts to support the Syrian Revolution. The RCIT calls for an international solidarity movement which organizes actions against the imperialist interference in Syria (like stopping the deliveries of arms by Russia and other states to Assad, opposing US military strikes, protesting against an imperialist settlement of the Syrian Revolution). Such a solidarity movement must rally to support the Syrian Revolution. Our solidarity must include the call for arms, medicine, gas masks, shelter etc. for the rebel movement. At the same time such a material support must be combined with sharp criticism against the petty bourgeois and bourgeois, Islamist and secular leaderships of the rebel movements. The Revolution must be led by workers and peasants councils and militias to bring down the Assad dictatorship and open the road for a consistent democratic revolution which can only be a permanent revolution leading towards socialism. In other words, the task

is to get rid of the treacherous leaderships like the SNC and FSA imperialist lackey and to transform the civil war into an authentic revolutionary liberation war

11. The dangers for the Syrian Revolution as well as the counter-revolution in Egypt demonstrate once more the bankruptcy of reformism and centrism. Many of them either openly joined the camp of the counter-revolution (as many hailed the Al-Sisi coup or the Assad regime) or take a neutral position claiming this is just a quarrel between two bourgeois rivals. Others, who managed to choose the correct camp, do so without the necessary warning and criticism against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships of the rebel movement. Important world events like Syria and Egypt are decisive tests for programs and organizations. Most of the left have completely failed this test. This makes serious discussion and collaboration between revolutionaries even more urgent. The goal must be to advance in building a strong revolutionary, i.e. Bolshevik, international organization. In this manner we can impel the formation of revolutionary workers parties in Syria and other countries 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.

** Down with the imperialist Geneva accord!*

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

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

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

** For international solidarity with the Syrian rebel and popular movement! Military Aid without strings for the rebel movement!*

** Down with the Zionist Apartheid State!*

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

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

International Secretariat of the RCIT

Footnotes

(1) See Reuters/Nour Fourat: Revealed: Britain sold nerve gas chemicals to Syria 10 months after 'civil unrest' began, 1 Sep 2013, <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/uk-world-news/revealed-britain-sold-nerve-gas-2242520>

(2) See the RCIT statements and articles below in the Appendix.

(3) See on this for example the RCIT's article by 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

(4) See on this the RCIT's document by Yossi Schwartz: Israel's War of 1948 and the Degeneration of the Fourth International, May 2013, www.thecommunists.net/theory/israel-s-war-of-1948

(5) *"Providing this framework is fully implemented it can end the threat these weapons pose not only to the Syrian people but also to their neighbours. (...) Because of the threat of proliferation this framework can provide greater protection and security to the world."* (John Kerry in a statement on 14.9.; see: Al Jazeera: Syria given week to de-

clare chemical weapons. Russia and US agree fast-track plan to eliminate stockpiles from war-torn country, 14 Sep 2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/09/2013914102758488772.html>

(6) Al Jazeera: Syrian opposition elects new provisional PM. Former political prisoner Ahmad Tumeh says his priority is restoring order in opposition-held areas of country, 14 Sep 2013 <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/09/2013914172741675541.html>

* * *

Appendix

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:

* RCIT: Syria: Against Assad and Against Imperialism – Victory to the Revolution! For International Solidarity with the Popular Revolution against the murderous Assad Dictatorship! But Without and Against any Western Imperialist Military Intervention!, 27.8.2013, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-against-assad-imperialism

* 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

* 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

* 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

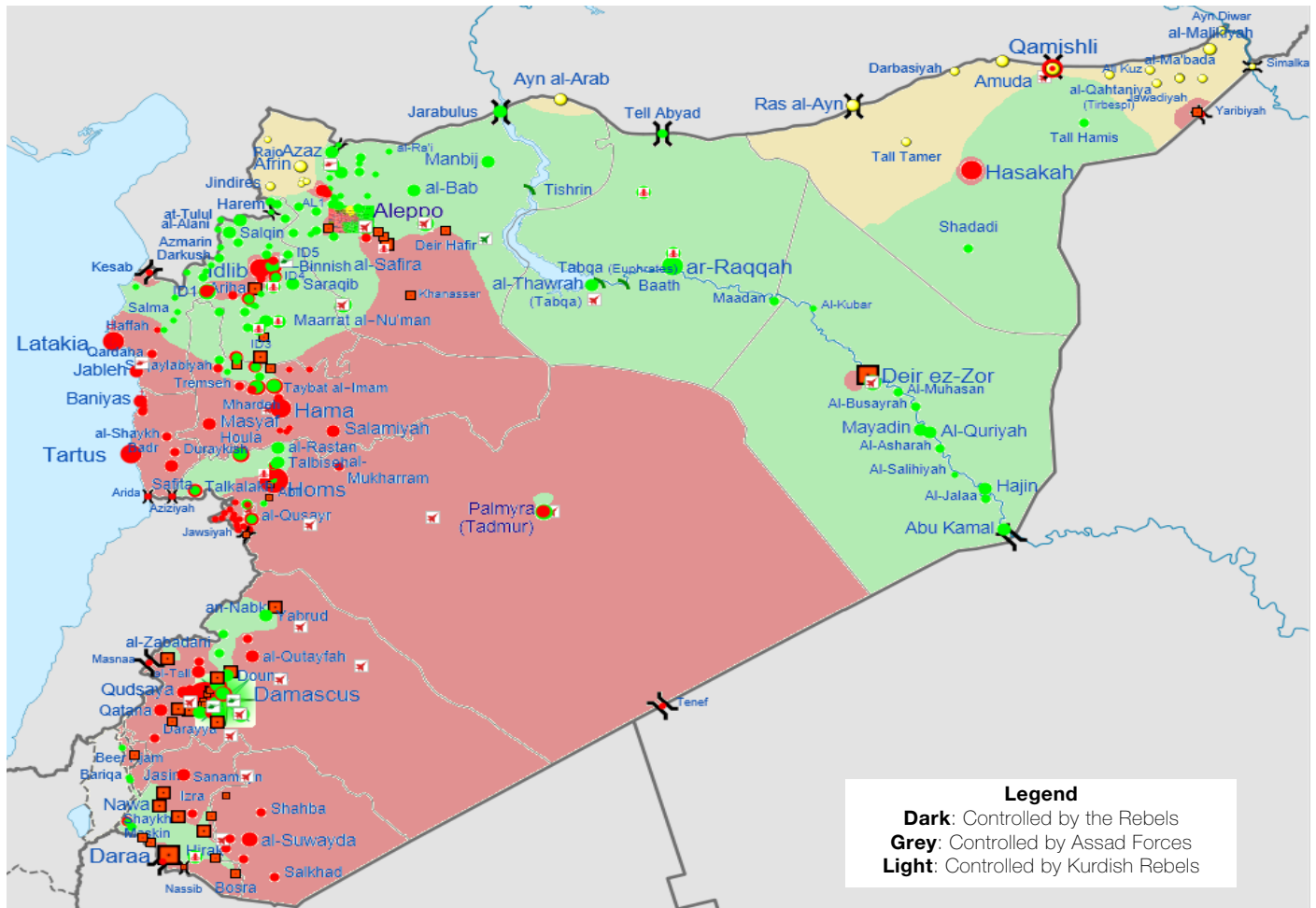
* Yossi Schwartz: Victory to the Revolution in Syria! The second anniversary of the uprising in Syria, March 2013, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa/victory-to-syrian-revolution

* 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 with pictures and videos at 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

* 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.

* Michael Pröbsting: Liberation struggles and imperialist interference, www.thecommunists.net/theory/liberation-struggle-and-imperialism ■



Source: Wikipedia, upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/88/Syrian_civil_war.png

No NATO Attack on Syria! Victory to the Revolution against the Assad Dictatorship!

Report from a Rally on 29.8.2013 in Vienna, organized by the RKOB (Austrian Section of the RCIT)

The RKOB has reacted swiftly against the war threats of US and Western European imperialism against Syria. In 24 hours we have organized a protest rally on Stephansplatz in the centre of Vienna. The rally was a success both because it evoked a visible interest amongst ordinary people on the street as well as because a number of activists not only from the RKOB and its youth organization Red*REVOLUTION but also from other organizations participated.

The RKOB has called this rally on the slogans "Syria: Freedom instead of NATO Bombs!", "No NATO military strike against Syria!" and "Down with the Assad Dictatorship! For a free Syria!"

Many people expressed their sympathy to our politics of opposing NATO military strikes and at the same time supporting the Syrian Revolution against Assad. They discussed with us about our leaflets both during and after the rally. We could also sell a number of our papers as well as the new issues of the RCIT's English language journal which deal extensively with the dramatic events in Syria and Egypt.

Michael Pröbsting, International Secretary of the RCIT, denounced in his speech NATO as an organization to impose the interests of the imperialists. He emphasized the importance of the liberation struggle of the Syrian people and the need to support it.

Leo Gabriel, a journalist who is active in a peace initiative for Syria and a member of the International Council of the World Social Forum, explained that a war would be a terrible setback and that it is necessary to join international solidarity campaigns. Hans Zauner, speaking on behalf of the Gruppe Klassenkampf (Austrian Section of CoReP), expressed his sharp condemnation of an NATO attack against Syria.

Johannes Wiener, spokesperson of the RKOB, emphasized the need to spread an Intifada through the whole of North Africa and the Middle East. He explained that it is important for transport workers to organize actions to blockade military supplies in case of an NATO attack. Such actions could weaken the imperialist troops and sabotage a NATO military strike.

Nina Gunić, spokesperson of the RKOB, stressed the importance of international solidarity. Giving examples of the past – like Bosnia in 1995 or Kosova in 1999 – comrade Gunić showed that NATO attacks always lead to defeats for the oppressed peoples' resistance. NATO is only interested to bring the Middle East politically and economically under control.

The RKOB is calling for a spontaneous protest rally on the same day when a NATO attack against Syria happens. The rally will take place on this day at 6pm at Stephansplatz in the centre of Vienna. We call other organizations to support this initiative and join the actions.

Photos of the rally can be viewed at www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/syrien-kundgebung-29-08-2013

Video of the speeches of Nina Gunić, Johannes Wiener and Michael Pröbsting can be view at the same link or at the YouTube Channel of the RKOB at

Nina Gunić: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3ttNgEK1ac&list=UUCSUT4RYehM3d6by9il4AIw>

Johannes Wiener: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lkqhlR7-Ocg&list=UUCSUT4RYehM3d6by9il4AIw>

Michael Pröbsting: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fj1kjnOeAn8&list=UUCSUT4RYehM3d6by9il4AIw> ■



RKOB contingent at a demonstration in solidarity with the Syrian Revolution (Austria, 15.3.2013)

Israel/Occupied Palestine: “Peace Negotiation” and the Free Killing of Palestinians

by Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 17.9.2013

The only real result of the so-called “peace talks” between Israel and the Palestinian Authority that resumed in July, following three years of no negotiations, is open season on the killing of Palestinians in the West Bank. Early this morning, the Israeli army opened fire on Islam al-Tubasi and mortally wounded him. He died shortly afterwards. The militant Islamic Jihad issued a statement mourning al-Tubasi as one of its members. According to the Israeli army, he was shot when he tried to escape detention. This is the fifth Palestinian killed in cold blood in the West Bank since July.

Palestinians have the right to ask the Mahmoud Abbas’ Palestinian Authority what the real reason for the negotiation is, when the only concrete result thus far has been the free killing of Palestinians. Does anyone believe for a moment that Israel, which treats the Palestinians as non-human beings, will agree to a mini Palestinian state on 20% of Palestine? This is no more than some unsavoury pie in the sky.

The blood of Palestinians has become cheaper than water. Today, Ahsan Abu-Sitta, a construction worker from Nablus critically injured on the job in Tel Aviv, was apparently abandoned by his employer, without any attempt to assist him. Abu-Sitta’s body was found lying on the sidewalk outside 7 Ben Atar Street, in south Tel Aviv by a passerby, and then taken to Ichilov hospital, where he was pronounced dead.

The daily newspaper *Haaretz* wrote: “Eyewitnesses told *Haaretz* that they had seen the contractor arriving at the apartment where the renovations were being done. He noticed the laborer was apparently critically injured and, with the help of two workers, dragged the man to the sidewalk opposite and left him there, without helping him.

The contractor denied that he had dumped the man, telling *Haaretz*: “I gave testimony in the police station, but I wasn’t investigated. I recounted exactly what happened, which was that I was there with another person for a whole hour and we tried to resuscitate him for an hour. I’m not connected to the apartment; it isn’t mine. I told the police what I saw. It’s all nonsense.”

Faraji, a co-worker told *Haaretz* that the contractor first claimed that he didn’t know the man. Afterwards, he changed his story and said that the worker had come only to offer him a price estimate, but Faraji maintains that he knows the man who was thrown into the street and that he has been working there for over a week.

A passer-by who witnessed the incident added that he had also shouted at the contractor and the workers when they threw the man onto the sidewalk. “I pass here often and he was working that day in the contractor’s apartment, I saw him in the apartment a few minutes before he died,” said the eyewitness. “When they dragged him out, I shouted to them that such things aren’t done, I didn’t believe that they would dump him and flee from the spot, I didn’t believe it was happening. People there suggested giving him water or giving them a phone to summon Ma-

gen David Adom emergency services, but the contractor locked the apartment and asked his workers to flee from there.” (Yaniv Kubovich: Injured Palestinian construction worker left to die on Tel Aviv street, 17.09.2013, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/.premium-1.547500>)

As far as we can understand, the contractor was not charged at all, even though he *can* be charged with criminal negligence, let alone more serious charges like murder. If Ahsan Abu-Sitta were still alive, the police would charge *him* for entering Tel Aviv (1948 occupied Palestine) without a permit.

Bashar Assad’s crimes against the Syrian masses are cynically condemned by the imperialists, including Israel. Beyond his statutory war crimes and crimes against humanity, we would add one more: that his actions let the Israeli government get away with moralizing about the violation of the Syrian people’s human rights by Assad the butcher, as if Israel herself doesn’t so causally step over the bodies of Palestinians.

The Internationalist Socialist League (ISL, Section of the RCIT in Israel/Occupied Palestine) calls out to the Jewish workers and the poor who are exploited by the capitalists, backed by the racist Knesset and Israeli government: As long as you do not defend the rights of the Palestinians, you will never be able to fight for your own rights. When the army kills Palestinians in cold blood, and when employers throw injured workers onto the sidewalk and no one cares or protests, *you* are the prisoners of this system. The first lesson of the class struggle is: “*an injury to one is injury to all!*”

You will be free only when you join the struggle for a Free, Red, Democratic Palestine from the river to the sea, with a multi-national workers’ government backed by the *fellahin* and the Palestinian refugees.

* We support all Palestinians who demand from the Palestinian Authority to break off the so call “peace talks: with Israel, as these talks are cover for the killing of more Palestinians.

* We support the sentiments of all persons and groups who call for bringing the contractor to trial for his serious crime.

* We call for the indicting of police officials responsible for the failure to charge this contractor.

* We call for bringing to trial, a *real* trial, the Israeli soldiers who murdered Islam al-Tubasi.

In the present conjuncture, we don’t anticipate that these simple democratic demands will be met. For them to be met, a workers-led revolution is necessary. The only ones in a position to make this happen are the Palestinians workers and poor as well as those Israeli-Jewish workers which are fighting the Zionist oppression. The ISL and its international organization – the RCIT – are dedicated to advance this perspective. ■

Occupied Palestine/Israel: Killing and Oppression of the Palestinian People Continues

by Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 25.9.2013

On Sunday, September 22, the top stories in the Israeli press and news programs and websites related how Nidal Amar, a 42 years old Palestinian working "illegally" in Israel, abducted and killed Sgt. Tomer Hazan, an Israeli soldier whose body was found in the northern part of the West Bank.

Amar's motive was his hope that he would be able to exchange the soldier's body for the release of his jailed brother, Nur Al-Din Amar, a member of the Palestinian Tanzim, who has been imprisoned since 2003. Tanzim is a semi-military organization founded in 1995 by the late PLO leader, Yasser Arafat. Both Amar and the murdered Hazan worked together in a sandwich shop, according to the restaurant's owner.

On Saturday night, when news of the killing first leaked, several hundred right-wing Zionists demonstrated outside the sandwich shop in Bat Yam, just south of Tel Aviv, against Palestinians' working illegally in Israel, some shouting, "Death to Arabs!"

Not surprisingly, Deputy Defense Minister Danny Danon blamed the Palestinian leadership for the abduction and murder of Hazan. Like the entire Israeli government, Danon is committed to a single apartheid state extending from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea.

In reality, it is not the collaborationist Palestinian authority that is responsible for this death, but the Israeli state which has conquered and occupied Palestine beginning from 1948, its endless repression of the indigenous Arab population, its theft of their lands, and its refusal to release all Palestinian political prisoners.

The news of this killing of an Israeli soldier appeared in all the mass media around the world, including the main Chinese news service. The fact that, since July 2013, the Israeli army has killed 6 unarmed Palestinians has not nearly achieved such mass circulation.

While we can certainly understand the feelings of pain and bereavement of the soldier's family, we must always remind ourselves and others that the role of the Israeli army is to repress the Palestinians' aspirations to be free. Therefore, no Israeli soldier can be considered innocent. Of course, we do not place the same degree of blame on this simple soldier as we do on senior Israeli military officers and Zionist politicians. However, the reality is that the killing of the Palestinians will continue as long as Israel exists, because Israel cannot exist without repressing the Palestinians. It follows that, as long as the repression of Palestinians continues, some Israeli soldiers will die.

A General proud of his War Crimes

In June of this year, a retired general, Yitzhak Pondak, told the Israeli Army Radio (*Galei Tzahal*) on the occasion his 100th birthday that the Israeli army destroyed and depopulated hundreds of Arab villages in order to establishment the State of Israel in 1948. (1) Pondak added that "he feels good about it" and "can sleep with a clear mind."

In 1948, Pondak headed Platoon 53 of the Givati Brigade. After his retirement from the army, he eventually served as Israel's ambassador in Tanzania.

"Under my command, soldiers destroyed Arab villages," he said, "We did what we needed to do, otherwise the number of Arabs now would have been a million more."

Responding to a question regarding lectures he gives to Israeli soldiers, Pondak said that "Israel is still facing the same dangers it faced when it was created in 1948." He added "Should the Jews fail to fight the same way they fought back then, our state will be in real danger."

"Wars unite the ranks of the Jewish people...after wars, Jews form parties and become divided."

But some of the public, who do not want to see this reality,

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say that all this happened many years ago and, today, the situation is very different...

The Expulsions of the Palestinian People Continues

On Friday, September 20, Israeli soldiers invaded Khirbit Makhoul, a village located in the West Bank's northern plains. This military force removed tents installed by the International Red Cross for the families that lost their homes and structures in earlier attacks by the army. The 10 families who reside in the village said that they "will not bow to Israeli oppression, and will stay in the area despite the ongoing Israeli violations," the Palestine News Network (PNN) has reported.

The small village is located among a cluster of Israeli West Bank settlements, and is also nearby an Israeli military base in the Jordan Valley.

Israel does not recognize Khirbit Makhoul, just like it doesn't recognize dozens of other small villages inhabited by Bedouin tribes whether they are in the northern plains of the West Bank, near occupied East Jerusalem in its center, or near Hebron in the south, as well as in other areas.

With no recognition by the occupation authorities, these villages are not entitled to basic services (links to water, electricity, roads, schools, clinics, etc.) and have been re-

peatedly demolished. Their residents are frequently displaced due to Israel's ongoing violations.

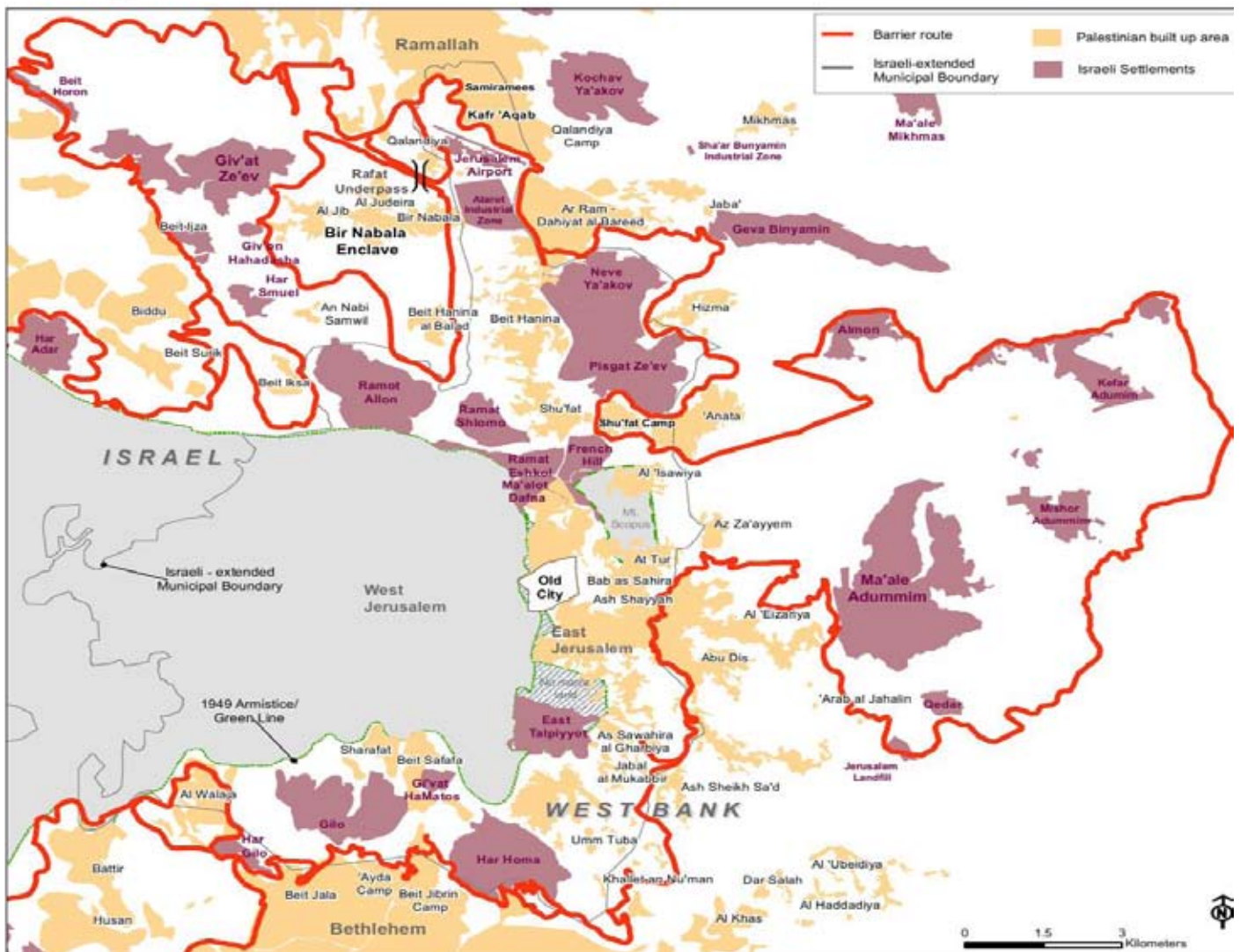
Bedouin villages in the Negev are also subject to similar attacks and ongoing assaults. Up to 70,000 Arab Bedouin – whose presence in the Negev dates to the seventh century – live in 35 villages, many of which predate the establishment of the State of Israel. These villages are not recognized by Israel, the inhabitants are considered trespassers, and their physical presence is now threatened by the Praver Plan legislation being considered by the Israeli Knesset.

The only way to end this racist nightmare is a Palestinian revolutionary struggle led by this people's workers and supported by the *falaheen* peasants and poor, who will be joined by likeminded Israeli Jews, in seizing power and forming a true socialist state free of ethnically-based repression: a Free, Red Palestine from the River to the Sea with a multinational workers government.

Footnotes

1. Saed Bannoura (IMEMC): We Destroyed Arab Villages To Create Our State, Retired General Said, 18.6.2013, <http://nsnbc.me/2013/06/18/we-destroyed-arab-villages-to-create-our-state-retired-general-said> ■

East Jerusalem under Zionist occupation (2007)



Source: Wikipedia, upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/64/Jerusalem-barrier_June_2007-OCHAoPt.jpeg

Brazil: Trade Union Bureaucracy limits Workers' Resistance to symbolic Actions

A report on the National Day of Struggle on 30 August by El Mundo Socialista (fraternal group of the RCIT in Brazil), 2.9.2013

On 30 August, a "National Day of Mobilization and Struggles" took place in Brazil. It was called by eight Trade Union Federations (CUT, CSP-Conlutas, Força Sindical, UGT, CGTB, NCST, CGTB, CTB and CSB). The protest was directed against several reactionary projects of the federal government and the parliament:

* To increase and formalize the outsourcing of labor contracts (Bill 4330).

* the 'Social Security Factor' (which lowers the monthly benefit of those who retire after completing the contribution length of time (35 years for men and 30 for women), but have not yet reached the minimum age (65 years old for men and 60 years old for women).

* The government's plan to auction offshore areas containing two-thirds of the country's proven oil reserves in October.

However, this "National Day of Mobilization" turned out to be a rather symbolic and weak action. It was limited to a few marches and occupations of roads in several capital cities and medium-sized cities. These actions were all announced in advance and lasted only for a few hours and did not bother much the Federal Government. It was much weaker compared with the one-day general strike on 11 July which took place under the pressure of the spontaneous mass uprising in Brazil this winter. (1) One has to note that already the general strike on 11 July was demobilized by the trade union bureaucracy and was more symbolic than militant. (2)

Weak mobilization in São Paulo

These weaknesses of the day of action were also visible in the state of São Paulo which is the largest and richest state in Brazil. Similar to the general strike on 11 July, the most important sectors linked to the CUT (the largest trade union federation linked to the government party, the social democratic PT), such as the public transport sector in the capital and the metalworkers in the ABC-region, worked normally. They only blocked the highway that leads to the Port of Santos. The only greater mobilization of the Trade Unions occurred in the financial center of São Paulo – the Paulista Avenue – in the afternoon.

CSP-Conlutas – a smaller but most left-wing trade union federation linked to the centrist PSTU (strongest section of the Morenoite LIT-FI) – accuses on his website that CUT only belatedly entered the "National Day of Mobilization" in order to boycott the movement. In fact, two of the most important sectors of the CUT trade unions in São Paulo – the banking workers and the metro workers – have promised to take part of the strike. The union of the banking workers has declared in a statement that their strike would last for 24 hours. But inexplicably both unions gave up and worked normally. Well, not exactly inexplicably, we think that the bureaucracy of CUT in São Paulo is very much afraid of losing control of its rank-and-file workers. Just

imagine the chaos in a city of more than 10 million people which most of them use daily the mixed transportation (buses and subway) to go to work in the case of a strike! So the bureaucrats preferred to avoid problems like losing control, damage to federal government, the emergence of new workers leaders etc.

More militant actions in Rio de Janeiro

In Rio de Janeiro the situation was somewhat different. This is related to the fact that the state's governor Sergio Cabral (from the bourgeois-liberal PMDB) is highly unpopular and accused of authoritarianism and misuse of public helicopters for personal leisure. As a result massive protests against him have happened in recent days, which were a reflection of the June days. Given this background the protest on 30 August was much more effective in Rio de Janeiro. Workers from various sectors of the economy participated such as metallurgical and construction workers, glassware, coin, federal civil servants, sweepers, health workers, nurses, manicures, teachers, workers in the food sector, servers UFRJ, chemists, engineers, bank workers, telecommunications as well as oil workers, military servers, water transportation officials, journalists, broadcasters and electricians, as well as social movements such as the MST (Movement of Landless Workers).

Other important states such as Minas Gerais, Pará and Paraná achieved strong support among public sector workers, transport workers and precarious workers.

Another important sector of the CUT – the workers in the oil sector – also displayed more militant actions on 30 August in a number of important places like Pernambuco, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Duque de Caxias, São Paulo, Paraná/Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. This broad participation of the oil workers is explained by the fact that they are currently involved in a collective bargaining campaign for higher wages.

The PT-led government of President Dilma Rousseff tries to split the trade union federation by offering separate negotiations to the CUT bureaucracy. This was most likely an additional incentive for the CUT leaders to boycott the "National Day of Mobilization" on 30 August.

Other unions are not better. The leadership of the *Força Sindical* – another trade union federation which has strong links with the big businessmen of São Paulo – demonstrates once more its role as a lackey of the capitalists. In its demands on the government of Dilma Rousseff, it focuses on opposition against any increase in interest rates which is also a central demand of the employers.

Free the Trade Unions from the Bureaucrats' Grip

The spontaneous uprising during the June Days, the workers protests on 11 July and on 30 August have shown once more the true character of the trade union bureaucracy. It is a petty-bourgeois caste in the ranks of the workers

movement which serves the capitalist class and which is corrupted by posts and privileges. It is not interested in militant mobilizations of the working class under the control of the rank and file. It organizes actions only under the pressure of the rank and file and in such cases it does everything possible to keep such activities under the bureaucratic control of the leadership. (3)

This is why one of the most important tasks of the workers vanguard is to build a mass rank and file movement in the unions against the bureaucrats. We can only transform the unions in real instruments of the working class if the workers free the unions from the bureaucracy. Such a perspective has to be combined with a strategy which combines the defensive struggle against the bosses' attacks with the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Such a perspective has also to focus on bringing together the trade union militants with the unorganized workers, the urban poor in the Favelas, the poor and landless peasants and the youth which showed their militancy in the June Days.

This is why it is urgent for the workers vanguard to elaborate and discuss an Action Program for the socialist revolution in Brazil.

Such a program has also tackle the fact that the trade union leaderships in Brazil are mostly linked to parties like the PT, the Stalinist PCdoB, PSOL (a split from PT), PSTU and

PDT (heirs of Getulism, i.e. of the former dictator Getulio Vargas). None of these parties however serves the interests of the working class. To break the unions from these parties and to build a Workers Party which is based on a revolutionary program is therefore one of the most important tasks for the workers vanguard. *El Mundo Socialista* and the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* are dedicating their forces to contribute to this goal.

Footnotes:

(1) See on this: *Brazil: Solidarity with the Popular Uprising!* Statement of the RCIT and Blog El Mundo Socialista (Brazil), 19.6.2013, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-solidarity-with-popular-uprising and www.thecommunists.net/home/portugu%C3%AAs/brasil-solidariedade-com-a-revolta-popular (in Portuguese); *The Fight for the Right to Public Transportation - Free and With Quality - Under Control of Workers in Brazil*, 14.6.2013, El Mundo Socialista, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-fight-for-public-transportation

(2) See on this: *Brazil: Before the General Strike on 11th July*, El Mundo Socialista, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-general-strike-on-11-7

(3) On the RCIT's assessment of the trade union bureaucracy's nature see the relevant chapter in the RCIT's Program *The Revolutionary Communist Manifesto*, www.thecommunists.net/rcit-manifesto/the-struggle-for-the-unions ■



Source: www.mappi.net/img/bresil/grande_carte_bresil_avec_petites_villes_rivieres.jpg

Brazil: Indefinite Nationwide Strike of Bank Workers!

by *El Mundo Socialista* (fraternal group of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency), 20.9.2013

Introduction by the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency

Below we publish a report from the comrades of *El Mundo Socialista* (fraternal Brazilian group of the RCIT) about an ongoing national strike of about half a million bank workers. The RCIT is in full solidarity with the strike and their demands for higher wages and better working conditions.

The EMS report however points out the danger that the reformist bureaucracy of the bank workers trade union, CONTRAF-CUT, is prepared to sell out the strike. This is why it is decisive that the vanguard amongst the bank workers starts to organize the rank and file in strike committees and utilizes the daily strike assemblies at the work places to advance the strike. They should propose that the daily assemblies of the bank workers during the strike do not only discuss about the issues of the strike but also take decisions and elect delegates. Such delegates should meet for national conferences and form a national coordination committee which leads the strike. This would be the way to challenge the control over the strike by the corrupt trade union bureaucracy.

Such strike committees can also be an important instrument to organize solidarity from other sectors of the working class and the poor. This is particularly important and indeed possible given the recent spontaneous mass demonstrations against austerity and social injustice as well as two national day actions of all important trade union federations.

Such a perspective has to be part of a strategy for working class power, i.e. it has to be integrated into a rounded revolutionary action program. Based on such a program, revolutionaries have to build an authentic Bolshevik organization. The RCIT will assist the comrades of *El Mundo Socialista* in this most important task for the coming period.

An indefinite nation-wide strike of Brazilian bank workers began on September 19. The website of CUT reports that the strike has closed at least 6,145 branches and administrative centers of public and private banks in almost all of the national territory, including the country's capital. This means that the strike effects more branches compared to the strike last year (about 1/5). The bank workers demand an wage increase of 11.93%, a higher minimum wage, larger PLR (in Brazil this is the abbreviation for profit sharing), more jobs and an end of the so-called "rotation of jobs" (which means that in 2012 about 11,000 bank were de facto dismissed under this pretext), an end of outsourcing, better working condition, etc.

The National Confederation of Workers in the Financial Area (CONTRAF which is part of the largest trade union federation CUT) represents 490.000 bank workers which are about 95 % of the country's bank staff.

The strong support for the strike, including private banks,

shows the indignation of the rank and file workers with the refusal of the bankers to meet their demands. The bank capitalists offered a wage increase of only 6.1%. At the same time "senior executives receive up to 10 million Real per year," as Carlos Cordeiro, president of CONTRAF-CUT and coordinator of the National Command of the Bank Workers stated.

According to reports in the media in recent months, the six largest banks had a net income of 29.6 billion Brazilian Real in the first half of 2013, which is considered one of the greatest profits in the international financial system. The Bank of Brazil for example got a profit of more than 10 billion, the Caixa Econômica (a federal public bank) earned 3.1 billion in the same period, 10.3 % more than last year. The private banks Itaú and Bradesco also obtained significant profits.

Despite these huge profits, the bank capitalists are still closing jobs and worsening working conditions. This appalling situation at the work place has caused an epidemic of illnesses amongst the rank and file workers. Moreover, it has increased the number of robberies, kidnappings and killings. Groups of bandits have kidnapped managers and their families so that they are obligated to open their safes. But the bosses refuse to discuss the workers' demands.

The bureaucracy of CONTRAF-CUT – which is collaborating closely with the federal coalition government led by the PT – has already offered to downgrade the bank workers' demands. They offer less wage increases which is however absurd given the fact that wage losses for workers in the private banks exceed 20% in the last years and even 80% for workers in the public banks! Thus the CONTRAF-CUT bureaucracy helps the federal government of Dilma Rousseff 's PT to keep the wages down.

A strong strike is the opportunity for the rank and file bank workers to REJECT the downgraded demand of only 11.93%. They must demand the full replacement of all lost wages. To achieve this, they have to confront not only the bosses of private and public banks but also their own reformist union leaders which are strongly linked to the federal government led by the PT. ■



Greece: Honor Pavlos Fyssas! Smash the fascist Golden Dawn!

No illusions into the Governments' Maneuver to ban Golden Dawn!

Mobilize the Workers Movement to smash fascism!

Link the Antifascist Struggle with the Struggle against Austerity!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 21.9.2013

1. The assassination of Pavlos Fyssas by a squad of Golden Dawn Nazis has provoked a huge outcry amongst the Greek working class and youth. Pavlos Fyssas, a 34-year-old prominent anti-fascist and rapper, was attacked and murdered on 18th September in Keratsini – a working class district of Athens. Police officers, who were at the scene, decided to cynically watch the murder without intervening. Since then Greece has seen spontaneous mass demonstrations directed against the Neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn.

2. The RCIT sends its condolence to Pavlos Fyssas' family and friends. Our deep solidarity is with them and all antifascists who march on the streets to smash the fascist scum. Likewise we send our condolence and solidarity to the numerous migrants who have been attacked and murdered by the Golden Dawn killers in the last years.

3. The murder of Pavlos Fyssas has provoked the biggest outcry and mobilization against the Neo-Nazi so far. This creates a real chance to finish off this massive and physical threat for the workers movement and the migrants. This however will only be possible if the workers movement does not become deluded by the maneuvers of the ND-PASOK coalition government and the illusory appeals from the reformist leaderships of the workers movement to the capitalist state machinery. Nikos Dendias, minister for public order, has announced that the government would table emergency legislation that would seek to outlaw Golden Dawn.

4. The RCIT warns the workers vanguard not to support such a move which is – according to historical experience – nothing but a trap for the working class and left movement. An outlaw of the Nazi party would be largely ineffective since the Nazis would regroup under a different banner. Let us not forget that Hitler's NSDAP was outlawed too between 1923 and 1925. Equally the Nazi party in Austria was banned for years in the 1930s. This however didn't stop them functioning as an effective party and coming later to power. Why is a ban ineffective? This is because the fascists have tactical or full support by important sectors of the state apparatus and the ruling class. Let us remember that at the last election in June 2012 half of the Greek police voted for Golden Dawn! It is widely known that the police often collaborate with the Nazi thugs when they brutally attack migrants and antifascist activists. Finally, the state apparatus usually utilizes an increasing legislative and executive power not so much to suppress the fascists but – under the pretext of fighting "extremism" – much more the militant organizations of the working class and oppressed. A legal ban of the fascists inevitably leads to an increasing power for the state apparatus. The consequence will be a strengthened capitalist state machinery which we mainly be directed against the work-

ers movement, the left and migrants.

5. Instead of looking for a state ban against Golden Dawn, the workers, youth and migrants movement must utilize the current popular outcry and mass mobilization to strengthen the antifascist struggle. Militant workers should advance the antifascist struggle as well as call on and pressurize the bureaucratic-led reformist forces of SYRIZA, KKE and the trade union federations GSEE and ADEDY to join and fully support the mobilizations. The most important tasks in this struggle are first to *form immediately anti-fascist united front squads*. Such anti-fascist united front squads should defend the demonstrations, offices and meetings of parties and organizations of the working class and the oppressed. It should organize local patrols to keep the working class and migrant districts free from the fascist scum. It should organize squads which undertake necessary actions to make it impossible for the Nazis to hold demonstrations and meetings as well as to have public offices. Secondly the workers movement must continue *its mass mobilizations against the Golden Dawn in order to close down all their party headquarters and offices*.

6. Furthermore the *antifascist struggle is insoluble connected with the struggle against racism*. Hence the workers movement and the migrant organizations must not only call for a struggle against the fascists but also for the equality for the 1.2 million migrants who are living in Greece and who are – in their vast majority – a nationally oppressed and super-exploited sector of the working class and the poor. *It must fight for full citizenship rights for – legal and illegal – migrants, against all deportations and internment in camps, for equal pay, for the equality of the migrants' languages in all public institutions and for open borders for migrants*.

7. Finally it is decisive to *combine the present anti-fascist mobilization with the ongoing strike movement in the public sector against the austerity policy* of the ND-PASOK government and which is dictated by the imperialist EU troika. Such a combination of the anti-fascist and anti-austerity struggle would create a most powerful class struggle movement which could smash the fascists, bring down the government and open a revolutionary situation in which the working class can fight for power.

8. Related to these immediate tasks is the challenge to overcome the deep crisis of leadership of the Greek workers movement. Until today the working class mass organizations are dominated by the reformist bureaucracies of SYRIZA, KKE and the trade unions. These bureaucrats do everything possible to hold back the struggle against the austerity government as well as the fascist threat. It is highly urgent to build an authentic revolutionary party as part of a new Workers International (which in our opinion will be the Fifth Workers International) which can lead

the working class and the oppressed to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and a socialist future. The RCIT is dedicated to this task and looks forward to collaborate with Greek revolutionaries towards this goal.

International Secretariat of the RCIT

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Appendix

For further reading on the RCIT's position on the class struggle in Greece we refer readers to various English-language statements and articles on the RCIT website:

* RCIT: Greece: Down with the Trial against Savas Michael-Matsas! 23.7.2013, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/greece-solidarity-with-savas-matsas

* Nina Gunić: Solidarity with the Hunger Strike in Greece! For-

ward to a Revolutionary Migrant Movement! April 2013, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/greece-solidarity-with-migrant-strike

* Michael Pröbsting: After the elections on 17th June: A new phase of the Greek Revolution is beginning! 19.6.2012, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/greece-after-17-6-elections

* Michael Pröbsting: Greece: For a Workers' Government! Critical electoral support for SYRIZA and KKE! Workers: Organize and prepare yourselves for the struggle for power! 6.6.2012, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/greece-for-a-workers-government

* Michael Pröbsting: After SYRIZA's victory in the Greek elections: The question of a Workers Government and the revolutionary way forward, May 2012, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/after-the-greek-elections

* Michael Pröbsting: Perspectives on the Greek Revolution, 10.11.2011, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/greece-revolution-or-tragedy ■

Video: Speech of Nina Gunić on the Perspectives of the Resistance in Greece

Report of the RKOB (Austrian Section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency), 2.9.2013

On 31 August a public meeting on the perspectives of the resistance in Greece took place at the annual political and cultural event of the Communist Party (similar to the L'Humanité fete of the French CP). The public meeting was organized by the committee "SOLIDARITY WITH THE RESISTANCE IN GREECE" of which the RKOB is part of. At the platform spoke Nina Gunic (RKOB), Erich Fenninger (Volkshilfe), Norbert Bauer (Solidar-Werkstatt), Hans Zauner (GKK, Austrian Section of CoReP) sowie Aug & Ohr. The meeting was chaired by Hermann Dworczyk from the solidarity committee.

Comrade Gunić presented in her speech the key issues of the revolutionary Action Program of the RCIT (of which the RKOB is the Austrian Section) for Greece. She explained a number of central slogans like the total cancellation of Greece's debts, a public works program to abolish unemployment, the expropriation of the super-rich as well as a workers government.

Nina Gunić explained that one should have no illusions in reformist parties like SYRIZA; KKE and DIMAR. However it is at the same time necessary to direct demands to these parties since a large section of the working class still have illusions in them. She emphasized that such an Action Program can only be implemented if a revolutionary workers party is build in time.

The Video of Nina Gunić's speech (in German language) can be viewed at the YouTube-Channel of the RCIT at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ibJv8IIL9KQ&list=UUCSUT4RYehM3d6by9il4AIw> ■



RCIT leader Nina Gunic at a press conference in 2008

Solidarity with Michael-Matsas!

Letter of Protest to Greek Ambassador

Socialist Fight, a British Trotskyist organization, has initiated a picket of the Greek Embassy for Saturday 31 August between 1 and 2 pm. The comrades have also drafted a letter to the Greek Ambassador which has been signed by representatives of several organizations, amongst them Michael Pröbsting on behalf of the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* (RCIT).

* * *

The Ambassador
H.E. Mr. Anastase Scopelitis
Greek Embassy in London
1A Holland Park,
31 August 2013

Dear Mr. Anastase Scopelitis,

We, the undersigned, are protesting today against of Savas Michael-Matsas a Greek Jewish Marxist intellectual and General Secretary of the Workers' Revolutionary Party (EEK) of Greece and Constantino Moutzouris, the former rector of the University of Athens, on 3 September 2013.

Savas Matsas is accused of "defamation" against the Greek openly Nazi party, the infamous "Golden Dawn", for "instigation of violence and chaos" and "disruption of the civil peace" because, four years ago, in May 2009, the EEK has issued a leaflet calling for participation into an antifascist demonstration of protest against a murderous attack by the Nazis against the immigrant communities in Athens covered by the Greek police.

In December 2008, an important youth revolt had shaken the entire country following the murder of a 15 years old youth, Alexandros Grigoropoulos, by two police guards. The revolt continued for nearly for two months, in what Dominique Strauss Kahn, head of the IMF at that time, had rightly described as "the first political explosion of the current world financial-economic crisis".

The police pogroms against the immigrants reached a climax in spring 2009, in Athens, in the neighbourhood of Aghios Panteleimonas, where Golden Dawn thugs terrorised the immigrants with the support of the local police. Left organizations had called for anti-fascist demonstrations. The EEK took part and issued a leaflet calling on the people to participate. The leaflet signed by the EEK as a political party was also published in the party newspaper NEA PROOPTIKI and presented in the party's web site. This is the "crime" for which the General Secretary of the EEK is accused and put on trial.

In May 2009, leading members of the Golden Dawn, including Ilias Panagiotaros, now a member of the Greek Parliament, and Themis Skordeli (a woman with dark connections with the underworld, was accused of the assassination of an Afghan immigrant but who never was been

charged), posed a lawsuit against the entire spectrum of the Greek left, from the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and SYRIZA to the extra-parliamentary left, ANTARSYA and EEK, all the immigrant associations, and independent personalities like the Dean of the National Technical University of Athens Constantinos Moutzouris (accused to allow the alternative web site Athens Indymedia to broadcast from the space in the campus).

The lawsuit was not acted upon until late 2012, after the Greek elections of May and June 2012, when, the Golden Dawn was catapulted to Parliament from the margins of political life and the shadow of the State repressive apparatus. In November 2012, at the day celebrated nationally for decades now as the anniversary of the 1973 youth revolt in the Athens National Technical University (Polytechnic) against the military dictatorship of the colonels, the Greek Police, after receiving orders from the judiciary, started interrogations of all the accused in the Nazi lawsuit of 2009. In June 2013, from the dozens of the accused in the legal action of 2009, and interrogated in 2012, only Savas Michael (Sabetai) Matsas of the EEK was called to trial on September 3, 2013, together with the former Dean C. Moutzouris.

Simultaneously with this preposterous "legal" action, the Nazis have intensified a non-stop, vicious anti-Semitic and anti-communist campaign against the Secretary of the EEK, accusing him of being "an instrument of the World Jewish Conspiracy to foment civil war among Greeks to impose a Judeo-Bolshevik regime in Greece". Pictures of Savas Michael are presented combined with anti-Semitic insults and openly death threats: "Crush the Jewish vermin!"

We wish to express our total opposition to the Greek state and government collaboration with the Nazi Golden Dawn in bringing these persecutions. We wish to express out outrage at the collaboration of the Greek state and government in failing to oppose and thereby collaborating with the vile anti-Semitic campaign against Savas Michael-Matsas and thereby against all Jews.

We demand that the charges against Savas Michael-Matsas and Constantino Moutzouris be dropped immediately and that the Greek state and government protect the immigrant community against the fascist assaults of the Golden Dawn and cease prosecuting their defenders.

Signed:

Steve Hedley, on behalf of the Rail and Maritime Union.

Weyman Bennett, on behalf of Unite Against Fascism

D.R. Rayner Lysaght, on behalf of Socialist Democracy (Ireland)

David Yaffe, on behalf of the Revolutionary Communist Group

Michael Holden, on behalf of the Irish Republican Prisoners Support Group

Michael Pröbsting on behalf of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)

Alex Steiner on behalf of permanent-revolution.org

Martin Ralph on behalf of the International Socialist League ■

Japan: Horror without End in Fukushima

The nuclear scandal in Japan shows that capitalism endangers our future

By Nina Gunić, Revolutionary Communist Liberation Organization (RKOB, Austrian Section of the RCIT), September 2013

Introductory Note by the Editorial Board: Below we publish the translation of an article from comrade Nina Gunić, a leading member of the RCIT. It initially appeared in German language in the September issue of the paper of the Austrian's RCIT section.

What happened in Fukushima two years ago due to the extremely negligent approach of the capitalists was already shameful enough. But now there are again horror stories about the radiation- contaminated area in Japan. However, as before, the operator of the nuclear reactor, TEPCO, has not been held accountable. On the contrary: the government has decided to intervene and take over the exorbitant cost of building a kind of protective wall around the reactor. It is justifying this step in order not to put too much "burden" on TEPCO.

This wall is a kind of frozen wall of protection, which should prevent further mixing of contaminated water with groundwater. Such a mixing creates the danger that the contamination reaches much further than the area around the reactor.

In reality, the groundwater has been contaminated already since March 11, 2011 when the reactor was damaged by the earth quake. It has also become known that every day since then 300 tons of contaminated water pours into the sea! The procedure of the company TEPCO since the reactor accident, and also before then, is more than criminal. It is all the more absurd how willing the government is to step in financially so that the corporation does not have to invest more in repairs. In reality, TEPCO should exclusively pay for these works. After all, TEPCO has the responsibility for the catastrophe and has acted criminally.

Criminal TEPCO Corporation

The list of crimes is long:

- 1) The decision to build a nuclear power plant in Fukushima was made in spite of knowing that this was a high seismic risk area. But the low costs for the land was too tempting for the capitalists.
- 2) TEPCO concealed the troubles in the plant after the earth

quake. Despite knowledge of the threat of an earthquake, the management did not take the necessary precautions over the years and invested only little in the security systems. Therefore the cooling water, which was used after the accident, was sea water and consequently it strongly undermined the material and risked further leaks and disasters.

3) TEPCO concealed the scope of the catastrophe and especially how much of the contaminated water had already penetrated into the sea.

4) TEPCO risked the lives of workers without flinching to make repairs at the time of covering up the scope of the disaster. They denied the workers information on the scope of the catastrophe. Many workers were lured for these jobs with higher wages. Poorer and desperate workers were recruited for these tasks and have to cope now with the horrible consequences during their shortened life-span.

5) TEPCO did and does play down the scope of the contamination. It was established already in 2012 that marine creatures, that have been studied 600km away from Japan, were heavily contaminated by radioactivity. Tuna was caught even at the coast of California which was slightly contaminated. While one can eat these tuna, it shows that the spread of radioactive contamination in the Pacific is clearly much larger than claimed by the officials.

The catastrophe of Fukushima exemplifies once more how hazardous the current system of "profit before people", i.e. the system of capitalism, is and how tragic it is for the popular masses. TEPCO and everything that has happened in Fukushima is one of the best examples to show clearly that a sustainable future of humanity can only be ensured if the working class takes control of the economy and society.

An emergency program against the nuclear disaster

The Revolutionary Communist Organization for Liberation (RKOB) and our international organization, the RCIT, strongly condemn the procedure in Fukushima by the TEPCO management as well of the capitalist government in Japan. We call for:

* Nationalization of TEPCO without compensation and under the control of the workers and the affected people (local commu-



nities, fisher, etc.)! The entire nuclear power system must therefore not only be placed under control of the workers, but also of the entire workers movement!

* *Opening of the books as well as publication of all security protocols and all other documentations of the nuclear power plant and the catastrophe! Immediate convocation of a team of experts by the workers' movement, which finds out the actual damage!*

* *The goal must be to close the nuclear power plants as soon as possible and to exit from the nuclear energy system! Instead, massive public investments in alternative energy systems, which are environmentally friendly and above all safe, are necessary!*

* *All persons responsible for the nuclear disaster – i.e. all directors and managers of the nuclear facility, who were in office at the time of the catastrophe and since then – must be brought to justice at a workers tribunal!*

* *All costs to remedy the consequences of the disaster must be paid by the super-rich, the capitalists and corporate executives! Therefore, they must be expropriated without compensation! All people affected by the consequences of the catastrophe must immediately receive adequate medical treatment as well as compensation for the damages. This is the minimum of what these victims deserve!*

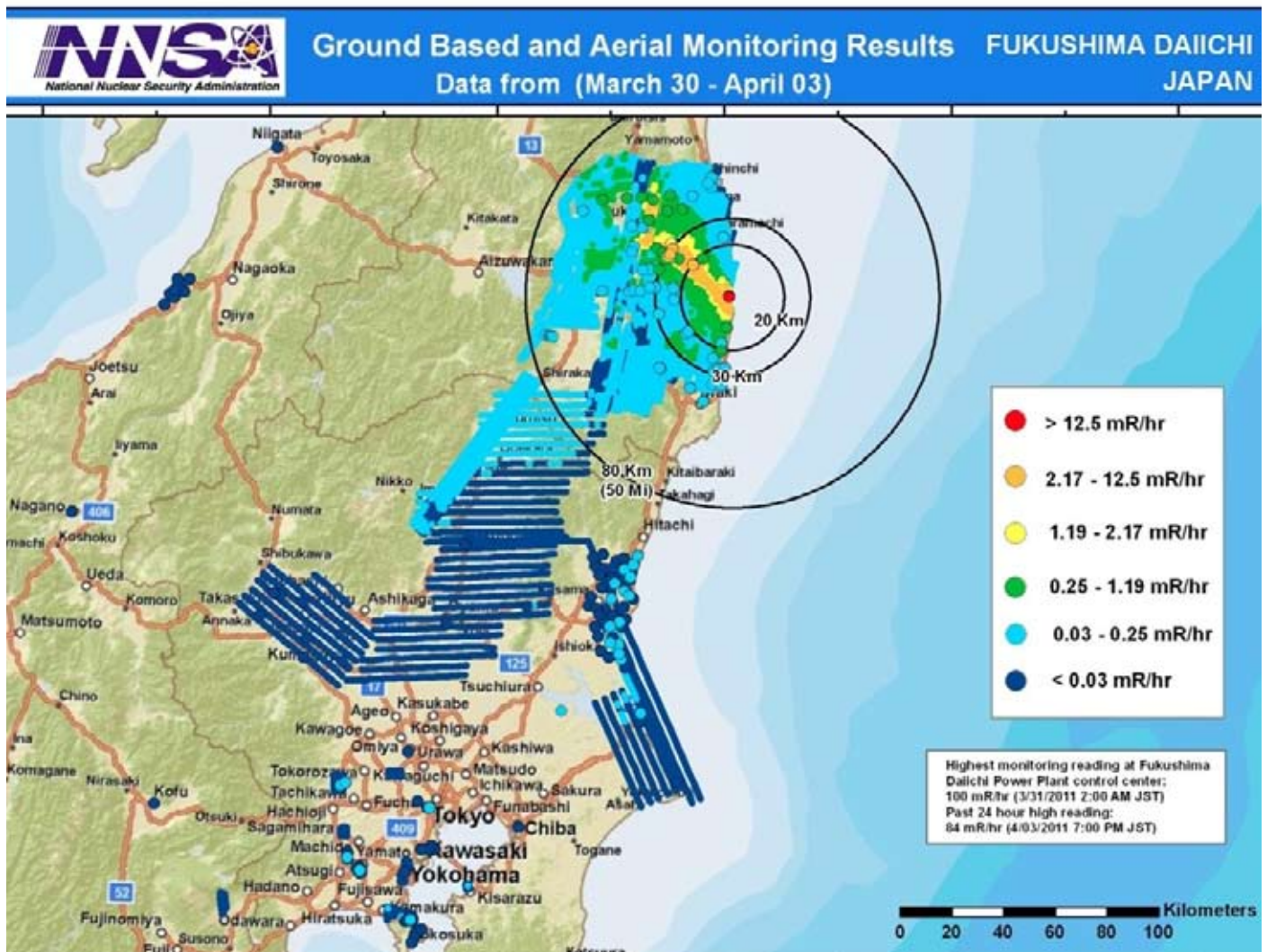
To enforce these demands a massive expansion and radi-

calization of the methods of struggle is required. Demonstrations, as they have taken place, are important but not sufficient. The struggle must be expanded to the enterprises to organize strikes, general strikes and factory occupations. Ultimately, the capitalist class must be overthrown by a socialist revolution of the working class.

The leading forces in the Japanese workers movement – the trade union bureaucracy and the reformist Communist Party of Japan (which scored 10.6% of the votes in the parliamentary elections in July 2013) – are, despite some left phrases, diehard defenders of the capitalist system. The Communist Party, for example, defends the imperialist claims of Japan in the islands dispute with China and South Korea. They are traitors in the ranks of the workers movement. But as long as these reformist bureaucracies remain at the top of the Japanese workers movement, it is necessary to put pressure on them and to demand that they organize the necessary defensive struggles.

However, what is crucial is the timely building of an authentic revolutionary party in Japan as part of a future revolutionary world party of the working class. Only such a party can lead the Japanese working class to socialism! A 'Fukushima' must never happen again! More than ever, it is clear: Socialism or Barbarism! ■

Map of Contaminated Areas around Fukushima (March–April 2011)



Source: Wikipedia, upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d7/NIT_Combined_Flights_Ground_Measurements_30Mar_03Apr2011_results.jpg

Aggravation of Contradictions, Deepening of Crisis of Leadership

Theses on Recent Major Developments in the World Situation

Adopted by the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, 9.9.2013

Note from the Editor: Below we publish a resolution which was discussed and adopted by the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT). Since this meeting took place before the imperialist Geneva accord on Syria, this latest development is not reflected in the thesis. For the RCIT's analysis and conclusions of the Geneva accord see our statement "*Syria: Down with the Imperialist Geneva Accord!*" in this issue of *Revolutionary Communism*.

The following document gives an overview of the most important developments in the world situation since the RCIT's IEC adopted the "*The World Situation and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Communists*" in March 2013. (1)

I. A Maturing of the Nature and Contradictions of the Present Phase of Class Struggle

1. In the RCIT's Document *The World Situation and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Communists* we outlined the main features of the present conjuncture in the capitalist world economy and politics and gave an overview of the class struggle developments in the different parts of the world. The analysis as well as the conclusions of our theses have stood the test of time and fundamentally remain valid. Here we will only deal with the most important events which have transpired in the last few months, assess them and describe their consequences for the world situation and hence for revolutionary tactics.

2. In our document we analyzed the new historical period which opened in 2008 and outlined its fundamentally revolutionary character. This period is marked by a historic crisis of capitalism which poses the alternative "*Socialism or Barbarism*" and as a result is shaped by sharp political explosions which pose the "*Actuality of the Revolution*" on the agenda. We have identified different phases in this period: the first phase as a "*state of shock*" of all classes and the second phase which – starting in late 2010 / early 2011 – was characterized by a "*massive upswing of the class struggle*". In the class struggle developments since then we have identified an initial phase which we called an "*innocent phase*" where the masses, full of illusions, either followed petty-bourgeois and bourgeois leaderships in movements (anti-dictatorship religious and secular opposition forces in the Arab Revolution, SYRIZA in Greece, Occupy movement) or elected them into office

(Tunisia, Egypt). Since then we have seen a process of disillusionment and growing opposition to these elected bourgeois-democratic governments (in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya) or against the FSA-leadership of the Syrian rebels. The occupations movements in the USA and other countries have largely disappeared.

3. While we do not currently identify a new phase, we can certainly see a further development and maturing of the nature and contradictions of the present phase of class struggle as well as the emergence of new facets. We have stated repeatedly that since late 2010 the Arab Revolution is the most advanced sector of the world revolutionary process. We therefore see here first the dangers of any unfinished revolution which is the backlash of the counter-revolution by the pro-imperialist army command (Egypt) or a full intervention of US imperialism in Syria leading to an occupation and the crushing of the revolutionary civil war against Assad (the latter seems unlikely at the moment). The military coup d'état of July 3 was the most significant setback to the Arab Revolution until now. If the dictatorship of General Al-Sisi can continue to consolidate its power and if there are no new revolutionary developments in the Middle East, a serious danger of a reflux of the revolutionary process will commence manifested by the temporary stabilization of the region under the lash of the imperialist powers and the bourgeois repressive state apparatus.

4. However the counterrevolution in Egypt does not exist in a vacuum. There are important mass struggles of the workers and peasants in the Arab world which constitute countervailing tendencies and which could help to re-stimulate a revolutionary upswing in Egypt. These are in particular the ongoing Revolution in Syria, the mass protests in Tunisia, the looming Third Intifada in Palestine and, on a smaller scale, the ongoing strikes and protest in Libya. A revolutionary overthrow of the Assad dictatorship, a successful mass uprising against the bourgeois-Islamist Ennahda government in Tunisia or the beginning of the Third Intifada in Palestine could have tremendous consequences for the whole region and could eliminate the effects of the counterrevolutionary setback in Egypt.

5. In addition two of the world's most important countries – Brazil (the largest country in Latin America) and Turkey (the second largest country in the Middle East and a key regional power which links Europe and Western Asia) – saw important spontaneous popular uprisings in the summer of 2013. There has also been an important further upswing of the class struggle in Greece as a reaction against the closure of the Hellenic Radio Television (ERT) resulting in its occupation and continued operation under workers control. These are all sure signs that the Arab Revolution is not a regionally-isolated phenomena but

rather part of a world revolutionary process. We shall add to this the important mass protests against gang-rape of women in India which have begun in late 2012 and which are still continuing.

6. The aggravation of contradictions between the classes does not express itself only in the numerous mass struggles around the world, but also in the increasing imperialist aggressiveness and the rivalry between the imperialist powers. This is currently most visible in the Syrian crisis and the looming US military strike against the Assad regime. The accelerated militarism and aggressive foreign policy of the new Japanese government of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe is another sign of this tendency. A further reflection of this rivalry is the decision of China, Russia, India, South Africa and Brazil (the so-called BRICS states) to create a \$100 billion fund to defend themselves against currency attacks. In general, these developments demonstrate the rise of the younger imperialist powers (China and Russia) – which have more or less closer links with important countries from the South (Brazil, India, South Africa, etc.) – and the crisis and decline of the old imperialist powers (USA, EU, and Japan). As a result, the latter – still stronger than China and Russia – are trying to halt their decline by means of an aggressive foreign policy. At the same time the imperialist powers of West and East have a common interest to contain and liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the popular masses which explains their complicity with the Egypt military coup.

7. Related to the crisis of Western imperialism is the huge, havoc wreaking scandal surrounding the US's NSA (and other Western secret services), revealed by the US whistleblower Edward Snowden and the British journalist Glenn Greenwald. This scandal has massive,

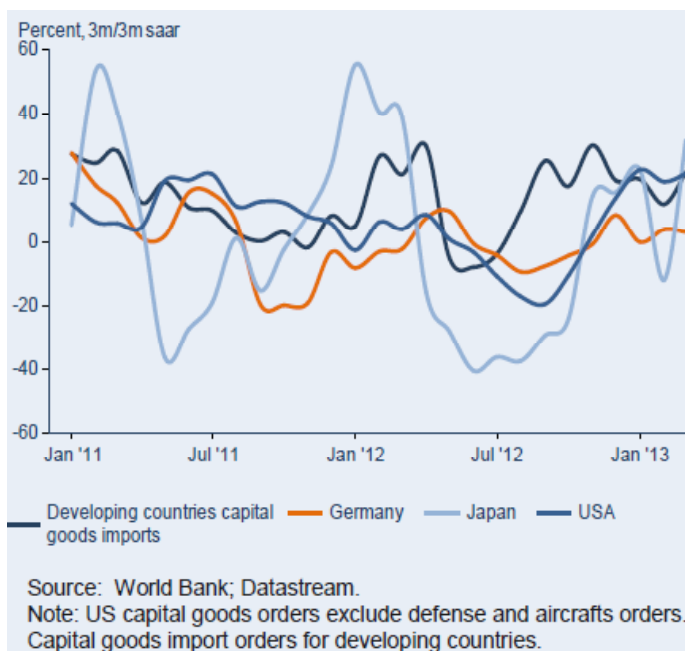
enduring implications. While Marxists were always aware of the thoroughly reactionary and undemocratic nature of the imperialist state apparatus, the Snowden revelations have demonstrated this truth convincingly to the popular masses around the world. This is an important lesson for the masses in imperialist "democracies."

8. The Snowden affair also revealed the increasing strength and self-confidence of the Eastern imperialist powers, Russia and China, to stand up against the US on an issue which was without doubt an extremely important issue for Washington: they refused to extradite Snowden to the US so that the state machine could silence him forever.

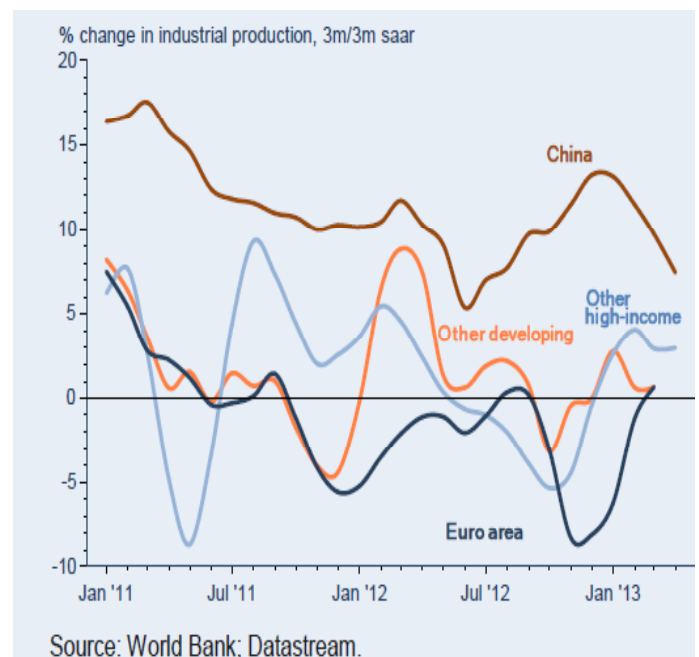
9. The aggravation of the contradictions between the classes and Great Powers, however, also expose the deepening of the crisis of working class leadership. The Stalinists and the ex-Stalinist European Left Party praised the military coup in Egypt. Most centrists denied for a long time the reactionary essence of the coup and many hailed it as "an advance of the revolution" or even as the "Second Egypt Revolution". Things are not better regarding their position on Syria. Most Stalinists and many centrists side with the Assad dictatorship, or take a neutral position under the pretext that the Revolution has been "hijacked by jihadists." Many of those who do not cross class lines and continue to support the revolution, unfortunately combine these correct positions with an opportunist, uncritical support for the pro-Western bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships of the rebels in Syria.

10. This bankruptcy of reformism and centrism once more underlines the urgency of the most important task in the present period – to build revolutionary parties and a World Party of Socialist Revolution (which, in our view,

Graph 1 Capital Goods Orders are picking up in both High Income and Developing Countries 2011-2013 (20)



Graph 2 Industrial Production in World Regions January, 2011 - April 2013 (21)



will be the Fifth Workers' International). The sharpening of the social contradictions, and consequently of the class struggle, expose the bankruptcy of rotten theories and programs, and can help serious working class militants examine their concepts. It is the task of the RCIT to spread its analyses and programmatic responses to the key issues of the world class struggle, to seek discussion and collaboration with serious revolutionary organizations and activists, in order to advance the formation of a stronger international Bolshevik organization.

II. World Economy

11. In our document *The World Situation and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Communists* and in our book *The Great Robbery of the South*, we have outlined the fundamental contradiction of the capitalist world economy (2). We have shown that, because of the over-accumulation of capital and the associated historic tendency of the rate of profit to fall, since 2008 world capitalism has entered a period of decline of the productive forces. We have also shown that the world economy is – after the worst recession since 1929 in 2008-09 – in a phase of sluggish and fragile recovery.

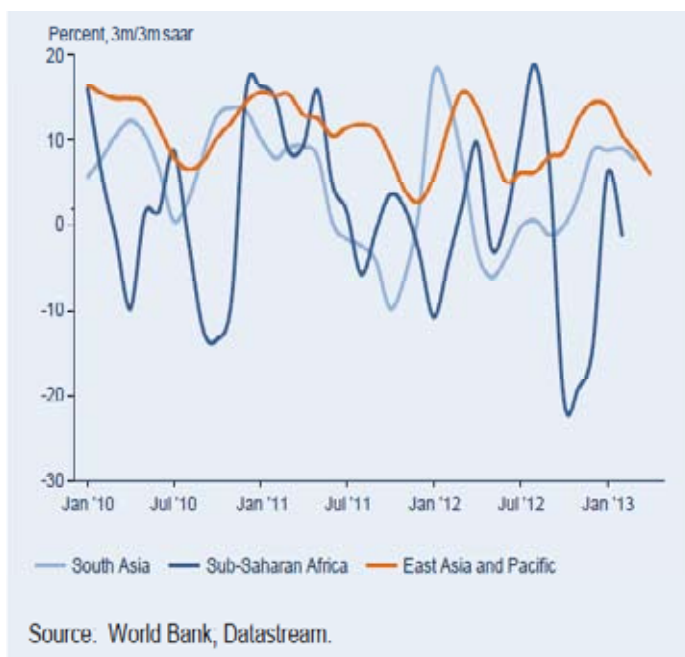
12. This analysis is still valid. It is however useful to point out several developments of the recent past. First the Western imperialist economies could stabilize their fragile recovery to a certain degree. This is reflected in an increase of capital goods orders which rose in the first quarter of 2013 in the US by 21.4%, up from a 13.8% expansion in the fourth quarter of 2012. In Japan, orders rose by 15.5% (Q4 2012) and 31.8% (Q1 2013). In Germany, growth was

weaker but still robust (8.3% in Q4 2012 and 3% in Q1 2013), and in the so-called developing countries orders rose by 19% (Q4 2012) and 22% (Q1 2013; see also Graph 1). However the World Bank has recently warned: “*The pace of expansion of capital goods orders might be easing in the US in the second quarter of the year. Similarly capital import orders by developing countries are also showing signs of moderating.*” (3)

13. Similarly we have seen a certain upswing in global industrial production – a central indicator for the production of capitalist value – including in the Western imperialist economies. Global industrial output rose by 3.4% in Q1 2013, by 5.1% in the “developing” countries and by 3.5% in the old imperialist countries. However – as Graphs 2 to 4 demonstrate – this growth has been very uneven. Growth has been strongest in China. However, even there the growth rate of industrial production has decelerated, as it has similarly done in South Asia. Growth has been weak in the other parts of the South. (See Graph 5) There has been a relatively strong growth – compared to the previous quarters – in the USA and Japan (because of financial Keynesian means as we shall see below). The Euro zone saw only weak growth which was nonetheless an improvement to the recession it faced last year.

14. However this limited upswing can not remove the fact that the world economy faces the weakest and slowest recovery from the worst recession since 1929. Even after more than three years of sluggish recovery, industrial production in the old imperialist countries is still below the pre-crisis level. As we show in Table 1, industrial production in the US is still 1.1% below the 2007 level. Capacity utilization was at 77.6% in July 2013 which is not only far below any other previous recovery levels but is

Graph 3 Industrial Production in East Asia, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, January 2011 - April 2013 (22)



Graph 4 Industrial Production in Europe & Central Asia, Latin America & Caribbean and Middle East & North Africa, January 2011 - April 2013 (23)



even below the recession level of 1990-91! (See Table 2) In imperialist Europe and Japan, industrial production levels are much lower. Capacity utilization in the Euro Area was also at a historic low level of 77% (see Graph 6). For these reasons, the combined output of all imperialist countries is still 6.5% below pre-crisis levels.

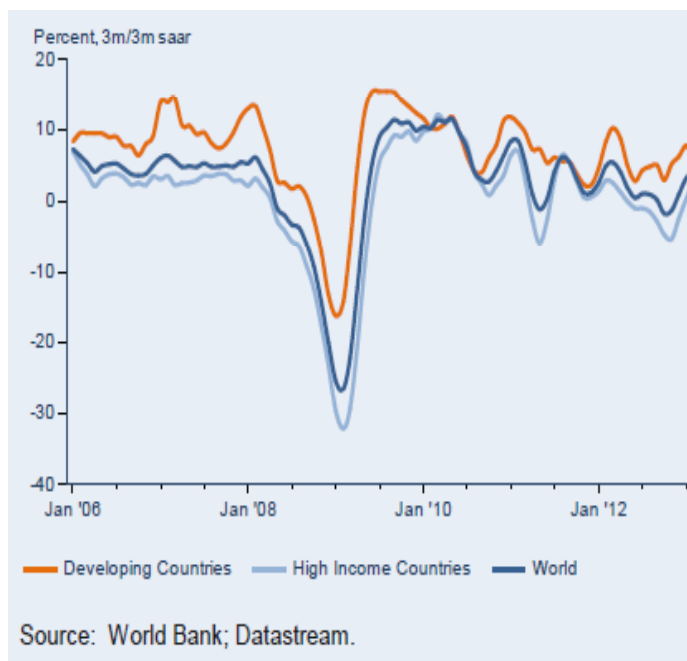
15. Industrial output in Eastern Europe and Central Asia is 2% higher than their pre-crisis peaks. Industrial output in Latin America and the Caribbean and Sub-Saharan Africa is more or less at the same level as in 2007. The Middle East and North Africa are far below the pre-crisis level. The only exceptions are the emerging imperialist economy. China, whose industrial output is 67.9% higher than the pre-crisis high and to a certain degree South Asia with increased output of 19.6%. As we have shown in our book *The Great Robbery of the South*, the main reason for China's economic "miracle" is that "the Chinese rulers were capable of what hardly any other capitalist class has achieved: it subjugated its labor force in their majority to super-exploitation." (4)

16. The artificial character of the present recovery – i.e., that phase in the cycle after the recession and before a boom phase – is also expressed in its extraordinary length compared with past recoveries. The economists Antonio Fatás and Ilian Mihov have compared the present recovery in the U.S. with all those since 1948. They show that while in past cycles the recovery phase took between 3 and 6 quarters, "we are already 15 quarters into the recovery and it is likely to take still several quarters for it to end." They conclude: "So we are witnessing a cycle where the speed of recovery is significantly slower than any of the previous cycles." (5)

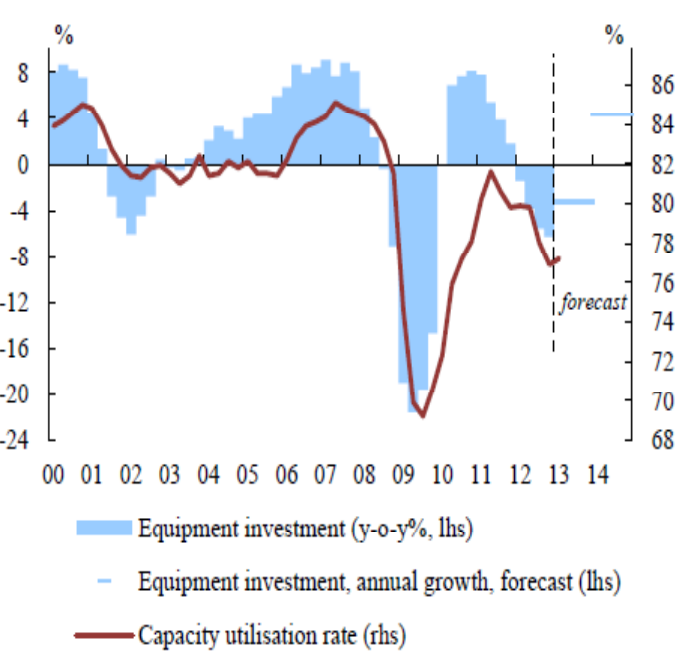
17. While the core of the world economy, and hence of its crisis, remains the old imperialist countries, it is important to note that the South too is increasingly effected from the crisis-tendencies. In Graph 7 we can see that growth is slower in the South than it was before the Great Recession. Graph 8 shows that all southern regions – except East Asia (China!) – were actually or nearly in a recession during the last one and a half years. This underlines that the world economy in its totality is in a historic crisis.

18. The depth of the crisis becomes even clearer if one looks at the causes of this fragile and sluggish recovery. The main reason is the major intervention of the imperialist state apparatus via its central banks and its willingness to massively raise public debt. The central banks of the major Great powers – the USA, Japan, Euro zone – operate the policy of "Quantitative Easing" (QE) in order to facilitate dynamic growth in the world economy. This means – as the Marxist economist Michael Roberts splendidly summarizes – that "central banks buy up government, corporate and mortgage bonds through the expansion of central bank power money ('printing money'), in order to inject 'liquidity' into the economy. The idea is that this extra credit will filter through from the banks and pension funds that the central bank has bought the bonds from into loans to households and businesses. Those loans will lead to more spending in the shops and more investment by businesses." (6) Currently, every month the Federal Reserve (US central bank) spends \$85 billion to buy up bonds! In effect, the significance of this is nothing less than state-capitalist financial Keynesianism in which the central banks, i.e. the capitalist state, prints vast amounts of new money in order to: (a) provide cheap

Graph 5 Global Industrial Production in the Recovery Phase till Q1 2013 (24)



Graph 6 Equipment Investment and Capacity Utilization, Euro Area, 2000-2013 (27)



credits for the capitalists; (b) keep interest rates low so that the capitalists class which is highly indebted have to pay only minimal interest payments; and (c) boost bond and share prices and thereby raise the profits of the financial capitalists. With its QE policy, the Federal Reserve has boosted the U.S. economy's monetary base by 40% between 2008 and mid-2013. Japan's new right-wing government of Shinzo Abe wants to go even further and plans to double the economy's monetary base by 2014!

19. As we have shown in earlier documents, the imperialist state resorted to massive financial Keynesianism during the recession, and as a result public debt grew dramatically. Nonetheless, necessity dictates that they continue this policy even now, in the period of so-called recovery, and hence the General Government Gross Debt keeps growing in the Euro Area (to 96% of GDP in 2014), USA (to 109.2% in 2014) and Japan (244.6% in 2014; see Table 3). In fact what we have seen in the post-recession phase since 2010 is the emergence of a new financial bubble of debts, bonds, etc. This bubble will burst sooner or later and create an economic catastrophe.

20. While QE and boosting of public debt helped avoid another recession (until now!), it could *not* generate growth in the real economy, i.e., in capitalist value production. According to a study of two economists from the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, the large-scale asset purchases programs had only very limited impact on growth in 2010 since they "added about 0.13 percentage point to real GDP growth." And a significant proportion was due to psychological effects, i.e., creating hope amongst capitalists for future growth. Without this "forward guidance," as the bourgeois economists dub the desired psychological effects of QE, the Fed program "would have added only 0.04 percentage point to GDP growth." (7)

21. The stagnation of the imperialist economies is also reflected in high unemployment and declining labor-

participation rates during the so-called recovery. In Europe, unemployment continued to grow from 10.2% (2011) to 12.2% (2013) in the Euro Area, and from 9.7% (2011) to 11.1% (2013) in the EU. At the same time, the employment rate has declined (see Table 4). In the US and Japan, the unemployment rate has declined slightly but nonetheless remains very high: in the US, it declined only from 9.3% (2009) to 7.5% (Q2 2013) and in Japan from 4.8% (2009) to 3.5% (Q2 2013). Furthermore, these declines have *not* been the result of higher employment, but instead by the more rapid removal of unemployed workers from labor market statistics by the capitalist state apparatus, as the figures of declining employment rates demonstrate (see also Graph 9). Compared with the employment rate in Q1 2007, employment in the US as well as in Japan was still down by 1.6% in Q2 2013. (8)

22. This reflects the policy of the capitalists to reduce the labor force and increase the size of the industrial reserve army with the goal of pressurizing the employed workers so that more surplus value can be squeeze out from them. This is reflected in a further surge of the rate of surplus value, i.e., the share of *unpaid* labor time by the workers – which the capitalists appropriate as increased profits – while the share of paid labor time – which the workers receive as wages – is declining. However, as our overview has shown, this increased exploitation does not lead to any real growth.

23. In *The Great Robbery of the South*, we demonstrated that one of the most important ways to counteract the tendency of the rate of profit to fall is by increasing the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world by the imperialist monopolies. This is also visible in the present recovery phase of the capitalist world economy. Substantial volumes of money capital are flowing from the South to the North. This is visible from the increase in the negative current account balance from minus \$16.7bn US in 2012

Table 1 Industrial Production in US Industry February – July 2013 (2007=100) (25)

February	March	April	May	June	July
98.8	99.0	98.7	98.7	98.9	98.9

Table 3 General Government Gross Debt, Euro Area, EU, USA, Japan (% of GDP) (30)

	2011	2012	2013	2014
Euro area	88.0	92.7	95.5	96.0
EU	83.1	86.9	89.8	90.6
USA	102.5	106.5	108.1	109.2
Japan	230.3	237.9	245.4	244.6

Table 2 Capacity Utilization in US Industry. Average, Boom and Recession Data in Past Cycles plus Monthly Data for 2013 (Percent of capacity) (26)

Average	1988-89	1990-91	1994-95	2009	2012	2013	2013	2013
1972-2012	high	low	high	low	July	Feb	April	July
80.2	85.2	78.8	85.0	66.9	77.9	78.1	77.8	77.6

Graph 7 Growth in Major Developing Economies is weaker than in the Pre-Crisis Period (26)



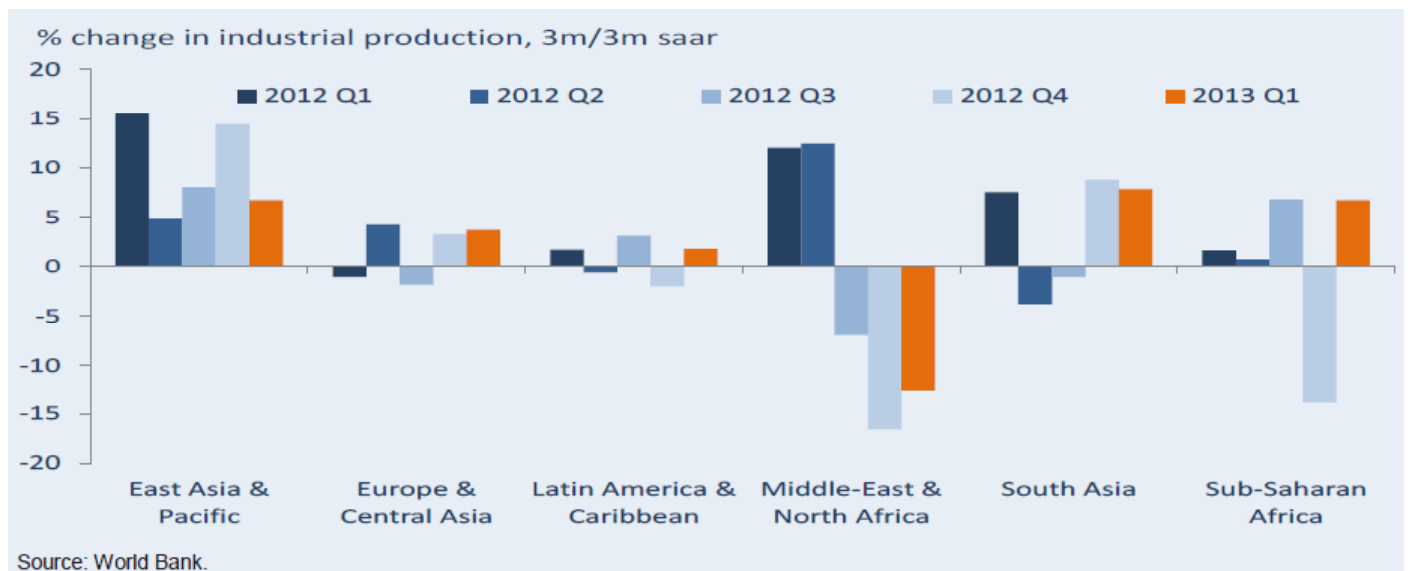
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Table 4 Unemployment Rate and Employment Rate in Euro Area and EU (% of GDP) (31)

	Euro area				EU			
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2011	2012	2013	2014
Unemployment rate (% of labour force)	10.2	11.4	12.2	12.1	9.7	10.5	11.1	11.1
Employment rate	58.6	58.1	57.7	57.8	58.4	58.3	58.0	58.1

Graph 8 Industrial Production in the “Developing World”, 1st Quarter 2012 – 1st Quarter 2013 (29)



to minus \$74.9bn US in 2013, and which – according to the World Bank – will rise to minus \$126.3bn US in 2015 (see Graph 10). An important indicator of this has been the speculative boom in stock markets in the old imperialist countries, where the Stoxx Europe 600, Standard & Poor's 500 Index, and Nikkei 225 are up 17.5%, 18.1%, and 44.5%, respectively since June 2012. Once more, this reflects the imperialist order of the world economy, in which capitalist value production shifts more and more to the South, while the old imperialist monopolies retain their hegemony and squeeze vast volumes of value out of the South.

24. Where is the world economy heading? There are strong signs that the recovery could face serious problems and even end in a new sharp recession in the next 2-3 years. As we have previously shown, the imperialist states financed their artificial recovery by inflating money and increasing their debt. This policy cannot continue forever. In fact, leading figures in the US already indicate that their policy of Quantitative Easing will be phased out in the foreseeable future. This has already created nervousness amongst the big capitalists and financial sharks. For the capitalists, an end or even a reduction of QE means that credit will become more expensive because of higher interest rates and that the state is less able to support them. This means that the costs for debt-service will increase, which will in turn make the capitalists once again less willing to invest in production. It also means that the stock market boom of the last 12 months might end. In short, the current recovery – which has been exceptionally weak and fragile – could already end in the foreseeable future

and turn into another deep recession. However it is also possible that the capitalists will manage to delay the end of the recovery for some time (for example by the central banks' continuing QE). In any case, the next recession will most likely be even worse than the last one. This is because the accumulated wealth and strength of capitalism were fundamentally shattered by the last recession and the current recovery has not regained the losses of 2008-09.

25. To summarize, the present recovery is mainly an artificial recovery which does not represent a real growth of capitalist value production but rather of speculative growth of the financial capitalist sector. This sluggish recovery has been bought dearly by the imperialist central banks' massively pumping new printed money thereby incurring increased debt. This recovery has been paid for, on the one hand, by the working class whose wages are declining and who find their jobs increasingly insecure or even liquidated. On the other hand, it has been financed by the oppressed peoples in the semi-colonial countries from which the imperialist monopolies are squeezing more and more extra profits. The artificial nature of this recovery confirms the Marxists understanding of the character of the present historic period as one in which the productive forces are in fact declining. This phony recovery will end sooner or later in another and even more catastrophic recession than the last one in 2008/09. Only a socialist revolution, in which the working class takes over the economy and plans it according to the social needs, can stop this indefinite series of misery and crisis.

Graph 9 Labor Force Participation Rate 1970-2013 in U.S. (32)



III. The Arab Revolution

26. The region of North Africa and Middle East remains the area where the political contradictions between the classes are most pronounced and which, consequently, has been the most advanced sector of the world class struggle since late 2010. The revolutionary process has shattered not only the bourgeoisie in the Arab countries but also the imperialists' interests, since the latter fear losing control over this strategically important region. A sure indicator of the capitalists' nervousness about the revolutionary process in the Arab world is their massive capital flight which led to a substantial decline in foreign direct investment (from \$29.6bn in 2008 to \$15bn in 2013), negative net portfolio equity flows, and declining foreign exchange reserves (see Table 5 and Graph 11).

27. While development of the class struggle is uneven, there have been a number of incomplete democratic revolutions (Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya), one suppressed but still-smoldering revolution (Bahrain), and an ongoing revolutionary struggle (Syria). However, these revolutions all took place under petty-bourgeois or bourgeois leaderships and have accordingly been

brought to power via parliamentary election. Even in those countries where the masses successfully toppled the dictatorship, they remain *unfinished democratic revolutions*. This means that they are revolutions which – while they secured some democratic rights – did neither abolish the powerful bonapartist repressive state apparatus and its dependency on and super-exploitation by the imperialist powers, nor did they establish full democratic rights, etc. Only if the working class takes power – in alliance with the peasantry and the urban poor – and goes on to expropriate the bourgeoisie and smash the state apparatus and replace it with a new state based on popular councils and militias; in other words, only if it combines the democratic revolution with the tasks of the socialist revolution, only then will it be possible to completely implement the tasks of the democratic revolution. This is the essence of *Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution* and the events in the Arab world have confirmed this vividly.

28. However, revolutionary momentum is not something which can be conserved indefinitely. If a revolutionary party is not formed in time to lead the masses towards seizing power and, therefore, the democratic revolution remains uncompleted for some period of time, the ruling class can reorganize their forces,

Graph 10 Net Financial Flows to Developing Countries (\$ billions) (33)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012e	2013f	2014f	2015f
Current account balance	409.4	233.0	173.3	129.6	-16.7	-74.9	-108.2	-126.3
Capital Inflows	812.7	701.0	1,218.8	1,175.0	1,192.4	1,260.9	1,297.4	1,394.8
<i>Private inflows, net</i>	782.3	620.0	1,145.6	1,145.1	1,178.3	1,250.2	1,290.7	1,391.7
Equity Inflows, net	583.4	541.3	710.5	710.4	758.1	791.1	803.5	863.5
Net FDI inflows	637.0	427.1	582.3	701.5	670.0	719.3	715.7	758.2
Net portfolio equity inflows	-53.6	114.2	128.2	8.9	88.1	71.8	87.8	105.3
Private creditors. Net	198.8	78.7	435.1	434.6	420.2	459.1	487.2	528.2
Bonds	-8.6	61.0	129.7	123.8	190.3	187.3	164.4	151.9
Banks	223.3	-11.9	37.2	108.2	82.0	104.7	125.3	146.9
Short-term debt flows	-17.1	17.8	257.6	189.3	141.0	158.5	188.2	221.1
Other private	1.3	11.7	10.7	13.3	7.1	9.2	10.4	9.8
Official inflows, net	30.4	81.0	73.2	30.0	14.1	10.7	6.7	3.1
World Bank	7.2	18.3	22.4	6.6	4.6			
IMF	10.8	26.8	13.8	0.5	-3.9			
Other official	12.4	35.9	36.9	22.8	13.4			
Capital outflows	-321.2	-175.2	-314.1	-284.7	-365.4	-371.3	-416.3	-464.4
FDI outflows	-211.8	-144.3	-213.9	-198.0	-238.0	-275.0	-325.0	-370.0
Portfolio equity outflows	-32.1	-75.9	-50.6	4.3	-12.4	-17.3	-24.3	-29.4
Private debt outflows	-78.3	50.7	-57.3	-81.0	-103.0	-72.0	-61.0	-56.0
Other outflows	1.0	-5.7	7.7	-10.0	-12.0	-7.0	-6.0	-9.0
Net capital flows (inflows + outflows)	491.5	525.8	904.7	890.4	827.1	889.6	881.1	930.4
Net unidentified Flows/a	-82.1	-292.8	-731.3	-760.8	-843.8	-964.5	-989.3	-1,056.7

Source: The World Bank

Note: e = estimate, f = forecast

/a Combination of errors and omissions, unidentified capital inflows to and outflows from developing countries

the masses – misled by their own incompetent leaderships – become confused and demoralized, and sooner or later the counter-revolution will again raise its head. This is the lesson of the tragic events in Egypt.

The Counterrevolution in Egypt

29. If one has to identify *the most important single event of world politics* in the past 6 months it is without doubt the *counterrevolutionary military coup in Egypt*. (These lines are being written before a possible US military intervention in Syria. If the latter occurs, its importance could equal or – if it escalates – even eclipse the events in Egypt.) The Egyptian military coup is considered the most important event, because Egypt is the largest country in the Middle East, it has the largest working class, and it has been – beside Tunisia – the most advanced country of the Arab Revolution.

30. Recent events in Egypt have demonstrated, once again, that the country has undergone a fundamental revolutionary process since January 2011. Egypt has seen a series of mass mobilizations and a massive increase of strikes since the military-imposed government was replaced after the parliamentary and presidential elections in 2012. The elected bourgeois Islamist government of Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood was accepted by the powerful army command and the imperialist powers, because they hoped that giving such support would contain the revolutionary process by a government which defended the bourgeoisie's interests but which also enjoyed popular legitimacy.

31. However the Morsi government could neither

fulfill the expectations of the masses nor could it implement the rulings class wishes to bring the mass struggles to an end and attack workers wages and subsidies. When Morsi – under pressure of the IMF – announced consumption tax hikes on 9 December 2012, he withdrew them within hours after popular outcry. His government's budget plan for 2013 did not include any serious attempt to cut subsidies and to reduce the deficit (see Table 6). The government introduced some minor reforms such as opening an investigation panel to probe crimes committed during the January 25th revolution and its aftermath; arresting corrupt billionaires like Ahmed Ezz; and forcing billionaires like the Sawiris family to repay evaded taxes. At the same time, the Muslim Brother's government could not satisfy the needs of the popular masses – including those of their own social base, the lower middle class and the urban and rural poor – because it was not willing to expropriate the capitalist class which it was serving. This led to a growing mass unrest against the government while, at the same time, the ruling class conspired in the preparation of a military coup d'état. No wonder that international capital fled the country, with the result that Egypt's foreign exchange reserves plummeted from \$36bn in late 2010 to \$13.4bn at the end of March 2013. When the mass demonstration on June 30th did not lead to a higher stage of struggle, due to its bourgeois-liberal Tamarod and NSF leadership – who sabotaged the movement and were complicit in the army command's conspiracy – the masses demobilized and general al-Sisi staged the July 3rd July coup. The bourgeoisie initially agreed to accept the Morsi government, because the Muslim Brotherhood was clearly

Table 5 Net Capital Flows to Middle East and North Africa (in Billion US-Dollar) (34)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Net FDI Inflows	29.6	26.3	22.3	15.4	18.9	15.0
Net Portfolio Equity Inflows	0.4	1.2	2.0	-0.2	-1.0	-0.5

Table 6 Morsi's Budget Plan 2013/14 compared to the Predecessor's Budget (in Billion Egypt Pounds) (35)

	2012/13 <i>Plan</i>	2012/13 <i>Turnout</i>	2013/14 <i>Plan</i>
Wages and Salaries	137	143	172
Subsidies, Grants and Social benefits	146	183	206
Interest Payments	134	139	182
Other Expenditure	118	123	133
Total Expenditure	534	587	692
Overall Deficit (% of Domestic Output)	7.6%	10.7%	9.5%

the strongest party in the parliamentary and presidential elections, and they hoped that the Brothers could block any furthering of the revolution. When these expectations did not materialize and the Muslim Brotherhood even lost an important part of its popular support, the ruling class took the initiative for the coup d'état the purpose of which was not simply to block but to entirely smash the revolutionary process.

32. Since the July 3rd coup – which has been fully supported by all imperialist powers because they all want to roll back the Arab Revolution – the counterrevolution is in full swing. Its forces brutally massacred the anti-coup mobilizations led by the Muslim Brotherhood, killing several thousands and arresting many more, including most of the Brotherhood's leadership. These forces have also attacked the striking Suez workers as well as other working class activists. At the same time, the coup has restored the full power of the army and the police (including the notorious "special units"), has released corrupt big capitalists from prison (like steel tycoon Ahmed Ezz), has frozen the investigation panel to probe crimes committed during the January 25th revolution and its aftermath, and has released from prison former dictator Hosni Mubarak. In short, the old guard is back under the pretext of "democracy" and "fight against terrorism."

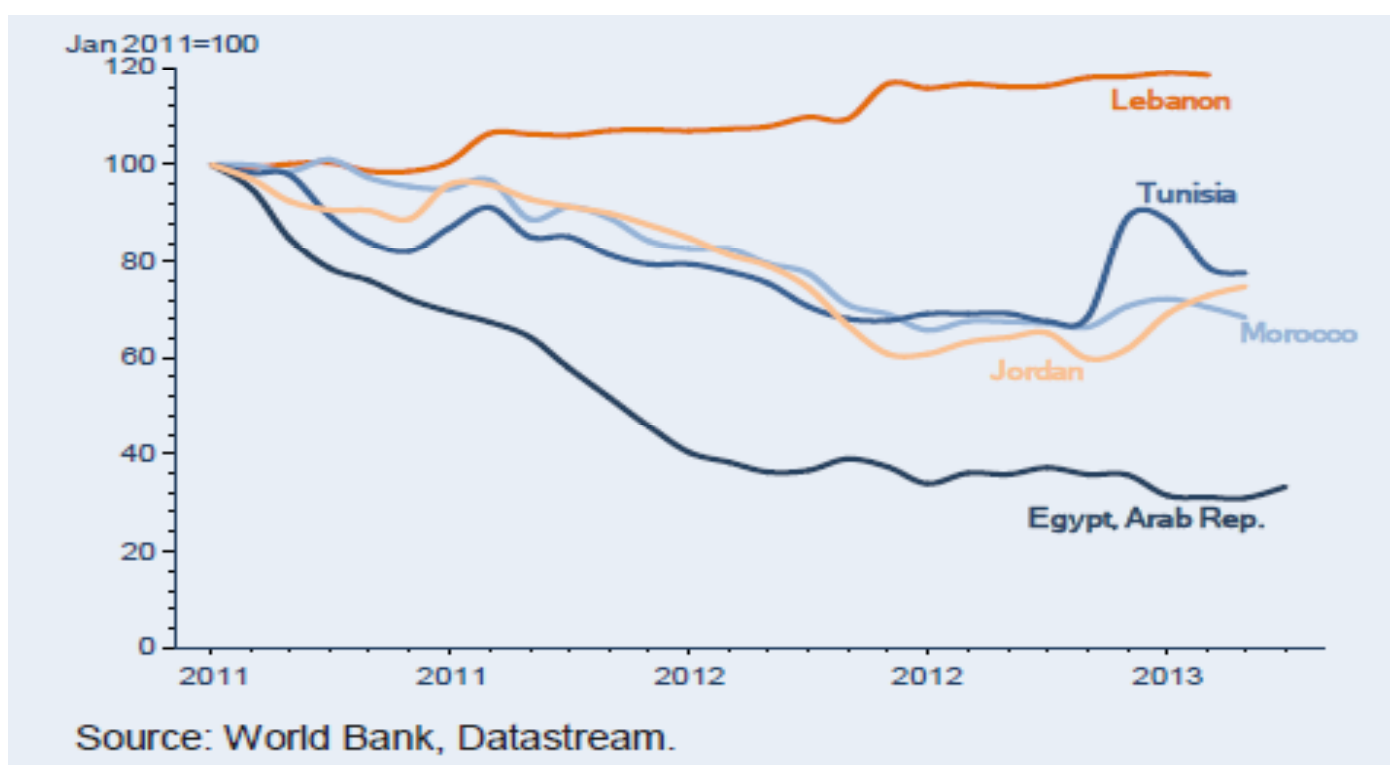
33. As is well known, most of the reformist and centrist left initially denied, or even still deny, that the events of July 3 constituted a counter-revolutionary military coup d'état; some have even gone so far to hail these events as a "revolution". The bloody record of the military junta since July 3 has shown these reformist and centrist leftists to be complete charlatans who have nothing in common with Marxism or with even an elementary program of revolutionary democratism. Those who cannot tell a

revolution from a counterrevolution are totally useless for the task of building a revolutionary vanguard party.

34. In contrast to the reformist and centrist traitors, who supported or downplayed the military coup, the RCIT has understood and highlighted the character of the political events as they were unfolding and derived from it the necessary tactics. (9) Initially, we supported the mass movement against the Morsi government, calling for a revolutionary program, without giving any *political* support for the liberals à la ElBaradei and Tamarod. When most on the left cheered the July 3rd military coup, the RCIT fully understood the character of the military-imposed regime as well as the setback it meant for the working class. We immediately declared that the Al-Sisi regime has become the main enemy. We elaborated a revolutionary answer for this new situation in which the working class was on the defensive and for which the revolutionary-democratic demands – including the slogan of the Constitutional Assembly – became particularly important. In this context, we defend the pro-Morsi demonstrations without giving any *political* support to their leadership, and call for a broad united front (including the Islamists) in defense of democratic rights. We also call for the formation of mass action committees to organize the resistance as well as of armed self-defense units. Only by fully supporting the struggle for democratic rights can the workers movement arrive to a position where it can transform the defensive struggle into an offensive for a workers government.

35. How serious is the defeat of the Egypt working class? As we wrote, above, this will depend on the future struggles in Egypt, but even more so internationally. However, without doubt, the coup and its aftermath constitute a very serious counter-revolutionary defeat. This is not so *only* because it brought the old guard and

Graph 11 Foreign Exchange Reserves have fallen sharply in some Oil Importing Economies (36)



the army back to power, led to the worst massacre on the streets of Egypt for decades, and put an end to many limited democratic rights that resulted from the revolution of January 25. Beyond all these reasons, it is a very serious defeat because it was brought about with the open support of nearly all leadership groups of the workers' movement. Such defeats, which were not opposed militantly, but were even hailed as an "advance," such defeats are the worst! Those who accuse the RCIT of "pessimism" and "lack of trust in the working class" don't understand the events in Egypt, and are making a mistake similar to that made by the centrist Stalinists in the late 1920s and early 1930s, when they downplayed the significance of various defeats for the working class under the pretext of "revolutionary optimism."

36. Karl Marx once prepared a balance sheet of the defeated revolution of 1848-50 in France. He emphasized that the revolutionary process – marked by misleaderships, lack of experience, etc. – creates a strong counter-revolution. Nevertheless it is via such defeats that the revolutionary party is steeled and becomes politically more mature.

"With the exception of only a few chapters, every important part of the revolutionary annals from 1848 to 1849 bear the heading: Defeat of the revolution! What succumbed in these defeats was not the revolution. It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, results of social relationships which had not yet come to the point of sharp class antagonisms – persons, illusions, conceptions, projects from which the revolutionary party before the February Revolution was not free, from which it could be freed not by the victory of February, but only by a series of defeats. In a word: The revolution made progress, forged ahead, not by its immediate tragicomic achievements but, on the contrary, by the creation of a powerful, united counterrevolution, by the creation of an opponent in combat with whom the party of overthrow ripened into a really revolutionary party." (10)

The Egyptian revolution has suffered a counterrevolution precisely because of the non-completion of the democratic revolution. However, these developments are rich in lessons and experience, and it is the task of Marxists to form on their basis a revolutionary party in the country. Sooner or later the Egypt working class and the poor will regain their strength and start to fight back against the dictatorship.

The Civil War in Syria

37. The revolution in Syria is one of the decisive struggles which will determine the future of the Arab Revolution. The overthrow of Assad by means of the popular revolution – not a coup d'état by parts of the regime – could revitalize the unfinished democratic revolution in the region. This is why the ruling classes of the region, as well as the imperialist powers, are so involved in the civil war: they are compelled to manipulate events so that the outcome will not shatter the entire region.

38. As we have stated many times, the mass uprising against the Assad dictatorship which started in March 2011 is thoroughly just, and deserves the full and unconditional support of the international workers movement. (11) The Assad regime receives substantial support from the Eastern imperialist powers, Russia and China. US imperialism and France and Britain would like to expand their influence at the expense of Russia and China while at the same time

containing the revolution.

39. However, the interference and involvement by the imperialists and regional bourgeoisie are not the sole dangers for the Syrian workers and peasants. The revolution also has internal enemies – the different factions of its leadership. The SNC leadership is, to a large degree, willing to become a lackey of Western imperialism. A number of FSA leaders follow a similar line and have proven to be corrupt. The Islamist fundamentalists like Al-Nusra – while less corrupt and anti-Western – try to impose a reactionary regime dictated by their obscure interpretation of the Sharia law. However, the revolution and the war are not being conducted by these various leaderships but by the popular masses. A number of local committees express the revolutionary desire of the masses to live in freedom and justice.

40. The RCIT rejects the views of those who claim that the revolution has been "highjacked" and robbed of any revolutionary dynamic and who – as a result – cease to support it anymore. Yes, there is *an element* of proxy war in Syria, given the strong support of Russia and China for Assad and the – albeit very limited – support for sections of the rebels by the West. However, this element is only a secondary factor, while the popular revolution against the dictatorship is the primary, driving force in the civil war. Revolutionaries have to continue to support the revolution despite its current leadership. The necessary struggle against the rebels petty-bourgeois and bourgeois leaderships must be a struggle *within* the mass movement. It must focus on building independent workers' and peasant committees and militias which can lead the civil war against the Assad gangsters, but which can also defend the masses against attacks and betrayals by FSA and Al-Nusra leaders. However, as long as revolutionaries are not strong enough to replace these leaderships, the struggle in the ranks of the Syrian Revolution will include blocs and united front actions with these non-proletarian leaderships. We call on the international workers' and solidarity movements to support the Syrian Revolution with medicine, shelter, weapons, and volunteers. The Syrian rebels – who are so terribly short of modern weapons – have every right to obtain arms from wherever possible.

The Looming Western Imperialist Strike against Syria

41. The recent escalation in Syria and the looming US attack has opened a new dimension in the conflict, one which is important not only for the future of the Syrian but the entire Arab Revolution. As we have explained repeatedly, US, British and French imperialism want to contain the Syrian Revolution while at the same time expand their influence at the expense of their Russian and Chinese rivals. The Western imperialists would prefer a regime change to come from within the ranks of Assad's state apparatus. The West fears the rebels' coming to power and have already declared Syrian rebel groups to be "terrorists." The August 21st massacre of 1,400 civilians by Assad's troops is currently providing the Western imperialists with a pretext to intervene by means of a limited military strike. These Western imperialists – who have lost their absolute control over the region – hope to regain their influence via military intervention in Syria, after having welcomed the successful counterrevolution

in Egypt.

42. However, the events surrounding the looming US war in Syria have brought into the spotlight important changes in world politics. US imperialism – the most powerful and long-time leading Great Power – is so hated and has lost so much in support and prestige that hardly anyone supports their militaristic plans. No Arab regime – even those who secretly support a US intervention – can openly declare support, because the Arab world hates US imperialism. Many of the Syrian rebels oppose US military intervention. Russia and China have become strong enough to stand up to the US. In Britain – Washington's closest ally – popular opposition against a war is so strong that even the parliament, which is dominated by the Tories and Liberals, voted against any participation in the war. Even in the US itself, popular rejection of the war is so strong that Obama had to ask the Congress for approval of his military plans. This is an extraordinary change in the world situation! It reveals the growing gap between the ruling class and its plans and popular consciousness. It reveals how discredited US imperialism and its militaristic adventures have become. Cameron's and Obama's turn to their legislative bodies will also have important implications for future wars, since the precedent set in the case of Syria will undoubtedly influence future popular opinion, convincing citizens that there should be "democratic" debate and a vote on any military actions.

43. Contrary to Obama's initial plans, the entire situation has become an imbroglio for US imperialism. Initially, the Obama administration hoped that it could utilize popular outrage against Assad's chemical weapon attack to justify a limited military strike to "punish" the Syrian regime, and in doing so win influence in the region and popular sympathy for their "humanitarian" little war. Now it turns out that no one likes the war, and the US can hardly find an ally – except, of course, for the French government of the "socialist" Holland, which is supported by the *Front de Gauche* and the French Communist Party! If the US sticks to its military plan, it will become isolated even more – not least because it has already so successfully alienated so many governments and people with the revelations of their NSA surveillance programs! Furthermore, it will be difficult for the Obama administration to declare victory in such a military adventure, since its declared intentions are *not* to overthrow Assad; the latter will certainly proclaim "victory" as long as the US completes its attacks and he is still in power. If the US faces any kind of counter-attack – by Assad troops or by any other forces – in Syria or elsewhere, it will be drawn into a war for which it has no desire. On the other hand, if the US should now refrain from an attack, the whole world will interpret this as an American defeat. Thus, if the US Congress does not approve the war, it will be a major defeat for Obama and for US imperialism as a whole.

44. The RCIT opposes any kind of imperialist intervention in Syria and the Middle East. We call the workers' movement to oppose and obstruct any military intervention of US, British or French imperialism with mass protests, strikes and direct actions. Workers in the West: Stop the transport of all materials relevant to Obama's war efforts! US-Soldiers: Follow the example of the hero Chelsea Manning and reveal the truth about the

murderous US military machine! Organize to obstruct by any means possible such an unjust war! We call for the defeat of the US and their allied forces in a conflict with the Assad forces! If the Western imperialists 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. Russian workers and Iranian workers should oppose and sabotage any military aid for the Assad regime. Similarly, the working class across Lebanon should pressurize Hezbollah to stop its support for Assad. Instead, the international workers' movement must mobilize to rally international solidarity for the Syrian rebels. It must also fight to open the borders for Syrian refugees. We call for an international conference of the workers' movements and organizations of the oppressed to discuss how to support the Arab Revolution and obstruct the imperialist interference. To summarize, the international workers' movements' slogans should be: *Victory for the Syrian Revolution! Stop imperialist attacks! Defeat the Assad Dictatorship! Arm the Revolution! Open the Borders for Syrian Refugees!*

45. The defeat for Cameron's war plans by the British parliament and Obama's forced compliance to have a vote in the US congress also demonstrates that, in specific situations, imperialist plans can be hampered even by the means of bourgeois democracy. While Marxists have no illusions in the "power" – or better, impotence – of bourgeois democracy against the interests of imperialist monopolies and Great Powers, we certainly do not ignore such limited possibilities. While mass actions on the streets and in the workplaces must remain the focus of the class struggle against a military strike in the Western countries, in situations like the current one it is legitimate to raise the *call for a popular referendum about any military actions by the ruling class in the West*. This was the method which the US-American Trotskyists employed when they campaigned in 1939 under the slogan "*Against the War: Let the people vote on war!*" (12) This tactic was based on Trotsky's earlier advice to the US section of the Fourth International to support the campaign of the Democratic Party's Congressman Ludlow for a popular referendum about US entry into a world war. (13)

46. A limited military intervention by the US would not change the character of the civil war in Syria. We will combine the opposition against the US attack with continued support for the Syrian Revolution. Marxists can only give up such a combined dual tactic if the US imperialist intervention changes its character and desires for the occupation of the country. In such a case the Syrian revolution would lose its independent character and become subordinated to the need to defend the country against imperialist aggression. (14)

Tunisia: Mass Protests against the Ennahda Government

47. Similar to Egypt until July 3rd, Tunisia is ruled by a bourgeois government led by the Islamist *Ennahda* – in coalition with the bourgeois secular parties CPR and Ettakatol – which was elected in the parliamentary elections. Here too the elaboration of a new constitution is a major political issue. The government has not been able

to meet the needs of the masses for bread, employment and consistent democratic freedoms. This has caused repeated mass demonstrations and strikes against the Ennahda government which have escalated after the murder of leading politicians of the petty-bourgeois left-wing Popular Front like Chokri Belaid (in February 2013) and Mohamed Brahmi (in July).

48. In Tunisia, the working class vanguard has sizeable political parties and leads an influential left-wing inside the trade union federation UGTT. However, these same forces follow a petty-bourgeois strategy which mechanically separates the completion of the democratic revolution from of the question of working class power. As a result, the working class left is looking to create popular fronts with secular bourgeois forces, seeing as it does that the struggle against Islamism is the main issue. However, the Islamist Ennahda still enjoys strong support among sectors of the popular masses, as recent mass demonstrations organized by them have shown. Thus, a central issue remains breaking the working class vanguard away from the Islamist forces. This is only possible with a clear program of consistent democracy, anti-imperialism and working class power, i.e., the program of Permanent Revolution. While the old guard of Ben Ali is weaker than the pro-Mubarak *fulools*, there is a danger of a military coup d'état similar to that in Egypt.

49. The RCIT calls the workers' vanguard to break with any political alliances with petty-bourgeois or bourgeois liberal forces. Working class independence is the first prerequisite to winning over the popular masses. The workers vanguard should play a leading role in the mobilizations against the Ennahda government. It should agitate for the formation of action committees, armed self-defense units to protect its activists, and an indefinite general strike. The goal should be the overthrow of the Ennahda government by a popular insurrection – which is only possible if the masses have been won over for such a program – in order to form a *Workers and Peasant Government*. At the same time the workers vanguard should publicly declare its support for the popular struggle in Egypt against the dictatorship of General Al-Sisi and state in advance that in the event of a military coup in Tunisia against the Ennahda government, it would defend the latter against the putschists (similar to how the Bolsheviks prepared the overthrow of the Kerensky government, but defended it against the right-wing coup d'état attempt by General Kornilov).

Occupied Palestine/Israel: Third Intifada ahead?

50. The Palestinian liberation struggle has been fuelled with new dynamic recently. The main reasons for this is the ongoing Zionist oppression, the inspiring Arab Revolution since 2011 and the victorious defensive war of Gaza against the mighty Israeli army in November 2012. The growing self-confidence of the Palestinian workers, peasants and lower middle-class has been met with new provocations by the re-elected Netanyahu government, like the *Prawer Plan* to expel the Palestinian Bedouins from their lands and the plans to expand the Zionist settlements in the West Bank. Parallel to these provocations, the imperialists have started a new round of so-called "Peace Talks" between the Israeli government and the Palestinian

Authority which are merely a charade. In addition, the Netanyahu government is implementing social cuts directed against the Israeli-Jewish working class. Another important attack is the desire of the government to force the ultraorthodox Jews into military service. All this has caused massive protests against the Netanyahu government. While the protests against social cuts seem to have declined, the Palestinians are on war-footing and calls for the *Third Intifada* are spreading. It can also be taken for granted that the ultraorthodox Jews will show a determined resistance.

51. At the same time the Palestinian liberation struggle faces numerous obstacles. It lacks a revolutionary party and the trade unions are weak. Its president Mahmoud Abbas ("Abu Mazen") is a lackey of Western imperialism, and is still in power only because of his continued delaying of the long overdue presidential elections, out of fear of a victory for Hamas. Hamas has been at the forefront of the resistance, but it controls the masses bureaucratically and its leadership desires a compromise with Zionism in order to become the new bourgeois Palestinian government. In addition, the Palestinian liberation struggle suffered a setback following the reactionary military coup in Egypt. The junta of General Al-Sisi has instituted a total blockade of the Gaza Strip from the Egyptian side, and is attempting to engineer a pro-imperialist coup against Hamas.

52. The RCIT and its section in Occupied Palestine/Israel support the resistance against the Prawer Plan, against the settlement plans, as well as against the attacks on the ultraorthodox Jews and the social cuts. We denounce the so-called "Peace Talks" and call for the Palestinian side to leave them immediately. As in the past, we defend Gaza against the Israeli state terrorism and will defend Hamas against a possible military coup by corrupt imperialist lackeys like Mohammed Dahlan. While supporting the struggles against these attacks, we warn workers, peasants and youth to have no illusions with regard to petty-bourgeois and bourgeois secular and Islamist leaderships of the movement. We call for the working class and the oppressed to build popular committees and militias so that the masses can control the struggle themselves. We combine such tactics with the perspective of smashing the Zionist Apartheid state and for a Workers' and Falahin Government leading to a multi-national workers' state supported by the Fallahins from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea.

Ongoing Protests and Instability in Libya

53. Libya is still in the midst of an unfinished democratic revolution. After the overthrow of the Gaddafi dictatorship, a bourgeois pro-imperialist government was elected. However, this government is weak and, until now, has been unable to disarm the tens of thousands of armed workers and peasants. Libya is a particularly insecure country for Western imperialists, as was demonstrated by the assassination of the US ambassador in September 2012 and the attack against the French embassy. The armed popular masses forced the government against its – and the Western imperialists – will to pass the *Political Isolation Law*, which forces anyone who held a position under Gaddafi's rule to resign from public office. Ongoing protests have forced the interior and defense ministers to resign. While

the masses have not been able until now to take power, their continued mobilization forced the regime to increase the subsidies for fuel, food, and electricity to 11% of GDP in the budget for 2012 and to further increase them to nearly 14% of GDP in the 2013 budget. Furthermore, wages in the public sector were raised by 30% in 2011, by another 27% in 2012 and a 20% wage increase is budgeted for 2013. (15) The government has been unable to privatize its oil industry and continues in the main to control it. Currently there is an ongoing major strike of dock workers in the ports of Es-Sider and Ras Lanuf, which are also central oil-export terminals.

54. These developments demonstrate the ongoing revolutionary process in Libya—contrary to the nonsensical statements of pro-Gaddafi boneheads who denounced the Libyan Revolution as a reactionary CIA conspiracy. However, as in other countries, the working class is faced with a major crisis of leadership. Its absence poses the danger that sooner or later the government will either succeed in clamping down of the workers movement and the armed popular militias, or that the workers will be misled by Islamist forces or degenerate into criminality.

IV. Spontaneous Popular Uprisings in Brazil and Turkey, Continuing Class Struggle in Greece, Mass Protests against Widespread Rape of Women in India

Spontaneous Popular Uprisings in Brazil

55. There have recently been spontaneous popular uprisings in two key countries of the semi-colonial world – Brazil and Turkey. Triggered by the rise of public transport tickets, hundreds of thousands – with the youth in the forefront – took the streets in Brazil's cities in mid-June to express their disgust towards corrupt and greedy politicians. This eruption led to the withdrawal of the price rises and various promises of the PT-led government of Dilma Rouseff for reforms and public investments. While the spontaneous movement declined in July, it was followed by two national days of action called by all trade union federations (July 11th and August 30th). These days of action were bureaucratically controlled by the union leadership, but were nevertheless important actions which signal that the class struggle has entered a new phase in the country. The controversial Football World Championship in mid-2014 will likely constitute another provocation for the impoverished masses. All in all, protest has declined but, as it did not suffer a defeat, it will doubtless serve as inspiration for future protests.

56. While the protests were a progressive popular rebellion in which revolutionaries had to participate, they were also marked by important weaknesses. They were not led by working class forces but had a strong middle class component. This again led to a massive Brazilian nationalism and a hostile attitude to the participation of left-wing political parties. In addition the movement lacked any organizational structure and accountable leadership. The RCIT and its fraternal Brazilian group EMS called for the working class to join the protests and take the lead. We called for the formation of action committees and self-defense units against police repression. We called for the

workers' movement to bring the struggle to the workplaces and to organize a general strike. (16)

Spontaneous Popular Uprisings in Turkey

57. Similar to the events in Brazil, a relatively minor incident – the planned closure of the famous Gezi Park in Istanbul –triggered the largest spontaneous popular uprisings in Turkey since the military coup d'état in 1980. The protests continued for weeks and drew the broad popular support– again led by the youth. Here, compared with Brazil, the protests met a more violent reaction from the state apparatus and its bourgeois-Islamist AKP government of Erdogan. In Turkey, protest has also declined but, as it was not defeated, it will have major impacts for future struggles.

58. Contrary to Brazil what was encountered in Brazil, there was no hostility to the left during the protests. Still, there were a number of weaknesses. First, the Kemalist CHP – which is strongly anti-Kurdish and close to the coup-tested reactionary army command – played an important role in the protests. Second, middle class elements, and not the working class, constituted the dominant force. Nevertheless, the relation between the overall movement and the workers' movement was much closer as was demonstrated by a call for a general strike by the public sector union KESK and the left-wing union federation DISK in solidarity with the protests. Similar to Brazil, the RCIT called for support of the movement, for the working class to join and lead the struggle, for a general strike, and for the formation of actions committees. (17)

Continuing Class Struggle in Greece

59. The sudden and brutal closure of the Hellenic Radio Television (ERT) in June provoked a new wave of class struggle in Greece. The strike, occupation, and autonomous continuation of programming by journalists on the internet not only showed the determination of the workers but also caused wide-spread popular support. It also led to a governmental crisis with the right-wing reformist DIMAR party leaving the coalition government.

60. Still, the reformist bureaucracy in the trade unions and the left-reformist SYRIZA and the Stalinist KKE continue to control the workers movement and the various one-day general strikes. Because SYRIZA is still in the opposition, it has gained from the mass protests since the elections in mid-2012 where the party had a sensational success and got 26.9% of the votes. Since then it doubled its membership to about 35-40,000 members. At its recent congress in July of this year, the leadership around Tsipras consolidated its grip over the party and moved it programmatically to the right. However, the congress also demonstrated the existence of a left opposition with about 30% of the membership behind it.

61. While, in itself, there is nothing wrong with entry work in a reformist party, it must be done on a revolutionary basis. It must be made clear that Tsipras' role is to block and contain the class struggle and to avoid any future revolutionary development. This means that such a left wing must fight for a revolutionary program, it must denounce clearly and sharply the leadership whenever it betrays the interests of the masses, and it must have a clear

notion of splitting the party at some point in the future. Otherwise it becomes a left-wing cover for the bureaucracy – for which the IMT of Alan Woods is a glaring example.

Mass Protests against Rape of Women in India

62. The death of a young woman which was brutally gang-raped in December 2012 provoked a wave of mass protests in India which continue till now as again and again more incidents of gang-rape become public. These protests have shed light on the systematic and brutal oppression of women in India. As many as 100,000 women are burned to death each year and another 125,000 die from violent injuries that are rarely reported as killings. In addition, girls and women generally receive worse treatment than boys and men in terms of eating solid food, protection of their health, buying them mosquito netting to ward off malaria and dengue, etc. Because of these differences in nutrition and care, a substantially greater number of girls under the age of 4 die of infectious and respiratory diseases in India compared with elsewhere. As a result, India's gender-ratio between the number of males vs. females is one of the most unbalanced in the world, i.e., there are significantly fewer women in Indian society than men (e.g., 113 boys – 100 girls among children under the age of 15).

63. The causes of this disparity are the poverty and the patriarchal backwardness in which the Indian society is trapped due to its domination as a semi-colony of the imperialist powers and monopolies, with the complicity of a corrupt native bourgeoisie and the large landowners. These ruling forces deliberately conserve and disseminate a deeply reactionary culture which is thoroughly misogynous. Of course, the oppression of women and rape is not confined to India, but exists throughout the world. Those Western liberals who arrogantly denounce "backward India" for its high incidence of rape must be reminded that it was Western colonial power which plundered and oppressed this country for centuries, and that rape is widespread in the West too, albeit often more hidden.

64. The mass protests against the brutal oppression of women are extremely important because they help to mobilize women as a leading force in political life. They offer the possibility that the working class and oppressed movements can unite men and women on a more equal basis – thus making them stronger as a class – and overcome patriarchal prejudices in their own ranks. While the mass protests in Delhi against the gang-rape culture are dominated by middle-class elements, there are also important protests in poorer provinces and villages. A dangerous element is the influential role which the right-wing Hindu-chauvinist BJP – the leading opposition party – plays in some protests.

65. The RCIT considers it an important task of the workers' vanguard to fight at the forefront of these mass protests against rape. The main focus must be mobilizing and organizing of working class women, as well as urban and rural poor, in action committees. It is similarly important to set up self-defense units of armed women and men to keep the streets secure, since the police are traditionally indifferent to sexual harassment. The broad formation of such action committees can also create the necessary pressure to drive forward a cultural revolution

among the entire working class, poor peasants, and urban poor. At the same time, it is necessary to fight against the reactionary influence of the BJP and, wherever possible, to drive them out of the movement. The workers' vanguard should also fight politically against the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feminism. Of course, this does not exclude joint united front agreements with them for practical actions. The strategic goal must be to build a revolutionary working class women's movement as part of the efforts to build a revolutionary workers' party.

V. The NSA Scandal, Snowden, Manning, and Assange as Symbols of the Imperialist Anti-Democratic Reaction

66. The NSA scandal has revealed to the whole world the deeply reactionary, anti-democratic character of imperialist state machineries in general and of US imperialism in particular. Their attempts to surveil practically the entire world, their readiness to daily break even their own laws, their fanatical determination to hunt down whistleblowers like Edward Snowden and Chelsea Manning, as well as WikiLeaks' leading figure Julian Assange – all these are practical lessons for the masses. They show that – as Lenin puts it – "*Imperialism is, in general, striving towards violence and reaction.*" One must not underestimate the deep and long-lasting effects of these scandals. It has created a political-"moral" crisis of US imperialism and its closest allies since they have been the verbal harbinger of "democracy," "the rights of the individual," etc. This was of course always hypocrisy but important sectors of the masses did believe it, at least to a certain degree. These illusions have now been shattered which is, of course, to be welcomed.

67. The Snowden affair has also once more demonstrated the increasing rivalry between the USA and the Eastern imperialist powers, and the rising strength of the latter. Despite massive pressure from the US neither Russia nor China were prepared to extradite Snowden.

68. The NSA scandal also underlines the RCIT's assessment that in the period of capitalism's decline, the imperialist state apparatus becomes more and more authoritarian and bonapartist. This on provokes democratic aspirations of the masses. Lenin's thesis from 1916 is highly relevant today:

"They are even more pronounced, for imperialism does not halt the development of capitalism and the growth of democratic tendencies among the mass of the population. On the contrary, it accentuates the antagonism between their democratic aspirations and the anti-democratic tendency of the trusts." (18)

69. The NSA scandal – as well as the Arab Revolution and Counterrevolution or the Occupy movement – all show that the democratic question is of enormous importance in the present period. Marxists must not ignore or denigrate this question but become pioneers in this field, fight for it – as "*the tribune of the people*" as Lenin puts it in *What Has To Be Done* – with class struggle methods and combine it with a socialist perspective. They must be "*consistent democrats*" as the Bolsheviks called themselves. (19) Such a perspective includes the demands for a stop of the witch hunts against Snowden and Assange and the release of Manning. The working class should also fight for the abolition of the

numerous secret services as well as the abrogation of the various “anti-terror” laws which only serve the ruling class. It should prepare to defend itself against the increasingly repressive and authoritarian imperialist state apparatus.

VI. Deepening of the Crisis of Leadership

70. The disaster of the Egypt Revolution, the stalemate of the Revolution in Syria, as well as the lack of orientation in the Brazilian and Turkish uprisings underline once more the depth of the crisis of leadership. The masses are led by traitors and charlatans who just utilize the struggles as a starting basis to enter a bourgeois government. The bourgeois-Islamists, the pro-Western liberals, the SYRIZA-type of reformists, the muddle-heads leading Occupy movements – they are all unwilling or incapable of leading the masses forward and helping them to organize independently in action councils.

71. The aggravation of the contradictions in the last half year also demonstrated the bankruptcy of most of those who claim to represent an alternative to the existing leaderships of the masses: the centrists. The fact is that Egypt and Syria showed that the vast majority of centrism is completely incapable of understanding the sharp turns in the class struggle and to draw the correct programmatic conclusions from them. These events have shown that there is a vast gulf between Marxism and centrism. When the class struggle escalates, they will often not stand on the same side of the barricade. This is an important lesson particularly for those who entertain illusions that “all socialists” or “all Trotskyists” have much more in common than what divides them and therefore they should unite in a single party. No, a clear understanding of class struggle events, as well as a consistent revolutionary line – these are the prerequisites for any progress in building the revolutionary party. On the other hand, those who are capable of find a correct orientation or to correct past mistakes have the political obligation to take serious steps forward to discuss unity on a clear programmatic basis. This is the approach of the RCIT, and we are willing to discuss and collaborate with all those who share such an outlook.

72. The deep crisis of world capitalism, the intensification of the class struggle, the growing numbers of revolutionary events as well as the rising danger of the counter-revolution – all these highlight the sharp character of the historic revolutionary period which commenced in 2008. It shows that capitalism is not only a bankrupt system but that it is a threat to humanity’s future. Rosa Luxemburg words “*Socialism or Barbarism*” are the actual alternative for humanity. To avoid barbarism, the international working class – uniting the heavy battalions of the South with the non-aristocratic mass of the proletariat in the North – must overthrow the global capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. This requires the formation of a new *World Party of Socialist Revolution* in time. After the failure of the first four revolutionary working class Internationals, this will be the Fifth Workers’ International. The RCIT calls all revolutionaries to join us in the struggle to build such an International in order to open the doors towards a socialist future!

Footnotes

(1) See The World Situation and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Communists. Theses of the International Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency, March 2013, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 8, April 2013, pp.33-42, www.thecommunists.net/theory/world-situation-march-2013

(2) See Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South (2013), Chapter 3, see also www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net

(3) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 34

(4) See Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South (2013), Chapter 10, p. 287

(5) Antonio Fatás, Ilian Mihov: From recession to normalcy: Recoveries as a third phase of the business cycle, 14 August 2013, <http://www.voxeu.org/article/recoveries-missing-third-phase-business-cycle>

(6) Michael Roberts: Down in the Jackson Hole, 24.8.2013, <http://thenextrecession.wordpress.com/2013/08/28/down-in-the-jackson-hole/>

(7) Vasco Cúrdia and Andrea Ferrero: How Stimulatory Are Large-Scale Asset Purchases?, FRBSF ECONOMIC LETTER 2013-22, August 12, 2013, p. 1

(8) See U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics: International Unemployment Rates and Employment Indexes, Seasonally Adjusted, 2009-2013, August 1, 2013, pp. 3-4

(9) See the numerous RCIT statements and articles on the Egypt coup since early July:

* Yossi Schwartz: Israel and the Coup in Egypt, 21.8.2013, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/israel-and-egypt-coup

* RKOBL-Leaflet: Down with the Military Dictatorship in Egypt! www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/leaflet-on-egypt

* Nina Gunić: Austria: Solidarity Demonstration in Vienna against the military dictatorship in Egypt, 18.8.2013, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-solidarity-demo-in-austria

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* RCIT: Egypt: Appeal for solidarity after steel workers arrested by army, 13.8.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-solidarity-with-steel-workers/>

* Michael Pröbsting: The Coup d’État in Egypt and the Bankruptcy of the Left’s “Army Socialism”. A Balance Sheet of the coup and another Reply to our Critics (LCC, WIVP, SF/LCFI), 8.8.2013, www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism

* 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

* 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

* Yossi Schwartz: Egypt: The U.S. Support for the Military Coup and the Left’s ignorance. 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

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[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](#). All articles except the two latest one have been published in the RCIT's international journal *Revolutionary Communism* No. 12 (July/August 2013).

(10) Karl Marx: The Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850 (1850), Introduction, [www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1850/class-struggles-france/index.htm](#)

(11) 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 in the RCIT's publication:

* RCIT: Syria: Against Assad and Against Imperialism – Victory to the Revolution! For International Solidarity with the Popular Revolution against the murderous Assad Dictatorship! But Without and Against any Western Imperialist Military Intervention! 27.8.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-against-assad-imperialism](#)

* 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](#)

* 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](#)

* 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](#)

* 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](#)

* 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](#) with pictures and videos at [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](#)

* 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](#).

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

(12) Socialist Workers Party: Political Resolution (1939); in: The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party, Minutes and Resolutions 1938-39, Monad Press 1982, p. 347

(13) "We say: The Ludlow referendum, like other democratic means, can't stop the criminal activities of the sixty families, who are incomparably stronger than all democratic institutions. This does not mean that I renounce democratic institutions, or the fight for the referendum, or the

fight to give American citizens of the age of eighteen the right to vote. I would be in favour of our initiating a fight on this; people of eighteen are sufficiently mature to be exploited, and thus to vote. But that's only parenthetical." (in: Leon Trotsky: The Transitional Programme for Socialist Revolution, Pathfinder 1977, p. 115). See also Leon Trotsky: The Ludlow Amendment (Letter to James P. Cannon, 1.2.1938); in: Trotsky Writings 1937-38, pp. 158-159.

(14) See on situation where such combined, dual tactics in wars are correct in Michael Pröbsting: Liberation struggles and imperialist interference; in *Revolutionary Communism* No. 5, [www.thecommunists.net/theory/liberation-struggle-and-imperialism](#)

(15) See Mohsin Khan and Karim Mezran: The Libyan Economy after the Revolution: Still No Clear Vision; in: IssueBrief, published by the Atlantic Council and the Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East, August 2013, pp. 5-6; Libya Business News: Public Sector Wages to Jump 20%, 07 September 2013, [http://www.libya-businessnews.com/2013/09/07/public-sector-wages-to-jump-20/](#)

(16) See RCIT and EMS: Brazil: Solidarity with the Popular Uprising!, 19.6.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-solidarity-with-popular-uprising](#)

(17) RCIT: See 'Long live the Protest on Taksim Square!' – 'Long live International Solidarity!' 'Yaşasın Taksim direnişimiz!' – 'Yaşasın halkların kardeşliği!', 3.6.2013, [www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/turkey-victory-to-protest-on-taksim-square](#)

(18) V. I. Lenin: A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism; in: LCW Vol. 23, p. 51

(19) Lenin summarized – in differentiating Marxism from "imperialist economism" which ignores the totality of the political contradictions in capitalism – the Bolsheviks understanding of the relationship of socialism and democracy in the following sentences: "It fails 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)

(20) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 34

(21) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 7

(22) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 34

(23) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 34

(24) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 33

(25) FEDERAL RESERVE Statistical Release: Industrial Production and Capacity Utilization, 15. August 2013, p. 1

(26) FEDERAL RESERVE Statistical Release: Industrial Production and Capacity Utilization, 15. August 2013, p. 1

(27) European Commission: Economic Forecast Spring 2013, EUROPEAN ECONOMY 2/2013, p. 23

(28) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 36

(29) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 8

(30) Figures for Euro Area and EU from European Commission: Economic Forecast Spring 2013, EUROPEAN ECONOMY 2/2013, p. 35; figures for USA and Japan from International Monetary Fund: Fiscal Monitor: Fiscal Adjustment in an Uncertain World, April 2013, p. 5

(31) European Commission: Economic Forecast Spring 2013, EUROPEAN ECONOMY 2/2013, p. 29

(32) Graph reproduced from Michael Roberts: Down in the Jackson Hole, 24.8.2013, [http://thenextrecession.wordpress.com/2013/08/28/down-in-the-jackson-hole/](#)

(33) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 6

(34) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 173

(35) Ziad Daoud: Morsi's deadly economic sin, 10 July 2013, [http://ziaddaoud.blogspot.co.at/2013/07/morsis-deadly-economic-sin.html](#)

(36) Worldbank: Global Economic Prospects June 2013, p. 172 ■

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

You can order the book via

* our contact address rcit@thecommunists.net,

* online via the RCIT's website www.thecommunists.net

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The Author

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

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

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*

Heated debate about the RCIT book on Cuba

Report of a public meeting of the RKOB about the Cuban regime

Report of the RKOB (Austrian Section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency), 2.9.2013

The RKOB (Austrian Section of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency) organized a public debate on Cuba at the annual political and cultural event of the Communist Party (similar to the L'Humanité fete of the French CP). The public meeting – “Is Cuba a socialist or capitalist country?” – was organized on the occasion of the publication of the RCIT'S new book on the restoration of capitalism in Cuba.

The debate took place between Michael Pröbsting and Michael Wögerer. Michael Pröbsting is International Secretary of *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* and author of the recently published book “Cuba 's Revolution Sold Out?”. Michael Wögerer is chairman of the Austro-Cuban society.

Comrade Pröbsting explained in his introduction that the profound economic and social reforms undertaken by the government of Raul Castro for several years have led to the dismissal of about half a million workers from state enterprises. He explained that according to official announcements of the Cuban state leaders that they plan to put 60% of the economy under the control of private companies by 2017. This restoration of capitalism in Cuba is reinforced by the close relationship of the government with the emerging imperialist power China.

Michael Wögerer however defended the political line of the Cuban governance without ifs and buts. He described the new economic reforms as an “update of socialism.” He pointed out that the redundancies from the state enterprises would be unproblematic, since they would be offset by private sector development and the creation of new jobs in private companies. Comrade Wögerer expressed at the be-

ginning of his speech his indignation at the position of the RKOB and announced that he will never again participate in a public meeting of the RKOB. Other supporters of the Cuban state policy limited their contributions to insults and heckling.

However they were the minority. The vast majority of contributions to the discussion from the audience were serious in nature and dealt – some more, some less – critically with the situation in Cuba. In addition to leading representatives of RKOB like Nina Gunić and Johannes Wiener comrades like Leo Gabriel (journalist and member of the International Council of the World Social Forum), Hermann Dworzak (activist of the Austrian Social Forum and a member of the Mandelite Fourth International), Gilbert Karasek (a longtime former shop steward and left-wing activist) and numerous other spoke from the floor.

The event was very well attended with about 80 participants and was the largest among the political events on the fete.

Finally, we want to recommend our readers to purchase the new book “Cuba 's Revolution Sold Out?”, which analyses the character of the Cuban Revolution 1959-61, its bureaucratic degeneration, and the recent march of the Castro leadership towards capitalism. The book is written in English language, costs 8,- Euro / 12 US-Dollars / 7 British Pound (plus delivery charges) and can be ordered via the contact address of the RCIT (rcit@thecommunists.net)

On the RKOB's website you can find photos and videos of the event at <http://www.rkob.net/multimedia/bilder-videos-volksstimmefest-2013/> and on our YouTube Channel www.youtube.com/revolutioncommunism ■



Pictures from the meeting: Michael Pröbsting (left top), Michael Wögerer (left below), part of the audience (right)

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

You can order the book via

* our contact address rcit@thecommunists.net,

* online via the RCIT's website www.thecommunists.net

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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

From the Archives of Marxism

Leon Trotsky: The Spanish Revolution and the Dangers threatening it. (1931)

Introduction from the Editorial Board:

In below we reprint a shortened version of a pamphlet on the Spanish Revolution which Leon Trotsky wrote in 1931. He elaborates very well the meaning of the democratic revolution and its relationship with the socialist revolution. Rethinking Trotsky's writings on the Spanish Revolution is not only of historic interest but also of actual importance given the development of the Arab Revolution.

The document was first published as a pamphlet by the Communist League of American (Opposition) - as the organization of the US Trotskyists was called at that time. We have taken the article from the Marxist Internet Archive, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1931/spain/spain01.htm>

* * *

The Spanish revolution is growing. In the process of struggle its internal forces are growing. But together with them, also grow the dangers. We do not speak of the dangers which proceed from the ruling classes and their political servants republican and socialist. Here it is a matter of open enemies and the tasks in relation to them are entirely clear. But there are also internal dangers.

The Spanish workers look confidently upon the Soviet Union, the child of the October revolution. This mood represents a valuable capital for Communism. The defense of the Soviet Union is the duty of every revolutionary worker. But we must not permit the workers' faith in the October revolution to be abused for the purpose of foisting upon them a policy that runs counter to all the lessons and the heritage of the October.

It must be said clearly. It must be said so that the vanguard of the Spanish and the international proletariat shall hear: *The present leadership of the Comintern threatens the proletarian revolution in Spain with an immediate danger.* Any revolution can be ruined, even the most promising one: this was proved by the experience of the German revolution of 1923 and still more lucidly by the experience of the Chinese revolution of 1925-1927. In both instances, the immediate reason for the defeat was the wrong leadership. Spain is next in order. The leaders of the Comintern have learned nothing from their own mistakes. Worse yet. In order to cover up their past mistakes, they are compelled to defend them and to develop them. To the extent that it depends upon them, they are preparing for the Spanish revolution the fate of the Chinese.

For two years, the advanced workers were misled by the luckless theory of the "third period", which weakened and demoralized the Comintern. The leadership finally sounded the retreat. But when? Precisely at a moment when the world crisis created a break in the circumstances and laid down the first pre-requisite for a revolutionary offensive. The internal processes in Spain, in the meantime, were

passing by unnoticed by the Comintern. Manuilsky kept declaring - and Manuilsky at the present time acts in the function of a Comintern leader! - that the events in Spain are in general not deserving of attention.

In our sketch of the Spanish revolution, written prior to the April overturn, we expressed ourselves in the sense that the bourgeoisie, playing with different shadings of republicanism, will, with all its strength and up to the very last moment, retain its alliance with the monarchy. "A combination of circumstances is possible, to be sure," we wrote, "in which the possessing classes are compelled to sacrifice the monarchy in order to save themselves (example: Germany!)." These lines gave the Stalinists an excuse - after the event, of course - to speak about an incorrect prognosis. (1) People who themselves have foreseen nothing, demand of others not a Marxian prognosis but theosophic forecasts about the day and the form in which the events will take place: this is the manner in which the ignorant and superstitious sick demand miracles of medicine. The task of a Marxian prognosis is to help in orienting in the general direction of developments and to be forearmed against "surprises". The fact that The Spanish bourgeoisie decided to part with the monarchy is to be explained by two equally important reasons. The stormy deluge of the resentment of the masses imposed upon the bourgeoisie the attempt to convert the generally despised Alfonso into a scapegoat. But such a manoeuvre, which has a serious risk connected with it, was available to the Spanish bourgeoisie only because the masses had confidence in the republicans and the socialists and because in the overturn, the Communist danger could be ignored. The historic variant which has taken place in Spain is consequently a result of the force of the mass pressure on the one hand, and the weakness of the Comintern on the other. One must begin by establishing these facts. It is a basic rule of tactics: if you want to get stronger, do not begin with an exaggeration of your forces. But this rule is not for the epigone bureaucracy. If on the eve of events, Manuilsky foretold that in general nothing serious would happen, then a day after the overturn, the irreplaceable Péri (2), the purveyor of false information from the Latin countries, began sending telegram after telegram to Moscow about how the Spanish proletariat was almost undividedly supporting the Communist party, and how the Spanish peasants were building Soviets. **Pravda** printed this nonsense, supplementing it with the nonsense about the "Trotskyists" being at the tail of the Zamora government, at a time when Zamora was putting and continues to put Left Communists in jail ... Finally, on May 14, **Pravda** printed a programmatic editorial, *Spain in Flames*, which constitutes a distillation of the ramblings and mistakes of the epigones, translated into the language of the Spanish revolution. What about the Cortes [the Spanish national assembly]? **Pravda** attempts to use as its point of departure the irrefutable truth

that bare propaganda is insufficient “The Communist party must tell the masses what they should do today.” What does **Pravda** itself propose in this connection? To weld together the workers “for the disarming of reaction, for the arming of the proletariat, for the election of factory committees, for the realization of the seven-hour working day, etc.” Etc. – that is just how it puts it. The slogans enumerated are incontestable, even though they are presented without any internal cohesion and without that sequence which should flow from the logic of the development of the masses. But what is shocking is that the leading article in **Pravda** does not by as much as a single word mention the *elections to the Cortes*, as though this political event did not even exist in the life of the Spanish nation, or as if the workers had nothing to do with it. How is this silence to be understood?

From external appearances, the republican overturn took place, as is known, through the medium of the municipal elections. It is understood that underlying the overturn were deeper reasons and we spoke about them long before the collapse of the Berenguer ministry. But the “parliamentary” form of the liquidation of the monarchy fell entirely to the benefit of the bourgeois republicans and the petty bourgeois democrats. A great many workers in Spain imagine now that the basic questions of social life can be decided with the aid of the ballot. This illusion can be shattered only by experience. But one must know how to assist this experience. How? By turning one’s back on the *Cortes* or, on the contrary, by participating in the elections? This question demands an answer.

Besides the editorial mentioned above, the same paper carries a “theoretical” article (in the issues dated from May 7 to May 10) which pretends to a Marxian analysis of the internal forces of the Spanish revolution and a Bolshevik determination of its strategy. This article too fails to mention the *Cortes* by as much as a single word: boycott the elections or participate in them? In general, **Pravda** is completely silent about the slogans and the tasks of political democracy, even though it calls the revolution democratic. What does this silence signify? The elections can be participated in, they can be *boycotted*. But can they be *ignored*?

With regard to the Berenguer *Cortes*, the tactic of boycott was perfectly correct. It was clear beforehand that Alfonso would either succeed for a certain period in turning once more to the road of a military dictatorship or else the movement would roll over the head of Berenguer with his *Cortes*. Under these conditions, the Communists had to take upon themselves the initiative in the struggle for the boycott of the *Cortes*. *This is precisely what we insisted upon with the aid of those meager means which we had at our disposal.* (3) Had the Spanish Communists come out in time and resolutely for a boycott, even if only by the distribution of the biggest proclamation on the subject, their authority would have grown considerably at the moment when the Berenguer ministry was overthrown. The advanced workers would have said to themselves: “These people are capable of foreseeing something.” Unfortunately, the Spanish Communists, thrown off the track by the leadership of the Comintern, did not understand the circumstances of the situation and made preparations for participating in the elections, but again without any confidence. The events rolled over their heads, and the first victory of the revolution brought the Communists almost no increase in influence.

Now the Zamora government has undertaken to convene

a Constituent *Cortes*. Is there a basis for thinking that the convocation of this *Cortes* will be interrupted by the second revolution? There is no basis whatever. Powerful movements of the masses are quite possible, but without a program, without a party, without a leadership, these movements cannot bring about a second revolution. The slogan of boycott would now be the slogan of self-isolation. The most active participation in the election must take place.

The Parliamentary Cretinism of the Reformists and the Anti-Parliamentary Cretinism of the Anarchists

Parliamentary cretinism is a revolting sickness, but anti-parliamentary cretinism is not much better. We see this most clearly in the fate of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists. The revolution poses political questions directly and *at the present stage* gives them a parliamentary form. The attention of the working class cannot but be concentrated on the *Cortes*, and the anarcho-syndicalists will secretly vote for the socialists or perhaps the republicans. To fight against parliamentary illusions without fighting simultaneously against the anti-parliamentary metaphysics of the anarchists, is less possible in Spain than anywhere else.

In a series of articles, and letters, we proved the tremendous importance of the slogans of democracy for the further development of the Spanish revolution. Unemployment relief, the seven-hour working day, the agrarian revolution, national autonomy all these vital, basic questions are in one way or another connected in the consciousness of the great majority of the Spanish workers – the anarcho-syndicalists included – with the future *Cortes*. In the period of Berenguer, the *Cortes* by grace of Alfonso, had to be boycotted – in the name of *revolutionary Constituent Corteses*. From the very beginning, the question of suffrage had to be advanced to the very foreground of the agitation. Yes: the prosaic question of suffrage! Soviet democracy, needless to say, is incomparably higher than bourgeois democracy. But Soviets do not fall from the sky. One must grow up to them.

There exist – by your leave – Marxists who have a lofty contempt for such a slogan, for example, as universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage for all men and women from the age of 18. Nevertheless, had the Spanish Communists advanced this slogan in time and defended it in speeches, articles, leaflets and scatter-bills, they would have acquired tremendous popularity. Precisely because the Spanish people are inclined to exaggerate the creative power of the *Cortes*, every awakened worker, every revolutionary peasant woman, wants to participate in the elections. We do not solidarize ourselves for a moment with the illusions of the masses; but whatever is *progressive* under these illusions must be utilized by us to the utmost otherwise we are not revolutionists. but contemptible pedants. The mere lowering of the voting age grips the heart of many hundreds of thousands of working men and working women, peasants and peasant women. And which ones? The young and active ones, those who are called upon to create the second revolution. To set this young generation against the socialists, who seek the support of the older workers, is quite an elementary and incontestable task of the Communist vanguard.

Further. The Zamora government wants to put through the *Cortes* a constitution providing for two houses. The revolutionary masses who have just overthrown the monarchy and who are imbued with an impassioned, even if very

vague striving towards equality and justice, will respond warmly to the agitation of the Communists against the plan of the bourgeoisie to foist a "house of lords" upon the backs of the people. This *partial* question can play a tremendous rôle in the agitation, create heavy difficulties for the socialists and drive a wedge between the socialists and the republicans, that is, divide even for a time the enemies of the proletariat and – what is a thousand times more important – drive a wedge between the working masses and the socialists.

The demand for a seven-hour working day, advanced by **Pravda**, is quite correct, extremely important and unpostponable. But can this bare demand be advanced, ignoring the political surroundings and the revolutionary tasks of democracy? By speaking only of the seven-hour working day, of factory committees and the arming of the workers, by ignoring "politics", by not having a single word to say in all its articles about the elections to the *Cortes*, **Pravda** goes all the way to meet anarcho-syndicalism, fosters it, covers it up. In time meantime, the young worker whom the republicans and the socialists deprive of suffrage – in spite of the fact that bourgeois legislation considers him sufficiently mature for capitalist exploitation or upon whom they want to impose a second house – will tomorrow, in the struggle against this abomination, want to turn his back upon anarchism and stretch out his hand for a rifle. To oppose the slogan of the *arming of the workers* to the realistic political processes which grip the masses at their vitals, means to isolate oneself from the masses and the masses – from arms.

The slogan of *national self-determination* has acquired exceptional significance in Spain today. However, this slogan too stands today upon a democratic plane. What we are concerned with, it is understood, is not to call upon the Catalonians and the Basques to separate from Spain, but to fight for granting them such a possibility should they themselves want it. But, how is it to be determined whether or not they want it? Very simply: through universal, equal, direct and secret vote of the districts concerned. There is no other method at present. In the future, national questions, as well as all others, will be decided by Soviets as the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But we cannot enforce Soviets upon the workers at any desired moment. We can only lead the workers towards Soviets. Still less can we force upon the people the Soviets which the proletariat will create only in the future. In the meantime, it is necessary to answer today's question. In the month of May, the organs of self-government of Catalonia found themselves called upon to elect their deputies to elaborate a temporary constitution for the province, that is, to determine its relation to Spain as a whole. Can the Catalonian workers have an indifferent attitude to the fact that the petty bourgeois democracy, subordinating itself as always to big capital, attempts with the aid of anti-democratic elections to decide the fate of the Catalan people? The slogan of national self-government without the slogans of political democracy supplementing it and concretizing it, is a naked formula, or still worse: the throwing of dust in the eyes.

For a certain time, all the questions of the Spanish revolution will in one way or another be refracted through the prism of parliamentarism. The peasants will wait with the greatest anxiety for what the *Cortes* will say about the *agrarian question*. Is it hard to understand what significance a Communist agrarian program unfolded from the tribune of the *Cortes*

might have under present conditions? For this, two conditions are required: One must have an agrarian program and one must gain access to the parliamentary tribune. The *Cortes* will not solve the land question, this we know. The fighting initiative of the peasant mass itself is required. But for such an initiative the masses need a program and a leadership. The tribune of the *Cortes* is needed by the Communists as a bond with the masses. And from this bond will develop actions which will flow over the head of the *Cortes*. Here lies the essence of the revolutionary-dialectical relationship towards parliament.

Nevertheless, how is it to be explained that the leadership of the Comintern is silent upon this question? Only by the fact that it is a captive of its own yesterday. Too loudly have the Stalinists rejected the Constituent Assembly for China. The Sixth Congress officially condemned the slogans of political democracy for colonial countries as "opportunism". In the example of Spain, a country incomparably more advanced than China and India, all the inconsistency of the decisions of the Sixth Congress is revealed. But the Stalinists are bound hand and foot. Not daring to call for a boycott of parliamentarism, they simply pass over it in silence. Let the revolution perish, but long live the leaders' reputation for infallibility! (4)

What Kind of a Revolution Is Ahead in Spain?

In the theoretical article quoted above, which is as if especially written for clogging up the brain, after the attempt to determine the class character of the Spanish revolution, the following is said literally: "Taking all this into consideration [!] it would, however, [!] be incorrect to characterize the Spanish revolution already *at the present stage* as a socialist revolution." (**Pravda**, May 10, 1931.) This phrase alone is sufficient for an appreciation of the analysis. Are there people in the world, the reader must ask himself, capable of thinking that the Spanish revolution "at the present stage" can be characterized as socialist, without taking the risk of landing in an insane asylum? Where in general did **Pravda** get the idea of the need for this sort of "demarcation" and, moreover, in such a mild and reserved form: "Taking all this into consideration, it would, however, be incorrect" ... This is explained by the fact that the epigones, to their misfortune, read in Lenin the phrase about the "*growing over*" of the bourgeois democratic into a socialist revolution. Not understanding Lenin, forgetting or distorting the experiences of the Russian revolution, they made the conception of "*growing over*" a basis for the grossest opportunist meanderings. It is not – let us say it outright – a question of academic delicacies, but of the life and death of the proletarian revolution. Only very recently, the epigones expected that the dictatorship of the Kuo Min Tang (1*) would "grow over" into the workers' and peasants' dictatorship, and the latter – into a socialist dictatorship of the proletariat. They had in mind, in this connection, Stalin developed this theme with particular profundity – that on the one flank of the revolution, the "Right elements" would gradually split away, while on the other flank the "Left elements" would grow stronger: this is what the organic process of "*growing over*" was supposed to consist of. Unfortunately, the magnificent theory of Stalin-Martinov is based entirely upon the trampling under foot of the class theory of Marx. The character of the social régime, and consequently also the character

of every revolution is determined by the character of the class which holds the power in its hands. The power can pass from the hands of one class into the hands of another only through a revolutionary overturn, and by no means through an organic "growing over". This basic truth the epigones have trampled under foot – first for China and now for Spain. And we see the learned wizards of **Pravda** who cover their heads with skull caps, put the thermometer under Zamora's tongue, and debate: Can we or can we not acknowledge that the process of "growing over" has brought the Spanish revolution over into the socialist stage? And the wizards – let us give their wisdom its due – come to the conclusion: No, so far we cannot.

Having presented such a valuable sociological survey, **Pravda** enters into the sphere of prognosis and directives. "In Spain," it says, "the socialist revolution cannot be an *immediate task of the day*. The most immediate task [!] is the workers' and peasants' revolution against the landowners and the bourgeoisie." (**Pravda**, May 10, 1931.) That the socialist revolution is not an "immediate task of the day" in Spain is indisputable. Yet it would have been much better and more accurate to say that the *armed uprising with the aim of the seizure of power by the proletariat is not an "immediate task of the day" in Spain*. Why? Because the dispersed vanguard of the proletariat does not as yet lead the class behind it, and the class does not lead behind it the oppressed masses of the village. Under such conditions, a struggle for power would be adventurism. But under these circumstances, what is the meaning of the additional phrase: "the most immediate task is the workers' and peasants' revolution against the landowners and the bourgeoisie"? Does it mean that in between the present bourgeois-republican régime and the dictatorship of the proletariat, there looms before us a *distinct "workers' and peasant' revolution"*? And furthermore, does it mean that this distinct intermediary "workers' and peasants'" revolution, in contradistinction to the socialist revolution, is an "immediate task" in Spain? Does it mean that on today's agenda stands a new overturn? By means of an armed uprising or by some other means? In precisely what way will the workers' and peasants' revolution "against the landowners and the bourgeoisie" be distinguished from the proletarian revolution? What combination of class forces will lie at its foundation? What party will lead the first revolution in contrast to second? Wherein lies the differences in the programs and methods of these two revolutions? We would seek in vain for an answer to these questions. The blurring and confusion of thought is covered up by the word "growing over"; in spite of all the contradictory reservations, these people dream of a process of evolutionary transition from a bourgeois into a socialist revolution, through a series of organic stages, figuring under different pseudonyms: Kuo Min Tang, "democratic dictatorship", "workers' and peasants' revolution", "people's revolution" – and what is more, the decisive moment in this process, when one class wrests the power from another, is unnoticeably dissolved.

The Problem of the Permanent Revolution

It is understood that the proletarian revolution is at the same time also a peasant revolution; but under contemporary circumstances, a peasant revolution *without* a proletarian revolution is impossible. We can say to the peas-

ant with full right that our aim is to create a workers' and peasants' republic just as, after the October revolution, we called the government of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia a "workers' and peasants' government". But we do not counterpose the workers' and peasants' revolution to the proletarian; on the contrary, we identify them. This is the only correct way of putting the question.

Here we once more touch the very heart of the problem of the so-called "permanent revolution". In the struggle against this theory, the epigones have slipped down to a complete break with the class point of view. After the experience of the "bloc of the four classes" in China, it is true, they became more careful. But because of this they were only still more confused and they now strain all their strength to confuse others.

Fortunately, however, events have now lifted the question out of the sphere of Red professorial philosophizing over old texts. It is not a matter of historical reminiscences, nor of picking out quotations, but of a new, magnificent historical experience unfolding before the eyes of all. Here two viewpoints have been brought face to face on the field of revolutionary struggle. Events will speak the last word. To slip out from under their control is impossible. The Spanish Communist who does not give timely consideration to the essence of the questions connected with the struggle against "Trotskyism" will stand theoretically disarmed before the fundamental questions of the Spanish revolution.

What is the "Growing-Over" of the Revolution?

Yes, Lenin in 1905 advanced the hypothetical formula: "bourgeois democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry". If there at all existed a country where an *independent* agrarian democratic-revolution *preceding* the seizure of power by the proletariat might have been expected, this country was Russia, where the agrarian problem dominated the whole of national life, where revolutionary peasant movements existed for decades, where an independent agrarian-revolutionary party existed with a great tradition and a widespread influence among the masses. However, even in Russia there proved to be no place for the intermediary revolution between the bourgeois and the proletarian. In April 1917, Lenin repealed and repeated to the address of Stalin, Kamenev and others, who were clinging to the old Bolshevik formula of 1905: There is not and there cannot be a "democratic dictatorship" other than the dictatorship of Miliukov-Tseretelli-Chernov; the *democratic dictatorship* because of its very essence a *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat*; only the dictatorship of the proletariat can take the place of such a "democratic dictatorship". Whoever invents intermediary, middle-of-the-road formula is either a wretched illusionist or a charlatan. This is the conclusion Lenin drew from the living experience of the February and October revolutions. We stand entirely on the ground of these experiences and these conclusions.

Nevertheless, what does Lenin's "growing-over" of the democratic into a socialist revolution signify under such conditions? Nothing of the kind dreamed of by the epigones and the wind bags of the Red professor type. The fact is that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not at all coincide mechanically with the conception of the socialist revolution. The seizure of power by the working class occurs in definite national surroundings, in a definite period, for the

solution of definite tasks. In backward nations, such *immediate* tasks are of a democratic character: the national liberation from imperialist subjugation and the agrarian revolution, as in China; the agrarian revolution and the liberation of the oppressed nationalities, as in Russia. We see the same thing at present in Spain, even though in a different combination. Lenin even said that the proletariat in Russia came to power in October 1917 primarily as an *agent of the bourgeois-democratic revolution*. The victorious proletariat began with the solution of the democratic tasks and only gradually by the logic of its rule, did it take up the socialist tasks: it took up seriously the collectivization of agriculture only in the twelfth year of its power. This is precisely why Lenin called the growing-over of the democratic revolution into the socialist. It is not the bourgeois power that grows over into a workers' and peasants' and then into a proletarian power: no, the power of one class does not into the power of another class, but is torn from it with rifle in hand. But after the working class has seized power, the democratic tasks of the proletarian régime inevitably grow over into socialist tasks. An evolutionary, organic transition from democracy to socialism is conceivable only under the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. This is Lenin's central idea. The epigones have disfigured all this, have confused and distorted it, and now they poison the consciousness of the international proletariat with their falsifications.

Two Variants: Opportunist and Adventurist

What is at issue – let us repeat – is not academic delicacies but vital problems of the revolutionary strategy of the proletariat. It is not true that the “workers' and peasants' revolution” stands on the order of the day in Spain. It is not true that on the order of the day in Spain in general there stands *at present* a new revolution, that is, an immediate struggle for power. No, on the order of the day is the struggle for the masses, for their liberation from republican illusions and from faith in the socialists, for their revolutionary consolidation. This second revolution will come, but it will be the revolution of the proletariat leading behind it the peasant poor. Between a bourgeois regime and the dictatorship of the proletariat, there will be no room for any sort of distinct “workers' and peasants' revolution”. To calculate upon this and to adapt one's policy to it, to *Kuo Min Tangize* the proletariat, is to ruin the revolution.

The confusionist formulations of **Pravda** open two roads, which have also been tried out to the end in China: the opportunist and the adventurist. If **Pravda** today does not yet dare to “characterize” the Spanish revolution as a workers' and peasants' revolution, then – who knows? – if we will not be confronted with it tomorrow, when in place of Zamora – a Chiang Kai-Shek will come forward, or a “true Wang Chin Wei”, let us say a Left Lerroux. (2*) Will not then the wise diagnosticians – Martinov, Kuusinen and company – decide that this is the workers' and peasants' republic, which should be “supported in so far as” (the formula of Stalin in March 1917), or supported completely (the formula of the same Stalin towards the Kuo Min Tang in 1925-1927)?

But there is also an adventurist possibility which is perhaps more suited to the Centrist moods today. The **Pravda** editorial speaks about the fact that the Spanish masses “are also beginning to direct their blows against the government”. But can the Spanish Communist Party advance the slogan

of the overthrow of this government as a *task of the day*? In the learned investigations of **Pravda** – it says, as we are already aware, that the immediate task is the workers' and peasants' revolution. If we are to understand this “stage” not in the sense of “growing over” but in the sense of the abolition of the power, then the adventurist variant is left wide open. The weak Communist party may say to itself in Madrid as it said to itself (or as it was commanded to say) in December 1927 in Canton: “We have not yet, of course, matured for the proletarian dictatorship; but as it is an intermediary stage which is involved today, a workers' and peasants' dictatorships then let us attempt even with our weak forces to stage an uprising – perhaps something will come out of it.” It is really not difficult to foresee that after the criminal neglect of the first year of the Spanish revolution will have been revealed, the ones guilty for the loss of time will start to whip up the “executors” with a cat-o'-nine-tails and may lead them into a tragic adventure on the style of Canton. (...)

The Problems of the Tempos of the Spanish Revolution

But is there still time left to apply correct tactics? Isn't it too late? Haven't all the opportunities been missed?

A correct determination of the tempo of development of the revolution is of tremendous significance – if not for the determination of the basic strategic line then for the determination of the tactics. And without correct tactics, the best strategic line may lead to ruin. It is understood that to guess the tempos in advance for a prolonged period is impossible. The tempo has to be examined in the course of the struggle, making use of the most varied indicators. Moreover, in the course of events the tempo may change very abruptly. But we must nevertheless keep before our eyes a definite perspective in order to introduce the necessary correctives into it in the process of experience.

The great French revolution spent over three years before it reached its highest point, the dictatorship of the Jacobins. The Russian revolution, within eight months, produced the dictatorship of the Bolsheviks. Here we see a tremendous difference in tempos. If in France events had developed faster, the Jacobin would not have had the time to take shape, because they did not exist as a party on the eve of the revolution. On the other hand, had the Jacobins represented a power on the eve of the revolution, events would probably have proceeded faster. Such is one of the factors determining the tempo. But there are also others, perhaps more decisive ones.

The Russian revolution of 1917 was preceded by the revolution in 1905, which Lenin called a general rehearsal. All the elements of the second and the third revolution were prepared beforehand, so that the forces participating in the struggle moved as if according to a marked-out path. This hastened extraordinarily the period of the revolution's rise to its culmination.

Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that the decisive factor in relation to the tempo in 1917 was the war. The question of land might have been postponed for months, perhaps for a year or two, but the question of death in the dugouts could bear no postponement. The soldiers were saying: “What good is the land to me if I am not alive?” The pressure of the twelve million soldier mass was a factor in the extraordinary acceleration of the revolution. Had there

not been the war, in spite of the “general rehearsal” of 1905 and the presence of the Bolshevik party, the inaugural pre-Bolshevik period of the revolution might have lasted not eight months, but perhaps a year or two or more.

These general considerations have an unmistakable significance for the determination of the possible tempo of development of the events in Spain. The present generation of Spaniards has known no revolution, has gone through no “general rehearsal” in the past. The Communist party went into the events in an extremely weak condition. Spain is not carrying on any war the Spanish peasants are not concentrated in millions in the barracks and trenches, and are not subject to the immediate danger of extermination. All these circumstances compel one to expect a slower development of events and consequently permit one to hope for a lengthier period in which to prepare the party for the seizure of power.

But there are factors which pull in the opposite direction and which may provoke inopportune attempts at a decisive battle that are equivalent to a defeat of the revolution: the absence of a strong party heightens the significance of the spontaneous element in the movement; the anarcho-syndicalist traditions act in the same direction; finally, the false orientation of the Comintern open the gates to explosions of adventurism.

The conclusion from these historical analogies is clear: the situation in Spain (the absence of fresh revolutionary traditions; the absence of a strong party; the absence of a war) leads to a condition in which the normal gestation of the dictatorship of the proletariat will, from all indications, prove to be removed for a considerably longer period than in Russia and therefore there are circumstances which strengthen to an extraordinary degree the danger of a *miscarriage of the revolution*.

The weakness of Spanish Communism, which is the result of a wrong official policy, makes it in turn greatly subject to the most dangerous conclusions from the wrong directives. A weakling does not like to look his weakness in the eye, he is afraid of being late, he is nervous and runs ahead. The Spanish Communists may be particularly afraid of the *Cortes*.

In Russia, the Constituent Assembly, which was dragged out by the bourgeoisie, was convened only after the decisive encounter and was liquidated without any difficulties. The Spanish constituent Cortes is being convened at an earlier stage in the development of the revolution. The Communists in the Cortes will be a negligible minority, assuming that they get into it at all. From here it is not far to the thought: to attempt to overthrow the Cortes as quickly as possible, utilizing some kind of a spontaneous attack of the masses. Such an adventure will not only not decide the problem of power, but on the contrary, will throw back the revolution for a long time, and in all probability with a broken backbone. The proletariat will be able to snatch the power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie only on the condition that the majority of the workers strive passionately towards it and that the oppressed majority of the people have confidence in the proletariat.

Precisely in the question of the parliamentary institutions of the revolution, the Spanish comrades should refer not so much to the Russian experience as to the experience of the Great French revolution. The dictatorship of the Jacobins was preceded by three parliaments. Upon these three steps,

the masses mounted to the dictatorship of the Jacobins. It is ridiculous to think – together with the Madrid republicans and socialists – that the *Cortes* will really put a period to the revolution. No, it can only give a new impetus to the development of the revolution, assuring at the same time its greater planfulness. Such a perspective is extremely important for an orientation in the course of events, for a counter-agent to nervousness and adventurism.

It is understood that this does not mean that the Communists act as a brake upon the revolution. It means still less that the Communists separate themselves from the movement and from the upsurges of the masses of town and village. Such a policy would ruin the party which is still confronted with gaining the confidence of the revolutionary masses. Only because the Bolsheviks led all the battles of the workers and soldiers did they have the possibility of holding back the masses from a catastrophe in July.

If the objective conditions and the malevolence of the bourgeoisie were to force upon the proletariat a decisive battle under unfavorable conditions, the Communists, it is understood, would find their place in the front ranks of the fighters. A revolutionary party will always prefer to subject itself to a defeat together with its masses, rather than to stand aside, occupying itself with moralizing, and leaving the workers without leadership under the bayonets of the bourgeoisie. A party beaten in battle will root itself deeply in the hearts of the masses and will sooner or later take revenge. But the party which has cut loose from the class at the moment of danger will never come to life again. However, the Spanish Communists are not at all confronted with such a tragic alternative. On the contrary, there is every reason to calculate that the disgraceful policy of socialism standing at the helm, and the sorry bewilderment of anarcho-syndicalism will push the workers all the further towards Communism. and that the party – providing there is a correct policy – will have sufficient time to prepare itself and to lead the proletariat to victory.

Endnotes

(1) The American Stalinists excel all the others. It is difficult to imagine the Herculean pillars of vulgarity and stupidity which officials, who get paid for it and whom nobody controls, are capable of talking themselves into. – *L. Trotsky*

(2) The foreign editor of the central organ of the French Communist Party who was recently sent to report the events in Spain. His correspondence caused considerable resentment among the Spanish readers of the paper because of its falsehoods and misrepresentations – *Editor*

(3) The Left Opposition has no daily press. We are compelled to develop thoughts in private letters which should form the contents of daily articles. In the supplement to this work, we give extracts from such letter-articles in chronological order. – *L. Trotsky*

(4) The Italian group “Prometeo” (the Bordigists) reject revolutionary democratic slogans in general, for all countries and all peoples. This sectarian doctrinarism, which coincides in practice with the position of the Stalinists has nothing in common with the position of the Bolshevik-Leninists. The International Left must reject any shadow of responsibility for such ultra-Leftist infantilism. It is precisely the fresh experiences in Spain which bear witness that in the process of crushing the régime of the Fascist dictatorship in Italy, the slogans of political democracy will undoubtedly play an extremely important rôle. To enter the Spanish or the Italian revolution with the program of “Prometeo” – is tantamount to plunging into water with hands tied behind the back. Such a swimmer almost runs the risk of drowning. – *L. Trotsky*

Footnotes

(1*) Kuomintang or KMT (Nationalist Party).

(2*) Radical minister in the Zamora cabinet. ■

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 5th Workers International on a revolutionary basis!
Join the RCIT!

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



