

# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISM

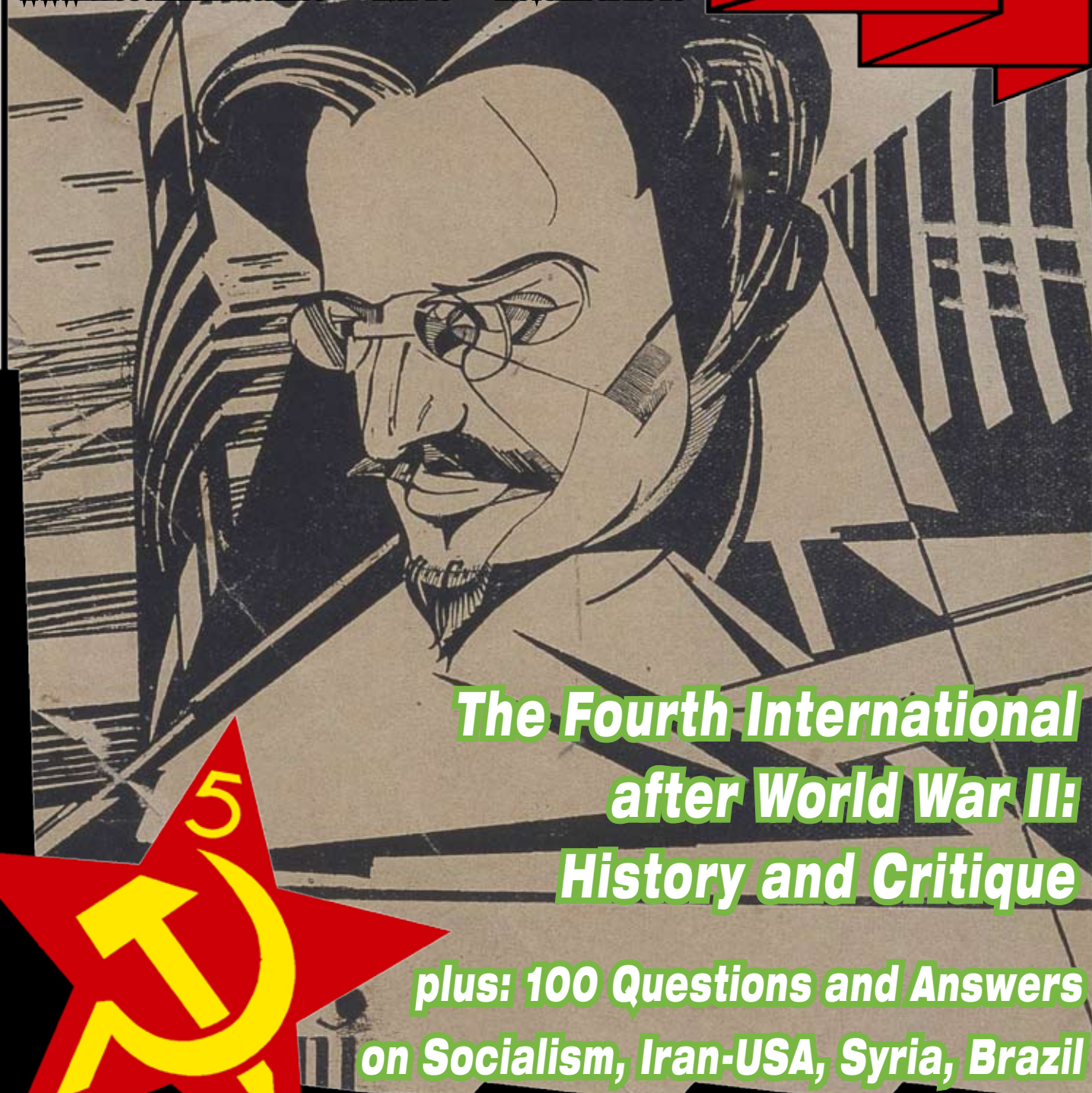


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November 2013



**The Fourth International  
after World War II:  
History and Critique**

**plus: 100 Questions and Answers  
on Socialism, Iran-USA, Syria, Brazil**

**WORKERS AND OPPRESSED UNITE!**

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# Revolutionary Communism

No. 16, November 2013

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## Orientating towards New Layers of Militants

The November issue of the RCIT's journal *Revolutionary Communism (RevCom)* is centered around two substantial documents: our pamphlet *100 Questions and Answers on Socialism* and an essay on the history of the Fourth International and its degeneration called *Healy's Pupils Fail to Break with their Master*. While the publication of these two documents in the same journal is accidental, it is nevertheless symbolic. It reflects two major concerns of our international tendency.

As we explained in past documents the new *World Party of Socialist Revolution* (which will be the *Fifth Workers International* in our opinion) will be based mainly on the new layers of the massively growing world proletariat. This means first and foremost the proletariat of the semi-colonial world and China as well as the lower strata of the proletariat in the old imperialist metropolises. Obviously the proletarian youth will play a chief role amongst them. We reject hopes in any self-healing power of the milieu of left-reformism or centrism. In fact, we consider the huge majority of the left-reformist and centrist milieu as politically bankrupt and strongly affected by skepticism, complacency and passive and aristocratic prejudices and modes of thinking. They are politically dependent on the labor bureaucracy and the petty-bourgeoisie intelligentsia.

This is why it so important for the Bolshevik-Communists to undertake propaganda and agitation orientated towards these fresh layers of militant workers and youth. The RCIT and its sections have made this a priority from the beginning of its work. This orientation includes the need to transmit the basic ideas of Marxism to an audience which is not familiar with scientific socialism and its terminology. This is the reason why we have published a pamphlet called *100 Questions and Answers on Socialism*. This document, written by Johannes Wiener, has been originally published by the Austrian section of the RCIT in spring 2013. The RCIT has translated and modified the pamphlet for an international audience in order to adapt it to the issues and conditions relevant for militants in other countries.

We have also emphasized repeatedly that our orientation towards such new militant layers of workers and youth does not mean that revolutionaries should ignore the activists in left-reformist parties or the centrist groups. The best ones amongst them will be those who understand the character of new historic period which opened in 2008 marked by the decay of capitalism as well as by revolutionary possibilities and counter-revolutionary dangers. It will be those who are willing to join the masses in their struggles – in particular the lower strata of the working class and the oppressed – without arrogantly sneering about their “backward consciousness” and who are at the same time determined to fight intransigently for the revolutionary program. It will be those who combine such an orientation towards new militant layers with a sharp political and ideological struggle against the reformist and centrist traitors who are misleading the workers vanguard. And it will be those who prove to be

capable to find the correct orientation in the major class struggles today like the Arab Revolution, the political upheavals and challenges in South Africa, Greece, Brazil, Palestine, etc., the question of increasing inner-imperialist rivalry with China as an important emerging Great Power as well as in the imperialist wars like in Afghanistan or in Mali. Such activists the RCIT want to win for the joint struggle for the new World Party of Socialist Revolution.

The RCIT is fully aware that so-called historic questions like the revolutionary tradition of the Fourth International and its centrist degeneration in 1948-52 are in fact not purely historic question but are often related to the present-day orientation of revolutionaries. This is why we consider a clear attitude on the issue of the development of the Fourth International and its epigones as an important issue for revolutionaries to clarify today. For this reasons we have replied in a lengthy document to a polemic which the British group *Socialist Fight* and its *Liaison Committee for the Fourth International* has published recently against the RCIT's theoretical foundations. In this document, Michael Pröbsting elaborates how the Fourth International – despite various weaknesses and mistakes – remained a revolutionary force after the death of Trotsky but degenerated into centrism in 1948-52 when it capitulated to the rising petty-bourgeois forces (Stalinism, social democracy, petty-bourgeois nationalism). As the title – *Healy's Pupils Fail to Break with their Master* – already suggest the document deals particularly with the centrist tradition of one of the epigones, Gerry Healy and his *International Committee*, a rotten tradition which the *Liaison Committee* claims as its revolutionary heritage. The document demonstrates that slogans like the “*Refoundation of the Fourth International*” only serve to create wrong illusions in the political vigor of the various centrist fragments claiming to stand in the tradition of the Fourth International.

Other articles in this issue of *RevCom* deal with important issues of the class struggle today. In one of them, Yossi Schwartz from the RCIT's section in Occupied Palestine/Israel deals with the recent developments in the relationship between Iran and US Imperialism.

Michael Pröbsting shows in another article that those leftists who believe in the pseudo anti-imperialist rhetoric of the Syrian dictator Assad let themselves fool totally.

And in another article, comrades from the RCIT in Brazil report about important developments of workers struggles as well as the latest sell-out of the gigantic pre-salt *Libra Oil Field* to European and Chinese imperialism by the social democratic PT government of Dilma Rousseff.

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

November 5, 2013,  
Editorial Board ■



# A Change in the Relations between Iran and US imperialism?

by Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 11.10.2013

**H**assan Rouhani, the new Iranian president, went to the UN summit to meet with the US President Obama and offer the US some forms of collaboration between the two states.

The reaction of the Israeli government was open hysteria. Israeli Intelligence Minister Yuval Steinitz said *"there is no more time for negotiations."* Rouhani's call for negotiations was dismissed by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu as a deceitful *"charm offensive."* Netanyahu continued, *"One must not be fooled by the Iranian president's fraudulent words...The Iranians are spinning the media so that the centrifuges can keep on spinning."*

While the US and Israel have repeatedly referred to Iran's nuclear weapons program, the leaders of Iran have consistently maintained that their nuclear program is for civilian purposes only.

## Iran, Nuclear Power and Western imperialist Hypocrisy

Naturally, we do not know who is telling the truth. But we do know the following:

- (1) The US is the only state that has used atomic bombs (during WWII).
- (2) According to the foreign press, Israel possesses at least 200 tactical atomic bombs.
- (3) If Iran were an ally of the US, like Pakistan, the US would not object to its possession of nuclear weapons.

Thus the issue is not the right of a state to develop weapons of mass destruction, but whether the state in question is perceived as an ally of the US.

In this sense, Israel's fear is that Iran and the US will negotiate some forms of collaboration which will end Israel monopoly over the nuclear weapons in the region. Israel wants to be the only state in the Middle East which possesses nuclear weapons in order to retain its unsure position as a strategic asset of the West in the region.

## Decline of US imperialism's as well as of Israel's Power

The fact that Obama wants to come to some form of an agreement with Tehran indicates the decline of the importance of Israel for the Western imperialist states. If the war of 1967 made Israel the darling of the West, Israel has subsequently gone down hill, at least from 2000, when it was forced to flee Lebanon. Since then, it has lost yet a second war in Lebanon in 2006, as well as the Gaza war against Hamas in 2012.

Thus the possible new relations being established between the US and Iran indicate the growing isolation of Israel, not only among the general population even in Europe, but among its traditional supporters in the other Western imperialist states.

These developments are also an indicator of the declining power of American imperialism and the growing influence of Russian and Chinese imperialism with whom Iran

is allied in support of the Assad regime in Syria.

## U.S. wants to pry Iran away from Russian and Chinese imperialism

The US would like to pry Iran away from the Russian and the Chinese imperialists; Iran, from its side, wants to end the Western economic sanctions against her and open markets in the US and Europe to trade with her.

Stephen Kinzer, a former writer for the *New York Times*, who specialized in Iran, wrote in his book *Reset: Iran, Turkey, and America's Future* (2010) that, after the September 11 attacks, Iran actively collaborated with the US against their common foes, al-Qaeda and the Taliban, in Afghanistan. *"The State Department produced a report saying that the US had a 'real opportunity' to remake its relationship with Iran, a report endorsed by the CIA. But in January 2002, to the bewilderment of the Iranians, President Bush denounced Iran as part of an 'axis of evil.' Nonetheless, a year later, Iran proposed comprehensive talks with the United States. Iran would ask the U.S. to lift economic sanctions, guarantee Iran access to peaceful nuclear technology, and oppose anti-Iranian terrorist groups. In exchange, Iran would accept 'full transparency' in its nuclear program, end any 'material support' for Hizbullah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad, increase its cooperation with the U.S. against al Qaeda, and accept Israel within its 1967 borders. But the Bush Administration ignored the proposal."* (1)

Today what all the imperialist powers, both Western and Eastern, have in common is their determination to derail the Arab revolution. Only by doing so can they prevent it from developing in the direction of a completed democratic revolution, one that can only be won as a worker-led revolution.

## Mossad's secret War against Iran

It is not very likely that Iran will break with Russia and China and become a full ally of the US. However, it is possible that the level of tension between the US and Iran will decrease. This thawing of US-Iranian relations infuriates the Israeli ruling class since the latter has no power to do much to ruin the party, except for some more covert sabotage of Iranian installations and additional targeted killings of Iranian nuclear and computer experts.

We can not be certain, but it is more than likely that Israel is behind the killing of Mojtaba Ahmadi, who served as commander of Iran's Cyber War Headquarters. Ahmadi was found dead this past weekend in a wooded area near the town of Karaj, north-west of the capital, Tehran.

CBS reporter Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, a former intelligence correspondent for *Haaretz*, write in their book *Spies Against Armageddon* that Mossad agents themselves are the ones carrying out the assassinations against Iranian scientists. The authors claim that Israel was responsible for the assassination of five Iranian nuclear scientists and for in-



## Syria: The Butcher in his own Words

### Assad: A Friend of Israel and an Enemy of the Arab Popular Masses

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 21.10.2013

Syrians dictators Assad recently made some revealing statements in his mouthpiece newspaper *Teshrine*. Here are the quotes as they are reported by the *Middle East Monitor*. We reprint this report in its entirety:

*"Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad has praised the Egyptian army and its so-called war on "terrorism" led by General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, saying that Syria and Egypt both face 'one enemy and that victory over this enemy is inevitable.'*

*On the anniversary of the October war, Assad told state newspaper Teshrine: 'In 1973 the Syrian and the Egyptian armies united to fight one enemy: Israel. Today, the two armies also fight one enemy, but the enemy is no longer Israel. The enemy who currently fights the Syrian army and the Egyptian army is Arab and Muslim.'*

*Al-Assad further explained: 'Many things have changed during the past forty years, with the passing of generations and circumstances, of course. We can say that forty years ago the Arab countries united in all sectors and in all aspects including the media, culturally, ideologically, morally, politically and militarily to unite against one enemy: Israel. Today we see that the Arab countries are united against Syria. The first and biggest victory today is to eliminate terrorism and extremism, which would mean eliminating the plans set out by foreign countries with the help of countries in our region to destroy Syria.' Assad condemned "those countries that follow the US agenda and Washington's directions, mainly Saudi Arabia and Turkey, after Qatar had abandoned its role to Saudi Arabia.'" (1)*

#### The Syrian dictator in cordial terms with his Egypt brother-in-arm General Sisi

This statement of Assad is highly interesting. It confirms – in the butchers own words – what we have said from the beginning: That both the Syrian dictatorship as well as Egypt military regime are sworn enemies of the Arab Revolution. (2) It is not accidentally that they support each other since their common enemies are the workers and poor peasants in the Arab world. And it is this counter-revolutionary stand against the wave of democratic mass uprisings which earn them the support of the imperialist Great Powers.

In the case of Egypt, all imperialists are united in their support for General Sisi's coup d'état. In the case of Syria the Western imperialists would prefer to expand their influence at the cost of their Russian (and Chinese) rivals for whom Assad serves as the local proconsul. However – as the recent joint efforts of the Obama administration and the Putin government for "Geneva-II" negotiations demonstrate – they have even here a common interest to liquidate the Syrian Revolution and to disarm the masses. (3)

#### *"The enemy is no longer Israel"*

The counter-revolutionary stand of the Assad regime is even more underlined by his open admission that his "enemy is no longer Israel". The enemy both for the Egypt and the Syrian regime are rather the insurrectional masses. "The enemy who currently fights the Syrian army and the Egyptian army is Arab and Muslim." One can hardly contradict the butchers own words. And Assad is also correct if he laments that he is anathema to the whole Arab world: "Today we see that the Arab countries are united against Syria".

While those many sorry "socialist" friends of the Assad regime might continue to praise him as a staunch enemy of imperialism and Zionism, the ruling class in the USA and Israel knows better. As we have reported in the past General Martin Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, stated unambiguously that US imperialism has no interest to advance a victory of the Syrian mass uprising: "The Obama administration is opposed to even limited U.S. military intervention in Syria because it believes rebels fighting the Assad regime wouldn't support American interests if they were to seize power right now." (4)

Similarly does the Israeli government fear a victory of the revolution against Assad and would prefer him to stay in power: "Israel would prefer President Assad to survive his country's bloody two-year insurgency if the alternative were a takeover by rebels infiltrated by Islamic extremists, Israeli officials said yesterday. Intelligence sources said that an intact, but weakened, Assad regime would be preferable for the country and the whole troubled region. 'Better the devil we know than the demons we can only imagine if Syria falls into chaos and the extremists from across the Arab world gain a foothold there,' one senior Israeli intelligence officer in the north of the country said." (5)

For the same reason, by the way, did the Netanyahu government hail the coup d'état in Egypt on 3<sup>rd</sup> July. (6)

It can only be hoped that Assad's interview is read and understood by those socialists who support the Syrian counter-revolution.

We urge all socialists and internationalists to study our "Open Letter on the Arab Revolution" and to draw the correct conclusions of this historic event. (7) These conclusions can only be:

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

\* *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!*

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

*\* Down with the military dictatorship in Egypt! Defend the pro-Morsi demonstrations without giving political support to their leadership! For mass action committees to organize the resistance! For armed self-defense units! For a general strike against the military regime! Fight for a Revolutionary Constitutional Assembly elected and controlled by the working people and protected by armed popular militias!*

*\* For international solidarity of the workers movement with their brothers and sisters in Egypt!*

*\* Down with the Zionist Apartheid State! Solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle! For a Free, Red Palestine from the River to the Sea!*

*\* 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!*

*\* Forward in building a revolutionary parties in Egypt, Syria and internationally! For the revolutionary Fifth Workers' International!*

### Footnotes

(1) The Middle East Monitor: Assad praises Egyptian army's approach to defeat Islamist 'enemy', 8 October 2013, <http://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/7719-assad-praises-egyptian-armys-approach-to-defeat-islamist-enemy#>

(2) Michael Pröbsting: The Coup d'État in Egypt and the Bankruptcy of the Left's "Army Socialism", 8.8.2013 <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism/>

(3) See on this e.g. RCIT: 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 a defeat for the Revolution! International Solidarity with the Syrian Revolution against

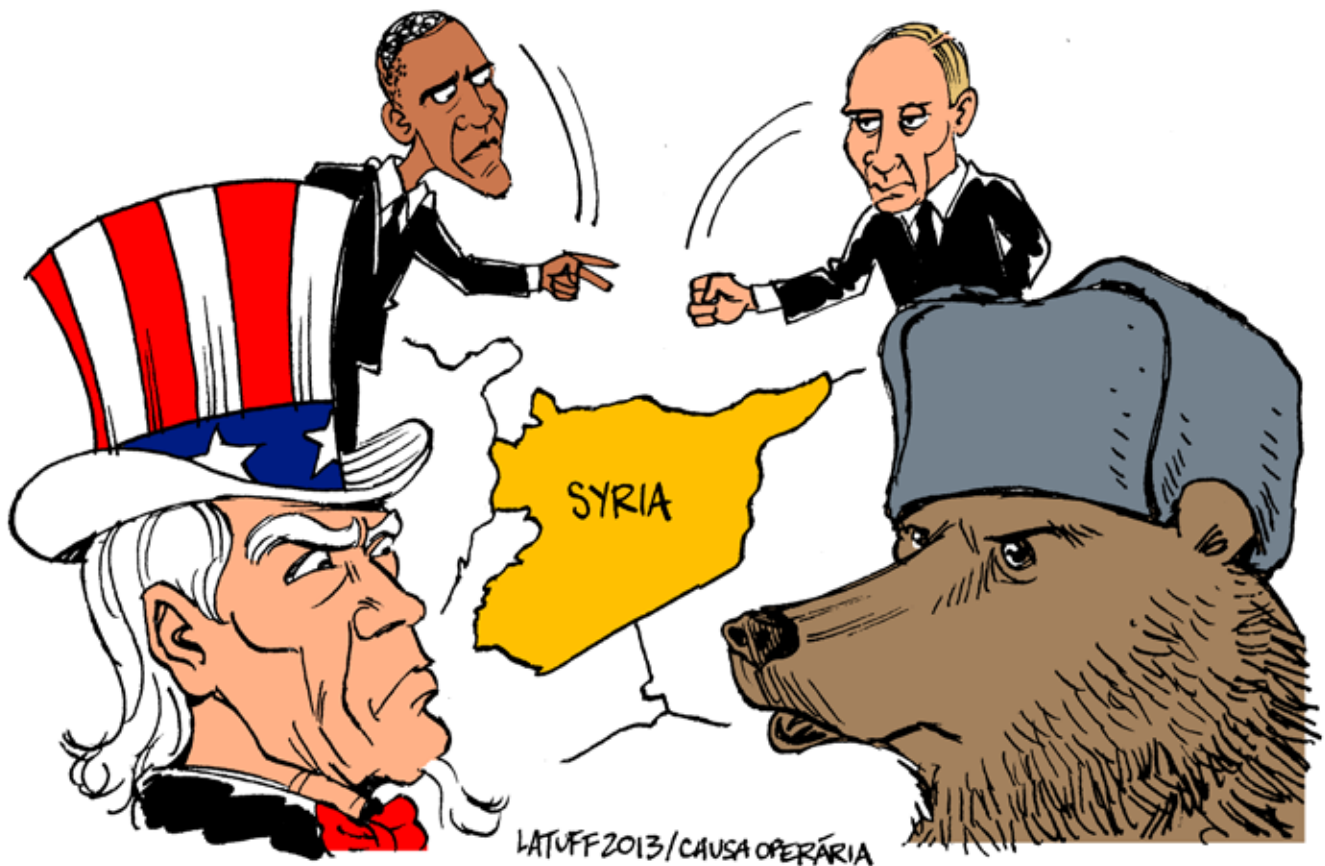
the murderous Assad Dictatorship!, 15.9.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/against-geneva-accord/>

(4) Bradley Klapper: Dempsey: Syrian rebels wouldn't back US interests, Associated Press, August 21, 2013, <http://cnsnews.com/news/article/dempsey-syrian-rebels-wouldnt-back-us-interests>. See also Michael Pröbsting: US Administration: "Rebels fighting the Assad regime wouldn't support American interests if they were to seize power", 22.8.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/us-opposes-syrian-rebels/>; Yossi Schwartz: Class struggle and religious sectarianism in Syria, 12.6.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/class-struggle-and-religious-sectarianism-in-syria/>; Yossi Schwartz: Syria: After the defeat in Qusayr and ahead of the Battle for Aleppo, 11.6.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/syria-after-defeat-in-qusayr/>; ISL-Leaflet: Victory to the Revolution in Syria! <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/victory-to-revolution-in-syria>.

(5) Sheera Frenkel and Roger Boyes: Islamist fear drives Israel to support Assad survival, May 18 2013, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/world/middleeast/article3768370.ece>

(6) See on this e.g. Yossi Schwartz: Israel and the Coup in Egypt, 21.8.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/israel-and-egypt-coup/>

(7) RCIT: The Arab Revolution is a central touchstone for socialists! Open Letter to All Revolutionary Organizations and Activists, 4.10.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/open-letter-on-arab-revolution/> ■



Cartoon from Carlos Latuff

## Brazil in the Months after the 'Days of June'

### The Government and Bosses attack with the Collaboration of Treacherous Leaders

*Report from the Corrente Comunista Revolucionária (RCIT Brazil), 4.11.2013*

The mass demonstrations which erupted in Brazil in June – the '*Jornadas de Junho*' ('Days of June') – showed that the global economic crisis, which started in 2008, has reached the country beyond doubt. This was definitely not a "*small wave*" as former president Lula da Silva commented shortly after the crisis erupted. The people expressed with these demonstrations their anger about the return of inflation, the government's neglect of the public transport system, education and health as well as their disgust for the corruption of the elite and the waste of money for the World Cup 2014. Brazil has entered the global wave of popular uprisings that had already happened in the U.S. (Occupy Movement), Spain (Indignados), the uprising in Turkey (around the issue of the Gezi-Park), etc. The uprising in Brazil – as well as in the other countries – was limited to immediate and democratic goals. It was also dominated by petty-bourgeois populism, nationalism and libertarian "anti-party" ideologies. The middle-class played a strong role in the movement. (1)

The most immediate result of these demonstrations was the reduction or even cancellation of the announced price increases in public transportation for some cities. At the same time the federal government of Dilma Rousseff (PT) responded to the streets with the promise of political reforms, which however has been virtually frozen in the National Congress after the end of the street protests.

The only exception is the government's health program '*Mais Médicos*' ('More Doctors'). This program was designed to ensure the presence of doctors in the periphery of the big cities, and especially in the interior areas of the country. This project is very similar to that of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela. It includes hundreds of Cuban doctors that came to Brazil as well as doctors from Argentina, Spain, etc. This reform faced great hostility and xenophobia from Brazil's Regional Council of Medicine, but was welcomed with great sympathy by the poor people.

However, the structural problems that afflict most Brazilians remain unresolved. Public transport is still bad, the public health care remains poor, the wages low, etc.

#### Wave of Strikes in the last few months

In this second half of this year we saw again several demonstrations and strikes. Many people returned to the streets, but this time the social composition and the demands were more specific and more dominated by the working class. In Brazil the second half-year is the season in which various sectors of public workers have their wage campaigns. It was within by the influence and the context of the '*Days of June*' that these campaigns were more radical than in the past.

As a result there a number of important strikes took place in the last few months. The bank workers (both public and private) were on strike for 23 days, which was the largest national strike since 2004. The postal workers were on

strike for over 20 days.

The workers in the oil industry (Petrobras) stopped refineries, terminals, power plants, biodiesel plants and platforms throughout the country. This was a very strong and powerful strike, one of the largest since 1995. This strike was particularly important because it also had a political agenda: it opposed the auction of the oil field "Libra" (see below).

Furthermore several unions of public teachers of various cities and federal states also went on strike. The highlight was the teachers' strike in the city of Rio de Janeiro. It lasted for two months, from August 8 to October 25, and had a massive national impact. The regional governor, Eduardo Paes (PMDB) repeatedly sent strong police forces to attack the striking teachers. (2)

#### Treacherous Trade Union Leaderships

While the level of radicalization and duration of these strikes were higher than in previous years, the concrete results were similar. The wage increases were only slightly larger than in the past and they got the promise of the bosses to pay them the days of strike as working days and that there will be no punishment for the strike activists.

So why did the workers not get any better results despite the higher level of militancy? The key responsibility for this outcome is the role of the leaders of the trade unions. The treacherous leaders had been forced by the rank and file workers to go on strike. But all the time they just waited for the best opportunity to demobilize them. These leaderships have connections with almost all the so-called "left" parties that support or are part of the federal PT-led government of Dilma Rousseff as well as several state governments. It is impossible to serve two masters at the same time!

The experience of the past few months has demonstrated again that 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.

#### Repression against Black Bloc Youth

Against the background of the radicalization of the protests we have seen also another important development: the growth of the youth group called 'black blocs', which is strongly influenced by anarchism and which usually



uses demonstrations to loot banks, luxury shops and public buildings. The presence of black bloc youth does not please the leaders of trade unions and social movements since they have a pacifist position. Worse, they even support the repression of these youth by the police!

The local governments of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro wanted to prosecute the black bloc youth by utilizing the notorious "*Lei de segurança Nacional*" ("*National Security Law*"). This is a reactionary law with which the military dictatorship between 1964 and 1985 persecuted numerous resistance fighters. This caused wide-spread outrage which forced the governments to retreat and now they are persecuting black bloc youth "only" on charges of "*formation of gangs*" and "*destruction of public property*".

### Privatization under Cover of Left-Wing Rhetoric

Meanwhile, the federal government of Rouseff, with the collaboration of the trade union leaderships, promoted the largest privatization since the PSDB-led government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso. It privatized the first part of the pre-salt Libra Oil Field which is a gigantic oil field with reserves estimated between 3.7 to 15 billion barrels.

The auction was won by the sole bidder consortium which consisted of the companies *Petrobras* (Brazil), *Shell* (UK/NL), *Total* (France) and the two Chinese state-owned *CNPC* and *CNOOC*. The other foreign investors dropped out, claiming that the alleged government interference was a hindrance to profits. It is increasingly evident that the Chinese imperialism is gaining ground in Latin America which was before traditionally reserved for the "old" imperialist countries, especially U.S. imperialism. Brazil is increasingly transforming from a semi-colonial country which was chiefly exploited by US imperialism into a semi-colony which – in addition to the US and EU – is also exploited by Chinese monopolies.

One of the main issues in the election campaign of Dilma Rouseff (PT) in 2005 was her attacks against the former governments of the PSDB because of their large-scale privatization programs. Both Lula da Silva and Dilma accused these governments that they had delivered the national wealth for crumbs. For example *Vale do Rio Doce*, one of the three biggest global mining companies, was sold for modest US\$ 3 billion and today worth more than US\$ 45 billion!

However, the PT's campaign has been proven as hypocrisy. Former president Lula (PT) had privatized federal roads and his successor, the Dilma government, soon initiated the privatization of the airports. But this is little compared with the privatization of the pre-salt oil fields!

Of course, the government promises now to invest the money, received via the auction of Libra, into the education system. Leaving aside that the government has already broken so many promises, there is no guarantee that these funds will be used to improve wages and working conditions of teachers and educators. More likely this money, if it comes, will be used to fund NGOs working in education, to purchase textbooks from private companies or to private companies that are employed by the government as "consultancies" to elaborate performance evaluations of teachers and students. We must remind ourselves that these public-private partnerships in education are a major source of channeling public money to the capitalists.

Furthermore the PT government is utilizing the auction of the Libra oil fields to justify the increase of fuel prices. They claim that Petrobrás – as a major shareholder after the auction – needs more money to invest in the exploitation of the Libra fields. This expected increase in fuel prices has led to a rise in the share price of Petrobras at the Stock Exchange (*Bovespa*). In short, after the government of semi-colonial Brazil sold a significant part of its oil reserves to European and Chinese imperialists, it is now demanding from the working people in Brazil to pay higher bills for gasoline! What an example of capitalist logic!

Rising gasoline prices will immediately lead to a rise in inflation. The few victories which we gained after the '*Jornadas de Junho*' will be lost. This makes the case for new militant mass mobilization even bigger!

The struggle against the privatization program of the government must be combined with the perspective of a workers government fighting for a program of socialist revolution in Brazil. The struggle for such a perspective requires the formation of a revolutionary workers party. *Corrente Comunista Revolucionária* and the *Revolutionary Communist International Tendency* are dedicating their forces to contribute to this goal.

### Footnotes

(1) See on this our statements: The Fight for the Right to Public Transportation - Free and With Quality - Under Control of Workers in Brazil, 14.6.2013, *El Mundo Socialista*, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-fight-for-public-transportation/>; Brazil: Solidarity with the Popular Uprising! Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) and Blog *El Mundo Socialista* (Brazil), 19.6.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-solidarity-with-popular-uprising/>; Brazil: Before the General Strike on 11th July, Report from *El Mundo Socialista*, <http://elmundosocialista.blogspot.com.br>, 2.7.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-general-strike-on-11-7/>

(2) See on these strikes our articles Brazil: Indefinite Nationwide Strike of Bank Workers! by *El Mundo Socialista* (fraternal group of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency), 20.9.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brazil-bank-workers-strike/>; 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 Revolutionary Communist International Tendency), 2.9.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/latin-america/brasil-national-day-of-struggle-on-30-8/> ■



# 100 Questions and Answers on Socialism

by Johannes Wiener, Revolutionary Communist Organization for Liberation (Austrian Section of the RCIT), November 2013

## Introduction

The following document is based on the translation of a pamphlet which was published by the *Revolutionary Communist Organization for Liberation* (RKOB, Austrian Section of the RCIT) in the spring of 2013. The author of the pamphlet is comrade Johannes Wiener, a leading member of the RKOB. We have modified and expanded the document to adapt it for an international audience.

The purpose of this document is to provide a first introduction to revolutionary activists who want to get a better understanding of Marxism. It is a popular introduction for activists who do not already possess knowledge of Marxism. Of course, such an introduction is not a full elaborated exposition of Marxism. This is why this introduction cannot replace the need to study the classic works of Marxism (written by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg and Trotsky). Nor does it replace the need to pore through the program of the RCIT and its books and theoretical journals.

Nevertheless, every great task needs a beginning and this is the purpose of the current introduction.

November 2013,

Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

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## I. ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIETY

### 1. What is a society?

A society is a group of people who are related to each other through labor and exchange of labor products. In other words, it is a system like, for example, the US-American society, or the ancient Greeks, etc.

### 2. What is production?

Production is the transformation of raw materials into products through human labor, such as turning iron ore into iron, or the harvesting of apples, the cutting of hair, etc. Production may include several steps. For example, iron ore is converted into iron, the major component of steel that is eventually used in the production of steel bridges.

### 3. What are means of production?

These are tools that people use to produce – this can be a simple hammer or a computer-controlled robotic factory. (Some important means of production in today's world include: factories, railways, ports, mines, media corporations, banks, etc.).

### 4. What are the productive forces of a society?

These are *all* the means of production of a society, inclu-

ding the entire working population and all the combined knowledge of these masses of workers. The state of a society's productive forces is an indicator of how developed a society is. Hence the productive forces of a society form the economic basis of a society.

### 5. What is exploitation?

Exploitation is someone's living off the labor of one or more other people. Exploitation takes place when someone works for another person and produces more than what he or she gets paid. Any value produced beyond what the worker receives as wages is called *surplus value*. Exploitation aims at acquiring as much surplus value as possible.

### 6. What is a class?

A class is a group of people that is related to the means of production by a given property relation. Classes can be one of the following types:

- a) *Exploiting class* – People who own the means of production and live off the labor of other people.
- b) *Intermediate class* – People who own the means of production, but perform the labor of production themselves and who do not exploit the labor of other people.
- c) *Exploited class* – People who own no means of production and work for other people.

In addition, there are elements of society (bureaucracy, salaried middle class, etc.) that do not constitute a class in themselves, but are nevertheless a necessary part of a society in which exploitation is used to produce.

### 7. What is a state?

A state is a tool that enables one class to exploit another class. Initially, states basically consisted of armed people (army, police). Over time, states became more complex by the addition of a judicature: an administrative apparatus and different forms of political rule (e.g., by royalty, by landowners, by parliaments, etc.) which constituted the state's government. Similarly, the educational system is part of the state apparatus, as it serves to educate people in the interests of the state.

### 8. What is class struggle?

Class struggle is the conflict between two classes that have opposing interests. Class struggle has existed in human societies since the emergence of classes with the development of early civilizations. Class struggle has determined the course of human history.

### 9. What are the different forms of class struggle?

- a) *Economic class struggle* – A class, or a part of it, struggles to improve their economic situation. For example: working men and women employed by a company go on strike for higher wages; or entrepreneurs lower the wages to make more profit.
- b) *Political class struggle* – A class, or a part of it, fights to

get more political influence. For example: through elections or war. The highest form of political class struggle is the revolution.

c) *Ideological class struggle* – A class, or a part of it, fights to spread ideas that match their interests. This can take the form of a conversation, of writing articles or books, street agitation (rallies), public meetings, producing publications, or by the electronic media.

All forms of class struggle are interconnected and mixed. A strike to improve the economic situation of the working men and women can be supported by the ideological class struggle – public meetings, street rallies, and leaflets. A successful strike can lead to important changes in the consciousness of workers, e.g., the way they think about exploitation, or it strengthens their political and trade union combative power.

### 10. In which directions does the class struggle develop?

a) There is class struggle from above: This is the struggle of the exploiters against the exploited.

b) There is class struggle from below: This is the struggle of the exploited against their exploiters.

### 11. What are the social systems that have existed throughout history, and how do they differ?

a) *Primitive Communism*, as in African tribal society. In this system, there is no private property and no classes; there is great poverty and backwardness.

b) *Slave Society*, as in ancient Rome. In this system, the producers are slaves which are the property of slaveholders for whom they work.

c) *Feudalism*, like in Europe during the Middle Ages. In this system, many producing serfs have to work a small piece of land for the feudal aristocrats.

d) *Asiatic Mode of Production*: A centralized bureaucracy with a royal dynasty at its top owns the land, runs the country from central cities and exploits the peasants and craftsmen.

e) *Capitalism*, the system that exists today throughout most of the world. Working men and women have to work for the profit of capitalists. The means of production do not belong to the workers, except for their labor-power.

f) *Rule of the working class*, as existed in Russia in the first years after the October Revolution in 1917. The working men and women run the country together with the poor peasants. They work for their own interests.

g) *Reign of the bureaucracy*, as existed in the former Soviet Union after Stalin took power as well as in Eastern Europe and China after World War II. Worker work for the privileges of the bureaucracy, and have no political power. At the same time, capitalism has been abolished.

These systems are marked by several epochs. For example the epoch of the decline of capitalism is called imperialism.

### 12. Will there always be class struggle in a class-based society?

Yes. Often there is class struggle under the surface that one cannot see on first sight. However, there are times when the interests of the classes clash openly, with more or less intensity. Class struggle can be divided into different periods just as economic development knows different stages.

### 13. How does Capitalism work?

Capitalism is based on the exploitation of the working class by the capitalists. The expropriation of substantial surplus value is the basis for the economic and political domination of the working class. The most powerful groups within the capitalist class are big business and the financial corporations. Through their economic influence, they control the top layers of the political parties, the police, the courts, the media, and the educational system. Capitalism can exist under take various forms of political control, whether parliamentary republics, military dictatorships, or fascist regimes.

### 14. What are the principal classes under capitalism?

a) The *capitalist class* owns the major means of production (corporations, banks, media, etc.), and exploits the surplus value produced by their workers to accumulate huge profits. Through its economic strength and influence, this class controls the state, via the parliament, the military, and the media.

b) The *petty bourgeoisie and the middle class* partly own the means of production and, therefore, are not themselves exploited. In the rich imperialist countries, they usually form an important pillar of society, supporting the capitalist class. The members of these classes or strata live by their own work and include, for example, richer peasants, middle managers, private lawyers, and police officers. In poorer, usually semi-colonial countries, the poorer peasants and the semi-proletarian layers (urban poor) live in terrible conditions. Consequently, these latter groups are an important ally for the working class in the struggle for liberation.

c) The *working class* owns no means of production and thus works for the profit of the capitalists. Temporarily unemployed are also part of the working class.

d) The *lumpenproletariat* is a very small layer which does not participate in the production (e.g., criminals, long-time homeless people).

## II. THE WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALISM

### 15. Why is the working class a special and revolutionary class?

As just mentioned, the working class is one of the principal classes under capitalism. As the wage-earning workers who perform actual production, the working class creates the basis for the capitalist world economy. This is a uniform and global class that exists across national borders, and which shares a common interest: the building of a new system that will exist for the benefit of the workers themselves and not the capitalists. To achieve this, the working class must overthrow the ruling capitalist class as such. Furthermore, the working class is the first class in the history of humanity that has an interest in abolishing any form of class rule. In other words, it is the task of the working class to end the domination of one class over another class.

### 16. What is Socialism?

Socialism is a system under which classes no longer exist. However, to achieve the actual withering away and disap-

pearance of classes, a long transitional phase will be needed. Under socialism, the economy serves all humankind equally and the oppression of one person by another in the form of the state is abolished. Socialism will be accompanied by a rapid development of the economy and culture because, for the first time in the history of humanity, the majority of the people will really work for themselves. Socialism will implement the principle *"From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."*

### 17. How can we get to Socialism?

Socialism is a classless society which can only be introduced by the working class. The bitterest enemies of socialism are the big property owners, i.e., the capitalist class. As a transitional step towards socialism, the working class must foment a revolution that will bring this class to power. The old capitalist state apparatus must be smashed. The working class needs its own state to prevent the capitalist class from returning to power. Under working class rule, the major means of production must pass to the collective ownership of the working people who will plan the economic activity of society according to their needs.

### 18. What happens to the state on the road to Socialism?

When the revolution has spread from one country to a large part of the world, the resistance of the exploiters will gradually decline. In this reality, the state will be less and less necessary as a source of oppression, and it will increasingly become only a tool for administration. In this way, the state will become less of a state in the classical sense (i.e., a tool for the oppression of one class by another). So the state will gradually wither away, because working people have no interest in its maintenance.

### 19. Why was socialism not achieved in the Soviet Union, the Eastern Bloc, and China?

Socialism is a system that can *only* be implemented at a global level. In the Stalinist state oppression and surveillance of the people increased. Instead of withering away, the state became stronger and more entrenched. It was characterized by rule of the bureaucracy of the state apparatus, and the party which controlled that bureaucracy, instead of rule by the working class in alliance with the poor peasants.

### 20. Was this development unavoidable?

No, not at all! The working class took power in Russia with the October Revolution in 1917. But since the revolution did not spread rapidly enough, the bureaucracy led by Stalin gained power after Lenin's death in 1924 and abolished the workers' democracy. But this was by no means inevitable. If revolution would have triumphed in several countries or even all of Western Europe, Stalinism would never have developed.

### 21. What can the working class do so that such a development does not recur?

The RCIT considers it as an important lesson that the institutions of the rule of the masses – the councils – must be the basis of the new society. Councils work like this: the workers in a factory (or in a neighborhood, a village, or a school) discuss the important issues of social life and elect representatives at public meetings. These representatives

are the delegates of the council. They must have no privileges and must be recallable at all times. It is also important to spread the revolution to other countries and continents as soon as possible. But the most important lesson is that the working class must create an international revolutionary party that, in time, can lead the workers and the oppressed in the struggle and organize the revolution.

### 22. Is it possible to introduce socialism via elections or parliament?

No. Even if we would play by the rules of bourgeois democracy, i.e., of the parliament, the exploiters and bosses, who control the bourgeois democracy, don't actually do this themselves. When we, working men and women, become too dangerous for them, they are only too happy to unleash the military or the fascists to take action against us (e.g., by replacing the parliament with a military dictatorship). There are many examples in which the exploiters have overturned bourgeois democratic elections because the oppressed were too strong (e.g., Austria and Germany in 1933, Spain in 1936, Greece in 1967, Chile in 1973, Turkey in 1980, Venezuela in 2002, Honduras in 2009, Mali in 2012).

### 23. Why can a revolution not be peaceful?

In history the exploiting class has always used the armed forces of its state apparatus to fight radical social changes because such a change would mean that they lose their privileges. They do everything possible to continue living from exploitation. For them, we are working men and women whom they need just to work for their profits. They have no problem to let us be shot en masse if we threaten their rule. To take a recent example, look to the Arab Revolution since 2011: peaceful protests led to the deaths of many unarmed protesters, and to the imprisonment and torture of others. It follows that the masses of workers and oppressed will have a real chance to fight for their freedom and their lives only by staging an armed uprising.

### 24. What is expropriation?

Expropriation is the taking away of the means of production and the wealth of the capitalists following the revolution. These resources will be transferred to the hands of the working people and their state, and used according to the needs of the entire society. It may also happen that some of the capitalist class will be expropriated *before* the revolution or to the revolution on the road there. (From this, we maintain our slogan *"Expropriation of the Super-Rich!"*) There is no compensation for expropriation. Total expropriation is only possible after the revolution.

### 25. What is Marxism?

Marxism is the science that explains the material basis of human society and provides the perspective through which we can achieve socialism. Marxism was founded by Karl Marx (hence the name) and is actively in the service of the oppressed by giving them the tools to build a new world.

### III. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

#### 26. What are the different types of countries?

- a) *Imperialist Countries*: these are the countries in North America, Western Europe, China, Russia, Japan, and Australia. They are capitalist countries. They oppress other countries and exploit them economically.
- b) *Semi-Colonial Countries*: these are the countries of South and Central America, Africa, Eastern Europe, South, South-East, West, and Central Asia. They are also capitalist countries. While they have *formal* political independence, they are economically exploited by the ruling class of the imperialist countries (we call this "super-exploitation"), and are thus dominated politically by the latter.
- c) *Colonial Countries*: only a few of which still exist like French Guiana, the Malvinas/Falkland Islands, Puerto Rico, as well as countries directly occupied by imperialism such as Afghanistan. They are themselves also capitalist countries. They are directly occupied and administered by imperialist powers and are thus economically super-exploited as well.
- d) *Degenerated Workers' State*: Today this is e.g. North Korea. These are countries in which a bureaucratically-planned economy exists alongside a one-party dictatorship; these countries can easily come into conflict with imperialism.
- e) *Revolutionary Workers' State*: The revolutionary Soviet Union 1917-23 was such a country. Such countries are characterized by a economy planned to meet the interests of the working class. The workers' state is a starting point for the world revolution and for this reason it is a bitter enemy of imperialism.

#### 27. What is Imperialism?

Imperialism is capitalism during the epoch of its decay. Under imperialism, two types of major conflicts come to a head: the conflict between the working class and the capitalist class and the conflict between oppressed and oppressor nations. The epoch of imperialism is, therefore, characterized by both revolutions and wars, in the course of which the Great Powers and their big corporations continually struggle among themselves for economic and political domination of non-imperialist countries and entire regions. With imperialism there are two possibilities: either the working class will take power or humanity will sink into barbarism.

#### 28. What is the national question?

Modern nation states emerged during the age of capitalism. In most imperialist countries, the national question was solved by the capitalist class (exceptions include e.g. Northern Ireland or the Basque Country). In the oppressed nations, the national question still plays an important role because these countries are still exploited and oppressed by imperialism. National oppression can be by imperialist countries or rather by the capitalist ruling classes of semi-colonial countries. By the right of national self-determination, the RCIT understands that a nation is no longer oppressed and exploited by another nation; that it has the right to form its own state; that its people have the right to speak their native language and live by their culture. There are also elements of the national question involved

in the oppression of migrants.

#### 29. What is war?

War is the continuation of politics by other means. During wars, one class tries to achieve its political objectives by violence. For example in the Vietnam War, in the 1960s and early 1970s, the US capitalists tried to secure their dominance in East Asia by breaking the resistance of the workers and peasants in Vietnam. Similarly, today US imperialism occupies Afghanistan while EU imperialism sends forces to Mali. Imperialist wars and occupations strive to secure both their geopolitical interests and their grip on oil and other resources. To achieve this, they attempt to smash anti-imperialist resistance.

#### 30. What are the different types of wars?

- a) *Imperialist Wars* involve the struggle of two or more oppressive (imperialist) countries against one another. The goal of each side is to gain control of as much of the world as possible as they divide it among themselves (e.g., WWI and WWII, except in the case of the Soviet Union).
- b) *National Liberation Wars* involve the struggle of an oppressed country against an oppressor country. Even if the oppressed country is lead in such a war by bourgeois forces, it remains a just war because the goal is to eliminate national oppression.
- c) *Revolutionary Wars* involve the struggle of a state, in which the working class has already taken power, against a capitalist country. The purpose of such a war is to liberate the working class and the oppressed and to spread the world revolution.
- d) *Civil Wars* involve the struggle between different classes, layers, or sections of classes within a single country. In civil wars, communists side with the masses of the working class and the oppressed against the exploiters and their lackeys.

#### 31. What position should Communists take in different types of wars?

- a) Communists from imperialist countries *always* oppose the wars waged by their own country – no matter against whom. In the event of war, communists call for the defeat of "their" country, as well as for fraternization between the soldiers of the warring sides.
- b) Communists from colonial or semi-colonial countries defend their country against imperialism. But they advocate that such just wars be transformed into revolutionary wars led by the working class. In reactionary wars between two capitalist, semi-colonial countries, communists on both sides stand for defeat of "their" respective country. In a reactionary civil war of "their" ruling class against an oppressed national minority, they call for the victory of the oppressed nation and the defeat of the ruling class.
- c) Communists defend those countries in which capitalism has already been abolished (workers' states) against their capitalist enemies. They explain to the soldiers of the capitalist army that their true enemy is not the workers' state, but their own ruling class at home.

#### 32. Should communists join bourgeois armies?

Yes and no. If there is legal compulsion to join the army (conscription) then, in general, the RCIT calls for communists to enter the bourgeois army. There we learn military

skills because, sooner or later, we will turn against the exploiters. While serving in a bourgeois army, we fight underground for the rights of ordinary soldiers, against the imperialist war, against the officer caste, and for soldiers' councils. Where conscription exists, we refuse to do alternative civil service or to attempt to avoid military service. If compulsory military service does not exist, we say that joining the army is not compulsory for communists.

### 33. Which kind of army do we want?

We advocate a Red Army that exclusively serves our class and fights against imperialism and the capitalist exploiters. In such an army, there will be maximum democratic participation (as long as the military situation allows this). In such an army, there will be no privileges for communists or officers!

### 34. What is our position on the struggle of nations for independence?

If the majority of a people of a region want to create a separate state, we support their struggle. But the RCIT does not advocate that such a state be capitalist, but rather that it be founded on a socialist basis, i.e., under the rule of the working class and the peasantry. Examples of legitimate struggles for independence today are the struggle of the Kurdish, Palestinian, Chechen, Tamil, Kashmiri, Baloch, and Tibetan peoples.

### 35. Why are we enemies of Imperialism?

Because imperialism is the main enemy of the working class in today's world. It suppresses not only the working class but also the absolute majority of the working people on Earth.

### 36. What is Internationalism?

Internationalism means that we, as working men and women, understand ourselves to be part of a global class with a common goal. It means that, for us, it does not matter what skin color or ethnic origin our brothers and sisters have. Our global class is our common "fatherland." We help all workers and the oppressed in their struggle for liberation – depending on the situation – with solidarity actions, resolutions, donations, actions, strikes, or even weapons. Internationalism also means that we express our solidarity with the struggle of oppressed peoples.

### 37. What is the democratic revolution?

In most parts of the world (in South America, Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe) many basic democratic and national rights have still not been won. The tasks of the democratic revolution are:

- \* Implementation of full democratic rights (e.g. freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of movement, equal rights for women and national or religious minorities)
- \* Enforcement of a comprehensive land reform (redistribution of the land of big landowners to poor and landless peasants)
- \* National liberation from oppression and exploitation by oppressor nations and by imperialism

The Arab Revolution, in which the masses having been fighting since 2011 against dictatorships in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, etc., is an actual example of such a democratic revolution.

### 38. What is the Permanent Revolution?

Permanent revolution means achieving the aims of the democratic revolution under the leadership and rule of the working class. This, in fact, is the only way that the democratic revolution can be carried out successfully, because the capitalists of the oppressed nations are too weak and would rather join forces with imperialism than meet their historical responsibilities. It is, therefore, the task of the working class of oppressed nations to advance the democratic revolution by making a socialist revolution – that is, to combine the objectives of the national democratic revolution and the social objectives of the working class.

### 39. Who are the allies of the working class in the colonies and semi-colonies?

The closest allies of the working class are the poor or landless peasants and the urban poor (impoverished dealers, slum dwellers, etc.). These layers *must* be won for the revolution in order for it to succeed.

In a broad, popular movement, it may also be possible to *temporarily* win the middle-level peasants and the urban middle classes to the side of the revolution. But the primary goal is to neutralize these layers so that they do not side with the capitalists.

If the capitalist class of a colonial or semi-colonial country comes into conflict with imperialist forces, it is conceivable that the working class will be able to undertake military or practical actions together with them. However, such an alliance, if it ever comes about, will be highly fragile and short-lived.

### 40. How do we fight against the destruction of our environment?

Capitalism and its economy are not working for the benefit of the people, but for the profit of the capitalists. The environment is deteriorating rapidly, so it is we – the working class – who must prevent the destruction of our planet. The RCIT calls for the abolition of nuclear power and the development of renewable energy under the control of working men and women assisted by experts whom our class can trust. Public transport needs to be expanded; workers who are employed in polluting industries need to be retrained, and not be laid off.

## IV. THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

### 41. Why does the working class need a Revolutionary Party?

The working class is the only revolutionary class in society today. As such, it fights against a very strong enemy who has tremendous practical experience as well as military and organizational superiority. In order to defeat such a powerful enemy, the capitalist class, the most advanced sections of the working class must organize and unite politically as a revolutionary party to lead the working class in the revolution.

### 42. What is the relationship of communists to the working class?

Our program is an expression of the interests of the wor-

king class. It is a compass for our class to achieve victory. We, as communists, are fighting to forge a revolutionary leadership from among the working class, and attempting to convince as many working men and women of our idea as possible. We reject violence, compulsion, and oppression within our own class. We want to start the revolution only when the majority of our class brothers and sisters support this. As communists, we are always on the side of the most oppressed strata of society, and continually fight for working class solidarity.

**43. Why do we need an international party?**

Capitalism is a world system and the capitalist class coordinates their political and economic activity internationally. The working class is an international class which must not be split along national lines. Our fatherland is the entire world. We need a global strategy, a global battle plan to bring about a world revolution. This demands an international, world-wide party!

**44. Have there ever been any international working class parties?**

Yes, there have been, until now, four internationals (world parties of the working class). They achieved much and gained vast experience for our revolutionary struggle. But in the end they all failed, were betrayed, or disintegrated.

The First International was founded by Marx and Engels in 1864, and was dissolved in 1876.

The Second International (also known as the Socialist International) was founded in 1889; it was active as a revolutionary International until the start of World War I in 1914. Then it fell apart and was re-founded as the Socialist International, which formally exists until today.

The Third International (also known as the Communist International) was founded in 1919 by Lenin. It was based on the experience of the October Revolution that created the Soviet Union. This International was betrayed by Stalin who expelled and murdered many of its revolutionary members. It was dissolved by Stalin in 1943.

The Fourth International (also known as the Trotskyist In-

ternational) was founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky. This party was viciously attacked and persecuted by fascists, Stalinists, and bourgeois "democrats." From the late 1940s, the Fourth International adapted to Stalinism, social democracy, and petty-bourgeois nationalism. It fell apart in 1953.

**45. Why are we for the foundation of the Fifth International?**

Until now, all other Internationals have failed and have not fulfilled their historic mission. But the working class urgently needs a revolutionary international leadership!

**46. What is democratic centralism?**

Democratic centralism is a key principle for revolutionary organizations and parties. It involves maximum participation of members within the organization/party in determining party policy. Once policy is established democratically, all members must assist in the implementation of the decisions, by carrying out appropriate political work. The membership elects a responsive leadership which has the authority to make decisions until the next conference. The purpose of participation is not a goal in itself, but is a means to lead the organization along the correct path! Depending on situation of the class struggle, democratic centralism takes different forms.

**V. ENEMIES OF THE WORKING CLASS**

**47. What do we mean by "reactionary"?**

The word "reactionary" comes from the Latin meaning backward. The term reactionary is given to anything that represents a regression for society or our class.

**48. What is Fascism?**

Fascism is a right-wing movement which violently attacks migrants, minorities (e.g., Jews, Roma) and members of the workers' movement. Fascism aims to replace the bour-

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geois-democratic republic with an open reign of terror and to crush all working class organizations. Fascists can only seize power if the capitalists want to use them against our class. Fascism is the capitalists' "emergency brake" to prevent revolution. Fascism can only become a mass movement, if it is supported and funded by the capitalists. Examples for fascist parties are the Nazis in Germany and Austria, Jobbik in Hungary, MHP/Bozkurt in Turkey, the English Defense League in Britain, the fascists in Italy, Chetniks in Serbia, Ustaša in Croatia, etc.

#### 49. Which classes form the basis for Fascism?

The fascists base themselves on support from the petty bourgeoisie or former owners of small means of production that were destroyed by crisis-ridden capitalism. The lumpenproletariat is also an important base for fascism, which in particular provides its fighting forces. If fascism becomes a mass movement, it can also receive support from the highest and lowest, i.e., most precarious, sections of the working class.

#### 50. What is nationalism?

Nationalism is a political tendency which claims that a given nation is superior to others and that all people who are part of this nation, have a common interest to support it.

#### 51. Should working men and women be patriotic or nationalistic?

No! Our motherland is the world and our pride is our class! US workers have many more common interests with workers in India or Zimbabwe than with the US bosses! But we must recognize that the nationalism of oppressed peoples is primarily a response to their oppression; one cannot, therefore, equate it with the nationalism of oppressor nations. We are for the equality of all people and for a joint future of peace and socialism!

#### 52. What is individualism?

Individualism is an ideology which advocates that individuals have special rights. This ideology is used by the bosses to undermine our class unity. Individualism as an ideology works in the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class, whose economic base is strongly individualistic (some own small means of production, others are employed, individually, in better positions). We fight against individualism, because it serves only those who have more rights. Liberation can only exist for all or for no one! In fact, the individual personality can only develop freely if the society as a whole can develop freely and in a diversified manner.

#### 53. What does 'bourgeois' mean?

Another word for the capitalist class is the French word "bourgeoisie". Bourgeois politics is, therefore, a policy that serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. In any state there can be several bourgeois parties since the ruling class is divided into different groups, and it also needs parties to rally the support of other classes in the society.

## VI. ENEMIES WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

#### 54. What is reformism?

Reformism is a political current within the workers' movement which maintains that capitalism can be made more humane, and can even be made to gradually lead to socialism via peaceful means, or simply to achieve a more just world. In reality, reformism defends bourgeois society based on exploitation, and has been and is used to prevent revolutions that strive to smash exploitation. Reformism entirely neutralizes sincere fighters for a better world, and sells them to the liar politicians in Parliament. In Germany, Austria, and Spain reformism (social democracy) paved the way for fascism in the 1930s when it betrayed the resistance of working men and women.

#### 55. Which Reformist Forces exist?

These are mainly:

1. *Social Democrats* (e.g., PSF [France], PSOE [Spain], SPD [Germany])
2. *Stalinist or former Stalinist parties* (e.g., CPI and CPI[M] in India, CPSA [South Africa], the CP's in Egypt, Israel and Iraq, KKE [Greece], the European Left Party (which composes e.g., SYRIZA [Greece], the German Left Party, IU [Spain], PCF and Front de Gauche [France])

In addition there are also other reformist parties like the AWP (Pakistan), the Hoxahist PCOT/PT [Tunisia], the Mana Party (New Zealand), or the Red-Green Alliance (Denmark).

#### 56. What exactly is Social Democracy?

Social Democracy is a political force which often controls the labor movement in imperialist countries. It has demonstrated throughout its history that it is against socialism and, if necessary, prefers to fight side by side with the capitalists against us workers. The RCIT sees the social democratic bureaucracy as an assistant and agent of the capitalists within our class (e.g., German Social Democracy, Blair's Labour Party in Britain, PSF in France.)

#### 57. What is Stalinism?

Stalinism emerged in the Soviet Union several years after the successful October Revolution. It is a political force directed *against* the world revolution and a consistent revolutionary policy. It emerged as a political expression of the growing bureaucracy whose interests were directed against the working class. After the downfall of Stalinism in Eastern Europe and the restoration of capitalism in China, Stalinism has lost much influence. It follows in most cases a reformist politics but appears as more left-wing than social democracy. Even if the Stalinists usually call themselves "Communists," their policy has little to do with it. Where they are in power (alone or as part of a government coalition) they serve to run the business of the ruling capitalist class (e.g., SACP in South Africa, both CP's in Syria, AKEL in Cyprus, CPM in West Bengal/India, PCF in France).

Historically, the Stalinist bureaucracy has killed hundreds of thousands of real communists.



### 58. Is it possible to win over reformist parties to the side of the Revolution?

No. Reformist parties are led and controlled by very powerful and experienced bureaucracies. The masses of the working class have very little influence in these parties. It is often difficult to build even a revolutionary faction inside them.

### 59. Why is it that reformism has managed to prevail in the workers movement?

Because the capitalists succeeded in creating a privileged labor bureaucracy at the head of workers' organizations (parties, unions, etc.). This bureaucracy has an interest to get along with the capitalists and retain capitalism, since this system provides them with posts and privileges.

### 60. On which forces does the bureaucracy base itself inside the workers' organizations?

Its direct base is a small but highly privileged layer at the top of the working class – the labor aristocracy. This layer is corrupted by the bosses with a relatively high wages and lifestyle in order to spread their ideas into a sector of the working class.

### 61. What is meant by "petty (or petit) bourgeois"?

The petty bourgeoisie is an intermediate class in capitalism. It is increasingly torn between the working class and capitalists. The existence of the petty bourgeoisie is based either on individual ownership of small means of production (a small piece of farm land, small shop, little restaurant, doctor's office, etc.) or on self-employment (small trader, engineer, etc.). This layer has a short-term interest in the maintenance of private ownership of the means of production, but a long-term interest in socialism. This makes it a highly contradictory class. Petty-bourgeois means that something which is inherent to the interests of the petty bourgeoisie (reformist policies, for example, are petty-bourgeois). Policy responses aimed at the individual or creating gradual improvement in society mostly correspond to the day-dream thinking of the petty bourgeoisie.

### 62. What is Centrism?

Centrism is a political tendency that vacillates between reform and revolution. It adapts to various non-revolutionary forces with the illusionary hope of winning them over to socialism (in imperialist countries: the reformist bureaucracy; in the semi-colonies: petty-bourgeois nationalist or anti-imperialist but non-revolutionary forces). Centrism takes the communist program and trims off its revolutionary edge both in theory and practice (to make communism "more acceptable" for its allies). Examples of centrist organizations are the CWI (Peter Taffee), IMT (Alan Woods), SWP(UK) and the ISO (USA), in the tradition of Tony Cliff, or the "Fourth International" in the tradition of Ernest Mandel.

### 63. What is Maoism?

The term Maoism is derived from Mao Zedong, the leader of the Stalinist party and later of the regime in China. In its program Maoism is a version of Stalinism. It hails the Stalinist regime in the USSR and claims that its successors betrayed Stalin's "socialism." It has, however, characteristics which are specific to conditions in the poorer, semi-

colonial countries. Maoism emerged as a specific political current in China after the power struggle sharpened between the Russian and the Chinese national bureaucracies and led to a break in the 1960s. Like Stalinism, Maoism desires to build a bureaucratic dictatorship *against* the working class based on post-capitalist property relations. Its strategy is to fight alongside bourgeois forces in a first stage to achieve a bourgeois-democratic state ("*New Democracy*") and only in a second stage for socialism. As a result it often forms political alliances with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces. China under Mao Zedong, for example, collaborated with US imperialism against the USSR. It also supported ultra-reactionary forces against progressive petty-bourgeois forces: e.g., China's support for the pro-imperialist UNITA against the MPLA government in Angola, for the reactionary Mujahedin in Afghanistan against the PDPA and the Soviet troops after 1979, for right-wing, pro-US dictatorships (like the Shah in Iran or Pinochet in Chile), or for Bandaranaike's government in Sri Lanka which slaughtered thousands of youths in the rebellion of 1971. At the same time, in some countries Maoists happen to be at the front of radical struggles of poor peasants and oppressed (e.g., CPI [Maoists] in India, CPP in the Philippines). Many Maoist activists are dedicated revolutionaries whom we want to break away from their leaders' bankrupt Maoist program. While the RCIT rejects the Maoist program, we seek practical cooperation with Maoist forces in the class struggle and defend them against state repression.

### 64. What is Hoxahism?

The term *Hoxahism* is derived from Envar Hoxha, the leader of the Stalinist party and later of the regime in Albania. It is basically a version of Maoism/Stalinism. Albania under Enver Hoxha worked closely together with Stalin and later Mao Zedong but turned away from China soon after Mao's death in 1976. While Hoxahism later denounced some aspects of Maoist ideology (e.g., the Three Worlds Theory) it essentially kept the same program. Hoxahist parties usually follow a deeply reformist policy of forming political alliances with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces (e.g., PCOT/PT in Tunisia).

### 65. What is Bolivarianism?

The term *Bolivarianism* is derived from Simon Bolivar, a famous bourgeois national liberation fighter in Latin America who fought against Spanish colonialism in the early 19th century. Bolivarianism is the name of the political movement associated with the governments of the late Chavez in Venezuela, Morales in Bolivia, and their international supporters. The Bolivarian regimes collaborate with imperialist China. While they talk about "Socialism in the 21st century," they pursue a policy of state-capitalism and subordination of the working class to the national bourgeoisie. While the RCIT rejects the Bolivarian program, we seek practical cooperation with them in the class struggle and defend them against imperialist aggression.

### 66. What is petty-bourgeois left-wing Populism?

We characterize as "*petty-bourgeois left-wing populist*" those political forces which raise progressive social and democratic demands against the ruling class but which don't fight for them with the methods of class struggle and don't

combine this with the program of socialist revolution. They focus rather on gaining influence via parliamentary elections and use popular mobilizations as vehicles for this. Examples for this are the RESPECT party of George Galloway in Britain or Julius Malema's EFF in South Africa. While the RCIT rejects the petty-bourgeois populist program, we seek practical cooperation with them in the class struggle against reactionary forces.

#### 67. What is petty-bourgeois left-wing nationalism?

We characterize as "*petty-bourgeois left-wing nationalist*" those political forces which fight for the rights of oppressed nationalities but don't rely on the methods of class struggle and don't combine this with the program of socialist revolution. They focus rather on gaining influence via parliamentary elections, armed guerilla struggle, or popular mobilizations, or a combination of these. Examples for this are the FARC in Columbia, the PFLP in Palestine, or HB/ETA in Basque Country. While the RCIT rejects the petty-bourgeois nationalist program, we seek practical cooperation with them in the class struggle and defend them against state repression.

#### 68. What is Islamism?

Islamism tries to transform the Islamic religion into a political ideology. There are many different Islamist movements. These movements usually have a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois political character. There are also left-wing Islamists who try to fuse the goals of Islam with socialism. On the other hand, there are also very regressive Islamists (Salafists, Wahabis, Taliban, etc.). We defend the Islamists against imperialism and its state as well as against fascism. But political Islamism has ultimately no answer for the liberation of the oppressed classes.

#### 69. What do we mean by "ultra-left"?

Political organizations that are ultra-left usually follow a policy which puts a minus sign everywhere reformists put a plus sign. The result is that, although they are very radical in words, they usually follow an impotent policy in practice. They are sectarian, which means that they oppose joint actions with the organizations of the workers movement (the trade unions, labor parties, etc.). They also often criticize reformism and centrism in a wrong way (i.e., they insult them instead of criticizing them). The best way to fight against ultra-leftism is to consistently fight against reformism.

#### 70. What is anarchism?

Anarchism is a political tendency which fights, like us, for a classless society. But it rejects that the working class is the only revolutionary class; it refuses to fight for a workers' state as a necessity to prevent the capitalists from re-conquering power; and it also refuses to build a revolutionary party. It does not consistently fight against imperialism, and does not defend the oppressed peoples. It believes that hierarchies are the "root of all evil" in class society.

#### 71. What is the united front?

The united front is a tactic used by communists to fight together with non-revolutionary forces. A united front is formed to a specific practical purpose because one is too

weak to achieve a given goal (e.g., organization of demonstrations or strikes to oppose an attack of the ruling class). We do not form a united front for the sake of unity but for the purpose to achieve a practical goal. We call the leaderships of non-revolutionary organizations to take joint actions with us. At the same time we approach the membership of these organizations to advance joint actions "from below." The principle the RCIT follows is: *march separately, strike together.*

#### 72. Are there different types of united fronts?

In the first place, the united front is directed towards organizations of the workers' movement. However, it often happens that workers follow organizations which are not part of the workers' movement, but which nevertheless participate in just struggles. In addition, revolutionaries also struggle to advance the liberation of the oppressed (women, youth, migrants, etc.) and other oppressed classes and layers (poor peasantry, urban poor). For this purpose we aim for united front actions with organizations which represent these layers. We also advocate the anti-imperialist united front with forces which resist imperialist attacks. United front actions can range from joint demonstrations and joint strikes to joint military actions.



Johannes Wiener speaking at a Demonstration in Vienna in March 2013

## VII. THE TRADE UNIONS

**73. What is our attitude towards trade unions?**

Trade unions are essentially organs of the working class to struggle for a better life. If unions organize masses of the working class but are under a reformist leadership, we work inside them and try to get rid of the reformist bureaucracy and to turn these mass organizations into revolutionary unions. We try to strengthen the unions wherever it is possible. In branches where no unions exist, we try to build revolutionary unions. The RCIT aims to build a revolutionary leadership for the trade unions.

**74. Are we in favor of splitting the trade unions?**

In principle, we are against the splitting of unions. We believe that the working class needs a single union to fight as effectively as possible. Nevertheless, we must not allow the bureaucracy to bind the hands of the workers in the struggle, and propose independent actions when the bureaucrats refuse to fight (e.g., call for strikes, demonstrations, factory occupations, etc.). History has shown that it is reformists who break the unity of the union, especially when communists become too influential in the union. This is certainly negative, but mostly unavoidable.

**75. What kind of trade union work do we undertake?**

While performing trade union work, we try to win colleagues both for joining the union as well as for communism, which means recruiting members in the unions and building union cells. If there are no shop stewards in an enterprise, we propose nominating one. When there is a strike, we put ourselves at the forefront in the struggle against the bosses and for more rights. We connect the struggle for improvements in everyday life with the struggle for the rule of the working class.

**76. What is a strike?**

A strike means that we working men and women decide together to refuse to work until the boss or the state accepts our demands. A strike can exert massive pressure because it prevents the bosses from making profits during this time. This can take the form of a strike inside the enterprise or a street demonstration during working hours. A scab is someone who refuses to participate in a strike but wants to continue to work for the boss. Scabs are therefore betraying their colleagues and harming them.

**77. How can we force the union bureaucracy to fight?**

On its own, the trade union bureaucracy will not fight for our rights. It will do so only under pressure from below. As long as we are not strong enough to organize militant actions by ourselves, we must put the union leadership under pressure until it yields. Therefore, we propose to hold assemblies of the workers to discuss and make decisions to start a strike or to build action committees to organize practical resistance. Therefore, we advocate the building of a militant grassroots movement within unions. This grassroots movement should aim to organize class struggle actions, if necessary, against the will of the bureaucracy.

## VIII. WOMEN'S LIBERATION

**78. What are the different Forms of Women's Oppression?**

- a) Women receive lower wages than their male colleagues for the same work.
- b) Women take most of the burden of (unpaid) housework.
- c) Women are discriminated against legally
- d) Women suffer sexual oppression in the forms of abuse and rape as well as prostitution.
- e) Women are the targets of ideological oppression, misogynistic ideas, humiliation, and education towards traditional gender roles.

**79. How do we fight against women's oppression?**

The RCIT advocates a revolutionary working class women's movement. We stand for the closest possible union of all workers and oppressed. We combine the struggle for socialism with the struggle for women's liberation, since these issues cannot be separated. Women's oppression will continue to exist as long as classes exist. We fight to advance women's rights – especially those of female workers and poor – as much as possible under the capitalist system (for equal wages, equal rights, the right to abortion, for the socialization of housework, etc.). Capitalists and their agents of both sexes are equally our enemies, because they are all exploiters.

**80. Did women's oppression exist before Capitalism?**

Yes. The oppression of women is as old as class society itself. The Roman Empire or the empires of the Middle Age were built on the labor of women and slaves or serfs (semi-slaves). That is why, in our struggle against class domination we, must also fight against the oppression of women as one of its oldest manifestations.

**81. What is Feminism?**

Feminism is a current that assumes, in one way or another, that women have a common interest. In reality, we know that the women – as men – are divided into different classes, which are in conflict with each other. There are many different varieties of feminism – ranging from a radical, autonomous feminism who considers all men "culprits," a bourgeois moderate version which focuses on bringing more women to top positions of management, media, and state, to forms of feminism which mix in all sorts of socialist phrases.

**82. Is it possible to combine feminism with socialism?**

No. Socialism, by its very nature, stands for women's liberation (as well as for the liberation of other oppressed layers). It does not need to be combined with other, non-revolutionary ideologies in order to emphasize one or another issue.

**83. What we mean by the socialization of housework?**

The burden of domestic work (childcare, cooking, cleaning, etc.) rests, in most part, on the shoulders of the woman. We are for the full employment of women, because only then they can achieve economic independence from

men. The RCIT advocates that the burden of homework be transferred from the shoulders of the individual to society. This means that after the revolution, a network of high-quality childcare facilities, public laundry rooms, and free canteens/restaurants will be available, paid for by the expropriated wealth of the rich.

### IX. THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE LIBERATION OF PEASANTS IN THE SEMI-COLONIAL WORLD

#### 84. Are the peasants in the semi-colonial world oppressed?

The huge majority of the peasants in semi-colonial countries possess either only a very small piece of land or none at all. There exists only a small minority of middle-class and wealthy peasants. The small and landless peasants are exploited by big agro-corporations (e.g., Monsanto), the banks (via high interest rates for loans) or by large landowners. The RCIT considers the small and landless peasantry as an important ally of the working class in the struggle for revolution.

#### 85. Are the peasants a revolutionary class?

They are a revolutionary class insofar as they are ready to fight against the agro-corporations and big landowners, as well as the banks and the capitalist state. However, they cannot fight independently but only under the leadership of the working class. They also tend to have conservative and individualist tendencies and focus on gaining a piece of land for themselves.

#### 86. What will the socialist revolution offer the peasants?

When the working class takes power, it will immediately liberate the peasants from the yoke of the banks, the agro-corporations, and the large landowners. It will abolish all peasants' debts, expropriate the large landowners, and nationalize the land in order to distribute it to the small and landless peasants so that they can use it for productive purposes.

#### 86. Do communists prefer individual or collective ownership of the land?

The RCIT considers the collective ownership of the land and the formation of big state farms as the most efficient form of production. However we strongly oppose taking the land of the small peasants away against their wishes (as it was the case in the USSR under Stalin). We want to convince the peasants of the superiority of collective ownership of land. Collectivization, therefore, must be voluntary. In order to convince peasants, we promote the voluntary association of peasants to cooperatives and the formation of model state farms.

### X. FOR THE RIGHTS OF MIGRANTS!

#### 87. What are the different forms of migrant oppression?

- a) Migrants receive lower wages than their native colleagues for the same work. The education and skills they received in their countries of origin is not recognized, in part or full, in their new countries.
- b) Migrants are disproportionately over-represented in the lower layers of the working class. They receive lower pensions.
- c) The national culture and language of migrants are suppressed.
- d) Migrants suffer legal discrimination (only limited residence permission or none at all; only limited labor permission or none at all; deportations; no voting rights; etc.).
- e) Migrants are persecuted by fascists and racists.
- f) Migrants are the victims of ideological oppression by means of xenophobic ideas and humiliation.

#### 88. How do we fight against the oppression of migrants?

We advocate a revolutionary movement of migrants. We stand for the closest possible union of all workers and oppressed. We combine the struggle for socialism with the struggle for national and social liberation of the migrants, as these issues can not be separated. While oppression of migrants will exist as long as capitalism is not overthrown, we fight for the rights of migrants today, especially those of working men and women. There is only a very small layer of migrant capitalists and a slightly larger layer of small business owners. This minority of migrant capitalists are also our enemies because they are exploiters. However, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois migrants often have great influence in the migrants clubs and associations. This influence must be broken to win the migrant workers for a socialist perspective.

There are differences between migrants from imperialist and from semi-colonial countries. Migrants from imperialist countries usually experience a much less oppression if they live in imperialist countries. If they live in the semi-colonies, they are even partially privileged. Migrants from semi-colonies are a nationally oppressed and super-exploited minority in imperialist countries. The majority of them provide a source of cheap labor. Even in the semi-colonies, they are often in a similar situation.

#### 89. What is the principle of "Equal pay for equal work"?

We fight for the application of this principle to all working men and women, especially for particularly oppressed layers (migrants, women, national minorities, and young people). It means that every worker must not be discriminated against in employment due to his or her origin, age, or sex. Women, migrant, national minority, and youth workers should receive the same wage as their male, native, national majority, adult colleagues.

#### 90. What is the demand for the "right to one's mother tongue"?

The "right to one's mother tongue" recognizes the right of all persons who live in a country to speak in their native language in public institutions. There must be the opportunity to be educated at schools and universities in their own language. We advocate the possibility of learning other languages for free (also during working hours).

**91. What do we say if someone is wearing a headscarf or a turban or wants to live according to his or her native culture?**

We say that this is the right of each and every person. This reflects the national identity of migrants, which is oppressed by the imperialist state. We say that everyone must have the right to live by his or her culture (food regulations, customs, holidays, clothes, music, etc.), as long as he or she does not thereby impinge the right of someone else. We support the right to wear the headscarf or turban at school or at the workplace. At the same time we reject any coercion to do so.

**XI. FOR THE RIGHTS OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND HOMOSEXUALS!**

**92. How are young people oppressed?**

- a) Young people receive lower wages than their adult colleagues for the same work.
- b) Young people are dependent on their parents.
- c) Young people are discriminated against legally (particularly if they are under the age of 18).
- d) Young people are more vulnerable targets of sexual oppression by means of abuse and rape.

**93. How are homosexuals and transsexuals oppressed?**

- a) Homosexuals and transsexuals are discriminated against legally.
- b) Homosexuals and transsexuals are persecuted by fascists and reactionary forces.
- c) Homosexuals and transsexuals are the victims of abuse, sexual violence, and prostitution.
- d) Homosexuals and transsexuals are the victims of ideological oppression by means of anti-gay or lesbian hate propaganda, humiliation and, education.

**94. Why do we fight for equal rights for homosexuals, transsexuals, and young people?**

In the world, for which we are fighting, there can be no room for discrimination of any human being because of their age or sexual orientation. Young people and homosexuals are particularly discriminated against groups in our class. They need not only our solidarity, but they are also an active part in our joint struggle for socialism.

**95. Can you fight for communism and, at the same time, believe in God?**

Yes. Although many fighters for communism not believe in God, there is no contradiction between participation in the communist struggle and religious belief. We respect the religious feelings of people as long as they do not oppress other people because of their religion (or "non-religion," i.e., atheism). Throughout history, both the rich and the poor have used religion for their goals. Christianity was used by both the slave owners and the slaves in the southern United States. There are religious Muslims who fight both against US imperialism and Israel, as well as those who support them (e.g., the governments of the Gulf monarchies, Turkey). For communists, generally, it is more important what you think about this world than about the hereafter.

**XII. OUR HISTORY AND TRADITIONS**

**96. Are traditions bourgeois?**

Each class has their own traditions, values, and history. Bourgeois history, for example, praises generals, kings, and exploiters. Our history praises slave revolts, peasant wars, and workers revolutions. Therefore, we also have very different traditions: the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie remember coronations, the founding of empires by



Clara Zetkin: Founder of the revolutionary women's movement and leading communist

(Source: <http://www.badische-zeitung.de/kommentare-1/internationaler-frauentag-hundert-jahre-sind-nicht-genug--42313481.html>)

exploiters, or religious holidays. We remember heroic uprising of the oppressed or important steps in the liberation of mankind.

### 97. What are the holidays for the working class?

*January 15:* Commemorates the assassination of the central leaders of the Communist Party of Germany, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, in Berlin, 1919

*March 8:* Is the International Day of Struggle for Women's Liberation.

*May 1:* Mayday is the International Day of Struggle of the Working Class – This is a central socialist holiday.

*August 20/21:* Commemorates the assassination of Leon Trotsky, leader of the October Revolution and founder of the Fourth International, by an agent of Stalin, 1940

*November 6:* Is the anniversary of the Socialist October Revolution in 1917, organized by the Bolsheviks who were led by Lenin and Trotsky

### 98. What are the Values of our Class?

Solidarity with all poor and especially the working class

Equality for all people, regardless of race, gender, or age

Discipline in the struggle for the revolution and the liberation of our class

Work for the welfare of society and not the wealth of a few

Unity of all workers and oppressed for the revolution

Modesty, because arrogance and conceit make us blind

Abstinence, because drugs and alcohol only weaken us in the fight

Collective spirit, because we are strong only with our class brothers and sisters

Loyalty to the organization and revolutionary socialism

Courage and sacrifice in the struggle for the liberation of all people

What is a comrade? A comrade is a revolutionary militant.

No comrade is more or less privileged than any other; all have the same rights. The revolutionary organization assigns them the role in which they are needed.

### 99. Name some of the Protagonists of Communism

*Karl Marx:* founder of Marxism and the First Workers' International

*Friedrich Engels:* Karl Marx's closest collaborator and co-founder of the First and Second International

*Rosa Luxemburg:* Polish Jew, fighter for revolutionary socialism, murdered in 1919

*Karl Liebknecht:* German socialist, fighter against imperialism during the WWI, murdered in 1919

*Clara Zetkin:* Founder of the socialist women's movement and initiator of the International Women's Day

*Larissa Reissner:* Heroic fighter in the Russian Civil War, worked as a spy

*Alexandra Kollontai:* Leader of the communist women's movement in Russia, the world's first female member of government

*Vladimir Ilyich Lenin:* Founder of the Bolshevik party and the Third International, leader of the October Revolution

*Leon Trotsky:* Founder of the Fourth International, leader of the October Revolution, murdered in 1940

### 100. Which symbols of communism do you know?

Hammer and Sickle: They stand for the alliance of the working class and the peasantry on the road to socialism and communism. The RCIT uses a "5" above the hammer and sickle to express that we stand for building the Fifth International.

Red five-pointed Star: This represents the union of all working men and women of the five continents: The red star shall point out the way to socialism to the workers movement.

Red Flag: This is the flag of liberation and resistance since the Middle Ages. The workers movement has adopted this and the Second International used it as its symbol.

The Color Red: This is a signal color. It is the color of resistance, the blood, the freedom, the passion of love and socialism

The International: This is the anthem of the international workers' movement. It has been translated to more than 100 languages.

The left clenched fist: This is the communist salute. ■



Alexandra Kollontai (Source: [www.elciudadano.cl/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/KollontaiAlexandra.jpg](http://www.elciudadano.cl/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/KollontaiAlexandra.jpg))

## Healy's Pupils Fail to Break with their Master

### The revolutionary tradition of the Fourth International and the centrist tradition of its Epigones Gerry Healy and the "International Committee" A Reply from the RCIT to "Socialist Fight"

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), October 2013

The British group *Socialist Fight*, which is part of the *Liaison Committee for the Fourth International* (together with the LC in Brazil and the TMB in Argentina) has published a polemic against our analysis of the degeneration of the Fourth International after World War II. (1)

The subject of this document, written by comrade Laurence Humphries, is an important book for our movement called *The Death Agony of the Fourth International*, which our predecessor organization Workers Power (Britain) published in 1983. (2)

We appreciate comrade Humphries' contribution for two reasons. First it is a welcome contribution if an organization, which claims to stand in the tradition of Trotsky, deals with the history of the Fourth International. This, in itself, is not a taken-for-granted in times like the present in which the degeneration of pseudo-Trotskyism has reached such low levels that hardly any of these epigones bother to show any interests in the history of our movement. While we do not agree with the positions of *Socialist Fight*, we appreciate their interest in the subject of the post-WWII development of the Fourth International.

Secondly we welcome comrade Humphries' contribution because it helps to clarify the programmatic differences between the LCFI and the RCIT which we consider to be differences between centrism and Bolshevism.

Unfortunately, there is nothing positive to add to these comments. The SF/LCFI document is politically and theoretically wrong. Despite some mild criticism, it praises the thoroughly centrist tradition of *Gerry Healy* and claims that he as well as his partners in the so-called "*International Committee*" in the years after 1953 – *Pierre Lambert*, *James P. Cannon*, *Nahuel Moreno*, etc. – represent the revolutionary continuity of the Trotsky's Fourth International. As such, the SF/LCFI concludes at the end of its document: "*Workers Power has characterised the split in 1953 as a centrist split and did not break with Pablo's method. WP are wrong theoretically. In 1953 the opposition to Pablo did fight. (...) The 1953 split was a principled defence of Trotskyism against liquidation and revisionism and was therefore a definite continuity of Trotskyism.*"

In fact, as we will demonstrate below, Healy and the "International Committee" were rather a centrist current – in rivalry with the other centrist split of the Fourth International (the so-called "*International Secretariat*" of *Michel Pablo* and *Ernest Mandel*) – which did not restore the revolutionary continuity of Trotsky's Fourth International. The document proves once more that central leaders of *Socialist Fight* – and thus the LCFI – who have been members of Healy's organization in the past (most prominently *Gerry Downing*, the central leader of the SF/LCFI) still adhere to this rotten tradition. Healy's pupils fail to break with their master.

In addition the SF/LCFI document also distorts the history of the Fourth International and confuses simple facts as

well as the arguments of its opponents. It simply lacks any serious dealing with the subject as we will show.

#### I. INCESSANT CONFUSION OF FACTS AND POSITIONS

The lack of seriousness on behalf of the SF/LCFI starts already with the fact that nearly 30% of the document is a largely concealed copy-and-paste job. The author has simply incorporated, literally, sentence-for-sentence and paragraph-for-paragraph large chunks of another study to which he refers only once. With the exception of one paragraph, he presents this material as his own. The study, from which the SF/LCFI plagiarizes so extensively, is called "*The Rise and Fall of Gerry Healy*" written by *Bob Pitt*, a former member of Healy's WRP, in 1989. (3) Naturally there is nothing wrong in quoting from other publication. Quite the contrary, this assists the reader in studying original sources and in better checking the facts. However, this is, of course, not possible if an author conceals the source of nearly a third of his document which was simply copied and pasted.

In the real world, any scientist or scholar who presents the insights of others as his or her own, is immediately dismissed. In politics, we have no other sanction than contempt for such shameful tricks. Why did the LCFI conceal its extensive copying? Maybe because the original study is not only much better researched, but is a superior political analysis of the rotten tradition of *Gerry Healy*!?

Unsurprisingly, this vast copy-and-paste job gives the SF/LCFI a certain contradictory character since the paragraphs stolen from *Bob Pitt* usually contain more critical notes on Healy's "achievements" than the paragraphs written by the SF/LCFI itself.

The LCFI could have at least minimized the damage if it would have copied *more* of *Bob Pitt*'s study and not cut out his insightful and fundamental criticism of the bankrupt tradition of *Gerry Healy*. But, unfortunately, the LCFI cut out precisely those critical sentences and parts of sentences which *denounce* the rotten methods of *Gerry Healy* in the paragraphs it integrated into its own article.

#### The disorganized and disorientated but still revolutionary Fourth International during World War II and its collapse into centrism in 1948-1951

However, this is definitely not the only defect of the LCFI document. The first few paragraphs of the document are representative for the whole article. The article starts as follows: "*The Fourth International during the war years of 1940-1945 prepared for Trotsky's prognosis on the future of Im-*

*perialism and the tasks of the Fourth International. WP maintains that the struggle inside the Fourth International that wars and revolutions were imminent was correct. WP have argued that the FI was not a continuity during this period and neither tendency represented a serious left opposition and therefore does not constitute a continuity of Trotskyism."*

In fact, our tendency maintains quite the opposite. WP(B)/RCIT reject the opinion that the Fourth International in the war years of 1940-1945 did not represent the continuity of Trotskyism. What we say is that it was severely weakened and disorganized in this period and that it made a number of errors. It stopped following the tradition of authentic Trotskyism when it programmatically adapted to Stalinism, in particularly its Yugoslavian version, Titoism. This did however not take place, as the LCFI wrongly ascribes to us, in 1940-1945 but in 1948-1951. We made this plainly clear in our book and it is astonishing how the LCFI could miss that:

*"In 1951 the centrist positions of the Third World Congress on Stalinism, on Yugoslavia, and general perspectives (the impending "civil war" perspective) proved, beyond doubt, that a programmatic collapse of the Fourth International had taken place. The fact that no section voted against the Yugoslav resolution - the cornerstone of all the errors - is a fact of enormous significance.*

*The FI as a whole had collapsed into centrism. From this point on, the task facing Trotskyists was the re-foundation of a Leninist-Trotskyist International on the basis of a re-elaborated programme of revolutionary communism. Manoeuvres to replace the leadership of the FI were entirely insufficient. The programmatic basis of the FI had to be changed. The manner by which this could have been done in the early 1950s is a matter of tactical speculation. What is decisive for us is that it was not done. The historical continuity of Trotskyism was shattered - as was evidenced by Pablo's use of the Congress documents at the Tenth Plenum of the International Executive Committee in February 1952, to usher in "entrism sui generis" The opposition in America, Britain and France that did emerge in 1952-3 was subjectively committed to opposing Pablo. However, they have to be judged not by their impulse but by their politics. Their "orthodoxy" was both sterile and based on post-war revisionism, prompted by the Yugoslav events. It was not authentic Trotskyism.*

*Thus we cannot view either component of the 1953 split as the "continuators" of Trotskyism. Both were centrist.*

*The IC, itself developing in a rightward direction (e.g. Healy's work in the Labour Party) was distinguished from the IS by the pace of its development. It recoiled from the most blatant expressions of liquidationism issuing from the IS, but not from the right-centrist documents that underpinned that liquidationism. Therefore the IC did not constitute a "left centrist" alternative to the IS." (4)*

#### **Cowardly SWP(US) Leadership Deviates towards Social-Patriotism**

Of course Marxists have to make a number of criticisms of the leadership of the Fourth International during the war. This is particularly true for the cowardly adaption to domestic imperialist pressures by the strongest and most important section of the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party (USA), which - in addition to this - could also operate under relatively legal conditions. Despite their

relatively advantageous conditions, the SWP - which later would become one of the key forces of the "International Committee" split after 1953 - adapted to social-patriotism. Already before US imperialism entered World War II in December 1941, the SWP leadership stated in an Editorial of its paper *"The Militant"*: *"As horrible as war is, we would not hesitate to urge Roosevelt to enter the war, if it were really to be a war of democracy against fascism. (...) But this is not our war. This is an imperialist war. (...) It is important to make these workers realize that Roosevelt's war is not a war against fascism. The real solution is to transform the imperialist war into a war against fascism. (i.e. against Germany, Italy and Japan; MP). That can only be done by taking all power out of the hands of the capitalist class."* (5) And the central leader of the SWP, James P. Cannon, stated at a trial on 19/11/1941: *"We consider Hitler and Hitlerism the greatest enemy of mankind."* (6) What a difference to the classic communist slogans of Lenin and Liebknecht: *"The main enemy is at home"* and *"Turn the imperialist war into a civil war"!*

The SWP propaganda disorientated the US-American workers' vanguard because it told them that their main enemy is not their domestic ruling class but the German fascists. They criticised the Roosevelt government for not seriously fighting Hitler. The SWP leadership called the workers to oppose the US government's war because it was suspected of not really fighting against fascism. When however it turned out that the US bourgeoisie did fight and indeed smash German fascism - naturally for their own imperialist interests of world domination - the SWP propaganda left the vanguard workers' politically unarmed, since their main enemy was supposed to be Hitler and not Roosevelt. When faced with its biggest test in history, the future central force of the co-called "orthodox Trotskyist" *International Committee* turned out to replace the Bolshevik-Leninist attitude to imperialist war with centrist deviations towards social-patriotism.

This cowardly opportunist deviation of the SWP leadership however cannot remove the fact that many Trotskyist leaders and members fought heroically during the imperialist war for a revolutionary program. From 1943 onwards the Fourth International reorganized in Europe under a new leadership (around Pablo and Mandel) and elaborated - despite some weaknesses - a revolutionary programmatic response to the challenges of the beginning revolutionary phase.

*"In 1944 several of the European sections of the FI regrouped at a conference held inside Nazi-occupied Europe. They adopted the "Theses on the Liquidation of World War 2 and the Revolutionary Upsurge". These testified to the continuing revolutionary potential of the sections of the Fourth International. The theses, written at a time when anti-German chauvinism and pro-allied sentiments were growing rapidly in Europe, espoused a defeatist position in the war. They indicated that the reconstruction of the FI on a revolutionary basis was a real possibility. However, severe disorientation over the crucial question of perspectives obstructed this development from taking final shape." (7)*

We clearly stated our view on the timeline of the Fourth International's degeneration also in another document, from which the LCFI quotes and hence should be aware of. Thus we wrote in *"The Trotskyist Manifesto"* in 1989:

*"As a re-elaborated programme, it has had to confront the fact that the continuity of the revolutionary Marxist movement was broken in 1951 with the degeneration of the Fourth International-*



*al into centrism.” (8)*

*“In 1951 the FI ceased to exist as a revolutionary organisation. In 1953 it ceased to exist as a united organisation when it split into warring centrist factions, none of which represented a political continuity with the revolutionary Fourth International of 1938-48.” (9)*

And in another article on the history of the Fourth International we wrote:

*“In March 1946 some 30 delegates from various sections of the Fourth International (FI) assembled in Paris. A police raid and arrests on the third day forced proceedings to move to a jail, but the disruption could not prevent the conference registering its fundamental achievement: the FI had survived the war.*

*Looking back on the war years, the delegates had reason to be proud of what Trotsky had dubbed “the only revolutionary force on the planet worthy of the name”. They had taken many blows. The murderous hostility of the Stalinists had been unremitting. In the Soviet Union itself, several thousand Trotskyists were brutally killed between 1938 and 1941. Defiant to the end, they faced the firing squads with the Internationale on their lips. Internationally, Stalin’s GPU had murdered dozens of key FI leaders, including Trotsky himself. (...)*

*The international leadership under van Heijenoort managed to remain true to the positions adopted under Trotsky’s guidance and even to develop them. This was of central importance to the fate of the FI. As a small, persecuted international of propaganda groups, its foremost strength lay in its programme, and its most important task was to defend it and win small layers of the vanguard to it, thus preparing the nuclei for future mass struggles. (...)*

*Nonetheless, by the time of the March 1946 World Conference in Paris, the FI’s cadre and sections had weathered the worst of the repression. Sections had certainly made errors in the name of the International but they had also shown the capacity to correct them in the course of collective discussions. The task now was to re-establish the organisation and re-orient the sections in the post-war world.” (10)*

### **The Objective Difficulties for the Fourth International**

However, the distortions continue. In the second paragraph of its article the LCFI writes: *“What WP fails to appreciate is the objective situation for Trotskyism. It had come through the war very much weakened. Stalinism was much stronger and this period represented a growth of Stalinism particularly the victory in China and the satellite countries of Eastern Europe.”*

Again, nothing could be more distant from real position of WP(B)/RCIT. We are fully aware of the difficult objective conditions for the Fourth International and stated this unmistakably in our book:

*“On the one hand, the openly bourgeois parties and social democracy were revived due to the victory of the “democracies”. On the other hand, the Stalinist parties with the weight of Russian victory and their own partisan struggles were likewise strengthened. Far from these forces facing the loss of their material basis, or suffering political demise and organisational disintegration, they emerged from the war much stronger than they were in the late 1930s.*

*Moreover, the politics of class collaboration - established via the Popular Front before the war, and having behind it the prestige of the Second and Third Internationals, were not disrupted until 1946/7, when the post-war crisis had been overcome. The whole weight of bourgeois democracy and Stalinism was thrown into*

*the scales against proletarian revolution.*

*Once the immediate potentially revolutionary situations were weathered, the enormous economic power of the USA was brought to bear in the West through Marshall Aid, and the Kremlin bureaucracy sealed off its East European glacis and began the process of transforming them into degenerate workers’ states, having expropriated the proletariat politically in advance. In Germany the working class upsurge was very weak and was suppressed immediately by Allied and Russian military means. In Italy and France the Stalinists demobilised the partisan militias. In Central and Eastern Europe a varied combination of Soviet forces and indigenous Stalinists and their popular frontist allies were able to prevent any revolutionary upsurge from occurring.*

*Thus not only were the Trotskyists weak and disorganised, but the conditions for them to emerge from the situation of marginalised propaganda groups did not materialise. Instead, the counter-revolutionary social democracy and Stalinist parties grew in strength, isolating the Trotskyists yet again. Thus social democracy and Stalinism exerted tremendous pressure on the tiny and disoriented forces of the Fourth International.” (11)*

### **Does SF/LCFI Defend Healy’s Notorious “Security and the Fourth International” Campaign?**

However, in the third paragraph, the LCFI comrades add to the difficulties for the Fourth International the penetration of the Trotskyist movement by Stalinist Agents. While this certainly was a problem for the Fourth International until the Stalinists assassinated Trotsky in August 1940, one can hardly claim that the political failures of Michel Pablo, Ernest Mandel, Gerry Healy, Pierre Lambert, Nahuel Moreno and James P. Cannon are related in any way to Stalinist Agents. Or maybe the LCFI believes that there were Stalinist Agents in the Fourth International’s leadership after World War II?! Well, maybe the LCFI indeed believes so, since it positively refers in its article (in the same paragraph) to the Healyite’s *“International Committees investigation into the role of the GPU and their agencies inside the movement.”* This “investigation” was particularly shameful and notorious, since Gerry Healy and his lackeys accused the SWP(US) veteran leaders George Novack and Joseph Hansen of being agents of the GPU and/or the FBI, i.e. of the US or USSR secret services! (12) George Novack was a long-standing leading theoretician of the SWP and Joseph Hansen was an important leader who worked as a secretary for Trotsky in 1937-40 in Mexico and was central in preventing the Stalinist agent Ramón Mercader, who killed Trotsky, from fleeing. Later the Healy/WRP leadership accused the entire SWP leadership of working for the FBI. The Peruvian group of Healy’s ICFI went on to attack Hugo Blanco as a supporter of CIA agents (i.e., the SWP leadership). Hugo Blanco was the famous leader of the Peruvian Mandelite USec section who played a central role in the early 1960s in the Quechua peasant uprising in the Cuzco region of Peru and spent many years in prison and exile.

This slanderous accusations were not only condemned by all other forces who claim to stand in the tradition of Trotskyism – irrespective if they were supporters or opponents of the SWP(US) – but was later also repudiated by the WRP leadership around Cliff Slaughter itself after it got rid of Gerry Healy in 1985. Do the LCFI comrades now

really want to praise the insane and extremely slandering “*International Committees investigation*”?! (13)

Our suspicion that the LCFI comrades share the Healyite criminal idiocy of seeing the cause for political faction struggles in conspiracies of imperialist and/or Stalinist secret services is strengthened by another claim in the next paragraph. Here the comrades charge: “*WP accuses the IKD, the German section: “The German section veered in a Menshevik direction”. Of course it would adopt this position Stalinist agents were in control of the organisation and created splits and factional activity. While else would they adopt these positions?”* So unbelievable the LCFI explains the political right-wing degeneration of the German Trotskyist leadership by claiming that they were Stalinist agents! What complete nonsense, unsubstantiated by facts!

### Some Other Nonsense

Unfortunately the nonsense continues. In the fourth paragraph the LCFI writes about the split in the SWP(US) in 1940: “*The split with Shachtman in the SWP had left 40% of its cadre in the Workers Party which ended up justifying Stalinism.*” This is an astonishing statement since the Menshevik opposition of Shachtman, Abern, and Burnham was certainly not “*justifying Stalinism*” but, quite the opposite, was deeply Stalinophobic and refused to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks! It therefore took a neutral position during the World War II when Germany attacked the Soviet Union. How on earth can the LCFI seriously call this “*justifying Stalinism*”?! Is this an example of Healy’s famous caricature of “*dialectical materialism*”?! A few sentences later, the LCFI author accuses “*Germain*” (which was the pseudonym of Ernest Mandel) that he “*has remained an apologist for Stalinism ever since particularly his role during the 1968 Belgian general strike.*” We are not aware that there was a general strike in Belgium in 1968, to speak nothing about a role of Mandel in such a fabrication. Can it be the case that the LCFI confuses this with the famous Belgium General Strike in 1960–1961 where Mandel indeed played a prominent (and right-wing centrist) role?! Literally the next sentence contains yet more nonsense: “*In the British Section there were two groups who were arguing for entry into the Labour party, the RCP and the WIL.*” and – shortly after – “*The RCP which was led by Jock Haston and Ted Grant initially opposed entry whereas Healy in the WIL received permission from the International Secretariat to enter the Labour Party in 1947.*” This is simply impossible since the RCP was the result of a fusion of the WIL and the RSL in 1944. No WIL existed in 1948! Are the comrades completely ignorant of the history of British Trotskyism?! One is tempted to exclaim that it might have been better if the SF/LCFI author had copied much more of Bob Pitt’s study since it is certainly much more informed on the history of British Trotskyism!

The article becomes even stranger in the next sentence, where it credits Trotsky with advocating “*entryism sui generis*” while every informed historian of the Fourth International knows that the “*sui generis*” concept was an invention of Pablo and Healy in the later 1940s which called for a long-term entry into reformist parties and for opportunistically hiding the Trotskyist program in order to stay longer in those parties. This was the complete opposite of Trotsky’s concept which argued for an open struggle

for revolutionary positions and a short-term entry tactic (more on this below).

So readers can see that already in the first four paragraphs, the SF/LCFI article contains so much nonsense and factual distortions that, were we to continue with a close examination of the rest of the article, we could fill a book. Obviously, this would not be a valuable use of either our or our readers’ time. Instead, let us now focus on the programmatic and theoretical essence of the document which, unfortunately, is consistent with the confused nature of the article as we outlined above.

## II. THE SUPPOSED “REVOLUTIONARY CONTINUITY” OF HEALY AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

The programmatic essence of the SF/LCFI document is its rejection of the WP/RCIT thesis that the Fourth International degenerated in the late 1940s and early 1950s into centrism, and that neither of the two splits in 1953 represented a break from, but rather a continuity of, centrism. In contrast to our position, the LCFI comrades claim that Healy and the “*International Committee*” represented a continuation of the revolutionary tradition of Trotsky’s Fourth International:

*“Workers Power has characterised the split in 1953 as a centrist split and did not break with Pablo’s method. WP are wrong theoretically. In 1953 the opposition to Pablo did fight. (...) The 1953 split was a principled defence of Trotskyism against liquidation and revisionism and was therefore a definite continuity of Trotskyism.”*

As we have shown in past documents, and will repeat here, Healy and the “*International Committee*” shared the centrist capitulation of the Pablo/Mandel leadership towards Stalinism, Social Democracy, and bourgeois nationalism till the split in 1953 and after the split it was no less centrist than its rival. There was no qualitative difference between the adaption and capitulation to petty-bourgeois class forces between the centrist Pablo/Mandel wing and their counterparts Cannon/Healy/Lambert/Moreno. We will demonstrate this for a number of central issues.

### Healy and Entryism “*sui generis*”: Pabloism under the Cover of “*Anti-Pabloism*”

As we have explained in numerous documents, both sides of the 1953 split subscribed to the centrist capitulation towards petty-bourgeois and bourgeois class forces under the cover of “*entryism sui generis*”. “*The IC criticised Pablo for putting forward deep entryism into the Stalinist movement. However the sections of the IC would practise a much deeper entryism in the very heart of the social democratic and bourgeois nationalist movements.*” (14)

Let us look more closely at Healy’s record. He called for entry into the Labour Party as early as June 1945. (15) He was soon to be supported by Michel Pablo, the new International Secretary of the Fourth International and the whole international leadership pressurized the *Revolutionary Communist Party* (RCP) – as the British section of the Fourth International was called at that time – to dissolve its organization and to enter Labour. The RCP majority

around Jock Haston and Ted Grant argued for a continuation of the independent RCP work combined with continuing its faction work inside the Labour Party. (The RCP had already a number of members inside Labour and published a faction paper called "*Militant*".) (16)

Here, we will not discuss whether an entry tactic into the Labour Party was sensible or not at that time. The LCFI comrades think that Healy was correct to push for entry work in the Labour Party. "*As Trotskyists it was the right perspective to enter the Labour Party and carry out sustained deep entry work.*"

Of course it is a tactical question and not one of principles when and if to conduct entry work in a reformist party. And it is also only of historical interest to discuss what would have been the best tactic for British Trotskyists in the later 1940s and 1950s. However we remark that we are not convinced of the Healyite/LCFI position that entry work was the correct thing to do in this period. The hard facts are that the Trotskyists lost the majority of its members during their entry period due to demoralization. Of course this was not only because of entryism but also because Healy – supported by his mentor Pablo – expelled many of them. (17) But also Healy's group – which called itself "*The Club*" (surely the most apolitical name of any entryist formation in the history of Trotskyism!) – did not grow despite 11 years of entry work! (18) Quite the opposite, in 1954, "*The Club*" is said to have even shrunk

to about 40 members. (19) After 1956/57 the Healy group did grow substantially, but not due to the Labour Party milieu, but because of the crisis in the Stalinist party after the Hungarian Revolution and the Stalinist counter-revolution. So the growth of Healy's group in the later 1950s itself showed that its assumption – that a revolutionary force had to make entryism in the Labour Party because this was the only milieu out which it could grow – was contradicted by its own success.

The alternative position – proposed by the RCP majority around Haston and Grant – might not have completely avoided a numerical decline of the British Trotskyists, which was first and foremost a result of the end of the revolutionary post-war period and the beginning of the world-wide democratic counterrevolutionary period in the early 1950s. (20) But an independent organization would have at least improved the chances to keep the revolutionary banner and to consolidate a Trotskyist cadre. Such a cadre could have played a central role in fighting against the centrist degeneration of the Fourth International and preparing for the class struggles ahead.

However the main problem with Healy's entryism was not a question of whether entry was correct in itself or not. The fundamental question was the programmatic and political nature of his entryism. Unfortunately, the SF/LCFI comrades fully subscribe to Healy's (and in fact Pablo's) understanding of "entryism sui generis". Such they write:



Leon Trotsky in 1938 (Source: [http://pateandoeltablero.com.ar/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/trotsky\\_IVInternacional.jpg](http://pateandoeltablero.com.ar/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/trotsky_IVInternacional.jpg))

*"It is true to say that Pablo and Cannon favoured the leadership of Healy who had entered the Labour Party on a principled basis. (...) The Workers Power document accuses Healy and his group of being Bevanite centrists or left reformists. We need to establish facts before accusations are flung around left and right. As Trotskyists it was the right perspective to enter the Labour Party and carry out sustained deep entry work."*

The truth however is that Healy's entrism was thoroughly opportunist and had nothing to do with Trotsky's method. It was rather the model for the liquidationist policy of which Healy, Cannon, Moreno, and Lambert would later accuse Pablo. Throughout the 11 years of its "entrism sui generis", the Healy group never openly raised the banner of Trotskyism which makes them even worse than the arch-opportunists of CWI/Militant in the 1970s and 1980s. They just called themselves "The Club." They never published a Trotskyist paper. Instead they launched the paper *"Socialist Outlook"* in an opportunist political bloc with left-reformist supporters of Labour minister Aneurin Bevan (who Minister of Health and later Minister of Labour from August 1945 till April 1951). The editorial board consisted of the two "Club" members, Healy and John Lawrence, as well as the pro-Stalinist trade union bureaucrat Jack Stanley (Secretary of the Constructional Engineering Union) and Tom Braddock (pro-Bevan Labour Party Member of Parliament). It had prominent contributors like Bessie Braddock (Member of Parliament and president of the Liverpool Labour Party, not related to Tom Braddock), Fenner Brockway (Member of Parliament) or Ellis Smith (Member of Parliament). Naturally such a paper never was and never claimed to be Trotskyist. Soon afterwards, this rotten bloc of Healy's "Club" and the left-Labour wing founded the *"Socialist Fellowship"* as a left-reformist pressure group in the Labour Party.

Healy's *Socialist Outlook* was an unabashed cheerleader for the left-reformist wing in the Labour Party and its ministers. Instead of criticizing left-reformism and explaining its illusionary character, instead of attacking Bevan for being a member of the imperialist government and his followers for supporting this government, it refrained from such criticism and instead fostered illusions in left Labour. Healy usually didn't call them left-reformist but rather "centrists" and gave the impression that with the push from the rank and file and friendly advice from him, they could become a driving force towards the socialist transformation of the society.

Its first issue in December 1948 ran the headline *"Back to Socialism,"* subscribing to the left-Labour wing's illusion that Labour had a socialist past. Such illusions were even more strengthened when beside this title "Member of Parliament" Tom Braddock published a leading article with the headline *"It is Time to Change Course"*. (21)

In an editorial in May 1949 Healy's *Socialist Outlook* would proclaim: *"Labour Believes in Socialism."* Instead of warning workers against the imperialist Labour government which worked hard to save capitalism through the post-war crisis and to assure that the Empire's global influence could be saved as much as possible, the paper stated that Labour would bring Britain closer to socialism: *"In Britain we have taken a great step forward towards socialism by defeating the Tories and establishing for the first time in our history a majority Labour Government."* An astonishing "analysis" of the "orthodox Trotskyist" Healy after four years of an imperialist

Labour government! In an Editorial in April 1951, Healy's *Socialist Outlook* fantasized that the Labour Government was *"itself engaged in freeing Britain from the exactions of the capitalist class..."*! (22)

In another editorial in January 1950 Healy's *Socialist Outlook* urged the Labour Government *"to abolish capitalist exploitation and replace it with planned socialist co-operation."* That Labour was a bourgeois workers party inextricably bound to imperialism was something which Healy found not suitable for his rotten alliance with the Labour Members of Parliament. Naturally, Trotskyists apply the tactic of critical electoral support for reformist parties – as our tendency has done many times in the past. But such a critical electoral support must be combined with explaining the petty-bourgeois nature of the labor bureaucracy and its role as an agent of imperialism in the ranks of the workers movement. Instead of spreading illusions that the reformist bureaucracy can lead the working class towards socialism, authentic Trotskyists have to make concrete demands from the party, warn the workers not to trust the leadership, warn them of their inevitable betrayal, and call them to organize independently in action committees to put pressure of the leadership and, if necessary, to act independently.

In contrast to such a principled approach, Healy was determined to pay court to the Labour left. Such in the October 1951 Election supplement he urged workers to vote Labour: *"as an expression of your confidence in the workers' ability to govern this country...and to act so that the Labour Government will destroy capitalism."* (23) Such centrist propaganda spread the ludicrous illusion that an imperialist government of a bourgeois workers' party would express the *"workers' ability to govern this country"* and that the capitalist Labour Government could ever *"destroy capitalism"*. Despite his later tirades of hate against Pablo, Healy implemented the same opportunist approach which Pablo himself was advancing. Healy famous election slogan *"Labour to Power on a Socialist Program"* was completely shared by Pablo.

*"... this platform can be summarized in the formula: THE SP ALONE TO POWER IN ORDER TO APPLY A SOCIALIST POLICY."* (24)

Healy also continued this right-wing opportunism in his other non-Trotskyist publication of the time which he called *"Labour Review"* and which was designed to become *"Labour's educational and theoretical organ"* (Labour Review Vol.1 No. I January/March 1952). This not very educational organ did not try to educate workers to understand the anti-socialist, bourgeois nature of Labour but rather to paint it in pink colors. So when drawing a balance sheet of the Labour Government of 1945-51, he concluded that it offered a vision of future socialism: *"They (the working class, MP) were given glimpses of what a Labour regime could accomplish and even more, what a socialist future could bring."* (Labour Review, Vol. I No. 4) (25)

To show Healy's unashamed opportunism, we will reprint an excerpt from an excellent analysis which our tendency published in 1986:

*While Atlee came in for criticism it was not because of his vicious attacks on striking dockers or other workers. These incidents receive no mention in Labour Review. No, the main fault of the government was in the field of foreign policy: "The outstanding debit on the balance sheet of the Labour Government was*

undoubtedly its foreign policy." (ibid) For Healy the Atlee government and its "considerable achievements" (ibid) proved the possibility of using the Labour Party for socialist tasks. "We may not have to create a Labour Party, but let's use that Instrument to fulfill its socialist purposes." (ibid)

Of course this couldn't be done under the right-wing leaders. But happily an instrument for their ousting was close at hand. The Bevanites were the vehicle for the party's transformation. In order to encourage this development Healy advocated a road to socialism that was, in essentials, no different to that being advocated by the Communist Party, in their new programme the openly reformist British Road to Socialism: "What should be the right relation between parliamentary- and extra-parliamentary actions? Mr. Bevan criticises those who looked upon parliamentary action 'as an auxiliary of direct action by the industrial organisations of the working class.' But it would be equally one sided, as he does, to make industrial action always auxiliary and subordinated to parliamentary action. Both forms of action are indispensable for conducting the class struggle." (Labour Review Vol. I, No.2 May/August 1952).

So for Healy the industrial struggle and the parliamentary struggle are put on equal footing. Whichever predominates at a particular time depends on external circumstance. Moreover the equal importance given to parliament and to industrial action meant a fundamentally parliamentary road to socialism: "It is not excluded that the movement for socialism can be carried far through the gates of Parliament and be "legalized" to a considerable degree thereby." (Ibid)

All that is required is "the active vigilance of the mobilized masses" (ibid) and, more importantly, a Bevanite leadership in the Labour Party: "On the other side, which is popularly designated as Bevanite, are all those forces who, regardless of their previous positions and present differ have absorbed certain lessons from the post-war experiences and are seeking to overcome the defeats of the past. They wish to adopt and implement a programme of action that more closely conforms to the needs and aspirations of the socialist and Labour cause at this critical juncture of its evolution in England. (Labour Review, Vol. I, No. 4).

Flowing from this whole analysis Healy abandoned the Transitional Programme of Trotsky. He put in its strategy centering on the election of a Labour government pledged to absolutely vacuous 'socialist policies' led by the "left".

Throughout this period there is not one word of warning the potential for treachery inherent in left-reformism, and manifested in 1957 with Bevan's reconciliation with Gaitskell and the right. Instead, all we get is: 'Mr. Bevan and his associates should be given the chance to lead the Labour Party and its next cabinet so they can carry through as far and as fast as they can his experiment in dynamic parliamentarism.' (Labour Review Vol. I, No.2) And the socialist policies demanded of such a government?

1. Complete reliance on the organised power of the working class.
2. No confidence in Britain's capitalists or America's imperialists.
3. Finish without delay the job of nationalising, democratizing and re-organising industry along socialist lines.
4. Put into effect a socialist and democratic foreign policy. This is the only road to workers' power and socialism in Great Britain.'" (26)

According to Healy, such a left-reformist programme, which was to be implemented by a future Labour government, was, was 'the only road to workers' power and Socialism

in Great Britain'." (27)

These extracts from Healy's writings demonstrate clearly that the famous opportunist theory of the CWI and IMT (Ted Grant, Peter Taaffee and Alan Woods) – that socialism can be introduced peacefully and via parliament – is not their invention. Healy discovered such "insights already" decades before (of course he himself took them over from the German revisionists Eduard Bernstein).

In addition Gerry Healy explained in the same article – called "The Way to Socialism in Britain" (Labour Review Vol. I, No. 2, May-August 1952) – how imperialist democracy can become more democratic.

"Parliament should be re-elected by statute more often than every five years..."

This conservatorised section (!) of the government machinery, full of prejudices against Labour (!), will surely have to be renovated (!) from top to bottom and subjected to constant check and control by the working class before it can be considered halfway democratic.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this brief survey of British democracy as it actually exists. First, the democracy retains some (!) extremely antiquated features and undemocratic institutions. Second, even in a purely political sphere it is very remote from perfection. (!) Many more moves will have to be taken to purify its nature (!) and a wide gulf will have to be crossed before this restricted democracy, in which the capitalists and imperialists exercise their dictatorship behind the scenes, cedes before a genuine democracy of the working class." (28)

This is nothing but a repetition of Kautsky's schema that bourgeois democracy can be democratized and that the capitalist institutions can be "renovated" through pressure from the working class. Healy's left-reformist propaganda is the complete opposite from the Marxist position on the nature of bourgeois democracy and the need for the working class to smash the whole capitalist state machinery via a – necessarily violent – socialist revolution and replace it with Soviet organs of working class power (workers control, councils, militias, etc.). Healy nowhere explained in his publications that the working class must build its independent organs of struggle in order to overthrow the bourgeois state. Such an open revolutionary propaganda would have endangered his political bloc with the left-reformist camp of Bevan supporters.

Healy's close and uncritical collaboration with Bevan and his supporters was also an adaptation to social-imperialism. Let us not forget that Bevan as Minister of Labour was finally co-responsible for the imprisonment of 10 gas workers for striking in 1950, and charging 7 dockers with organizing an illegal strike in 1951. He was also co-responsible for Britain's attempts to hold as much as possible of the Empire's global influence, for the creation of the Zionist state Israel which led to the expulsion of the Palestinian people, for the reactionary partition of India which left about one million dead and turned about 15 million people more into refugees, and the British colonial war against the Malayan Communist guerrillas after 1948. In fact, Healy and his "Club" practised a strategic alliance with supporters of the British imperialist government until Labour lost the elections in 1951.

Bevan and his supporters in the Labour bureaucracy of course were in no way "centrists," but left-reformist bureaucrats who were determined to save capitalism through some social reforms. This, they sought, would also be the

best weapon to defend capitalism against the “communist threat” from the Soviet Union and the working class. As such, Bevan advised his minister “colleagues” in 1950 – when Healy was constantly praising him – the following approach in order to “defend Britain against Russian imperialism”:

*“Our foreign policy had hitherto been based on the view that the best method of defence against Russian imperialism was to improve the social and economic conditions of the countries now threatened by Communist encroachment. The United States government seemed now to be abandoning this social and political defence in favour of a military defence.”* (29)

In his opportunism, Healy even went so far to advocate socialism as a tool to regain Britain’s status as a world hegemonic Great Power! In *Labour Review*, Vol. I, No. 3 (August/September 1952) he wrote: *“Great Britain can never regain its position of world leadership under capitalist auspices.... Britain, however, can rise to a newer and higher level of world leadership, provided the Labour movement resolutely carries its struggle for Socialism to victory here in the coming period.”* (30)

Healy repeatedly capitulated to Bevan and the Labour Left. He praised this imperialist minister constantly in his “Socialist Outlook” – despite that fact that the very same Bevan would denounce Nasser in 1956 for the nationalization of the Suez Canal as “Hitler,” “Mussolini,” and “Alibaba and his Forty Thieves.” (31) And the very same “centrist” (as Healy wrongly characterized him) Bevan who would soon support nuclear armament of Britain with the argument that otherwise a British Foreign Secretary would go “naked into the conference chamber” for the sake of “an emotional spasm” and make it impossible for Britain “to exercise influence on the policies of the superpowers”. (32)

Healy presented the imperialist minister as a “socialist”. After Labour lost the elections in 1951, Healy stated that if Bevan would take over the party’s leadership he could guarantee “the return of a new and more socialist Labour Government” (Socialist Outlook, No.41, 1952). Later that year, the paper ran the headline: *“Bevan Gives the Lead that Workers’ Want.”* The Editorial below stated: *“The first two days’ proceedings at Morecambe have shown that the LP is turning resolutely to the socialist road the delegates came to Morecambe looking for a clear alternative to the old politics. Aneurin Bevan gave them such a lead in his speech of the first day.”* (Socialist Outlook, No. 51, 3.10.1952). A few weeks later Healy’s paper proclaimed: *“Aneurin Bevan Demands a Real Socialist Policy.”* (Socialist Outlook, No. 56, 28.11.1952) (33)

In his study, former WRP member Bob Pitt reports about another opportunist propaganda of Healy’s paper: *“In September 1953, at the very time that he was flaying the ‘capitulatory’ politics of the Pabloites, Healy was telling Socialist Outlook readers that the forthcoming Labour Party conference presented an opportunity to deliver ‘the knock-out blow’ to the bureaucracy. And how was this to be achieved? ‘It is to be hoped’, Healy wrote, ‘that the Bevanites on the platform will join forces with the rank and file on the floor and thus guide the conference in a real Socialist direction.’ This approach – which has been summarised as ‘hope the Lefts fight’! – offered not the slightest warning as to the real willingness of the leaders of the Labour left to take on and defeat the right wing.”* (34)

When the paper was banned by the right-wing Labour Party leadership in 1954, Healy deepened his liquidationist policy. He switched his group into the left-reformist milieu around the paper Labour Left paper *Tribune* and

sold their paper until 1957. In short, Healy’s entryism *sui generis* was built on a permanent bloc with left-reformists. To achieve this he was prepared to drop Trotskyism and to adapt politically to social democracy and – to a certain degree – to Stalinism too which was popular amongst sectors of left-reformist labour.

So to summarize. Healy and his group allied themselves with the left-wing of the Labour bureaucracy for about 11 years. He did so even in the period when the Labour Party and the leaders of this so-called “left wing” served in the imperialist government overseeing the oppression of radical workers on strike as well as the expulsion of the Palestinian people via the creation of the settler state Israel or the repression of the communist guerrillas in Malaysia. This was not a purely practical bloc – i.e., joint practical actions in the class struggle or in defence against the right-wing majority of the Labour bureaucracy which of course can be justified for revolutionaries. No, Healy formed a strategic political bloc which was based on a joint propaganda. He refrained from any serious criticism of the Labour left ministers and trade union bureaucrats. He spread the illusion that socialism can be introduced thorough a Labour majority in parliament. He was worse than the later arch-opportunist CWI of Ted Grant, Peter Taaffe, and Alan Woods since the latter, while also adapting to the Labour Left, at least published an independent paper which openly stated their version of “Trotskyism.”

Healy’s struggle against Pablo was in no way a political struggle against opportunism. It was a result of an apolitical organizational struggle caused by the fact that Pablo started to favor John Lawrence in 1953 instead of Healy, who until then was Pablo’s man in Britain. Similarly, by the way, James P. Cannon only started to oppose Pablo, when the latter organized Cochrane-Clarke faction in the SWP. In opposite to the SF/LCFI claims, the International Committee split in 1953 was neither “a principled defence of Trotskyism against liquidation and revisionism” nor did it represent “a definite continuity of Trotskyism.”

It is a shame that the LCFI comrades uncritically support Healy’s political bloc with the left-reformists: *“A paper called the Socialist Outlook was published and printed with support from trade union leaders and Bevanities including Jack Stanley, Frank Allaun, Bessie Braddock and others. These were left reformists and supporters of Aneurin Bevan and an organisation was set up called the Socialist Fellowship. It was necessary at this time to work with these left reformists and centrists by the small band of Trotskyists; it would bring them closer to section of militant workers who were moving leftwards.”*

This shows that the SF/LCFI still shares the opportunist method of the Healy version of “Trotskyist” centrism. Such a continuity of the non-revolutionary Healy tradition helps us to understand why SF/LCFI takes today the side of the counterrevolution of the Gaddafi dictatorship against the democratic revolution in Libya 2011, and of the Assad regime in Syria since March 2011.

### Healy and Pablo: The Same Liquidationism

As stated above, the Fourth International leadership under Michel Pablo and Gerry Healy developed the opportunist concept of “entryism *sui generis*.” It called for a long-term entry into reformist parties and demanded from the Trotskyist militants – in order to remain as long as pos-

sible inside these parties – to opportunistically hide the revolutionary Trotskyist program.

Pablo openly admitted that his version of entryism was very different from the Fourth International in Trotsky's time.

*"Before the war, more precisely between 1934 and 1938, after Hitler's victory and the threat which fascism exercised over bourgeois democracy and the workers' movement, the Social Democracy included, Trotsky conceived the tactic of entry into the Socialist parties which were obliged to struggle. But this tactic had a rather ephemeral character, of short duration, with limited objectives. What was involved was to enter into these parties, to profit from their temporary left turn, to recruit members or to court certain leftist currents which were developing there and to get out. It was not a question of facing the tasks of war and revolution by remaining inside these parties. The entire conception of carrying out the entry work and work inside these parties was determined by this perspective. Today it is not exactly the same kind of entrism which concerns us. We are not entering these parties in order to come out of them soon. We are entering them to remain there for a long time banking on the great possibility which exists of seeing these parties, placed under new conditions, develop centrist tendencies which will lead a whole stage of the radicalization of the masses and of objective revolutionary processes in their respective countries."* (35)

Trotsky had a very different understanding of the entry tactic. He wrote in 1934 when he tried to convince his comrades to enter the French social democratic party that such a manoeuvre is possible and necessary because the radicalization of the rank and file members of this party permits an entry while keeping raising openly the revolutionary banner.

*"Its (the Socialist Party's, MP) internal situation permits the possibility of our entering it with our own banner. The environment suits the aims we have set for ourselves. What is necessary now is to act in such a manner that our declaration will not in any way strengthen the leading bourgeois wing but rather will support the progressive proletarian wing; that its text and distribution will allow us to hold our heads high in case of acceptance as well as in case of dilatory manoeuvres or rejection. There is no question of dissolving ourselves. We enter as the Bolshevik-Leninist faction, our organisational ties remain the same,*

*our press continues to exist just as do "Bataille Socialiste" and others."* (36)

But, at the same time, he made clear that entryism must not have a long-term perspective exactly because the conjuncture in which such a manoeuvre is possible cannot last long and finally the bureaucracy will either expel the revolutionaries or force them to drop their open propaganda.

*"Entry into a reformist centrist party in itself does not include a long term perspective. It is only a stage which, under certain conditions, can be limited to an episode. (...) To recognise in time the bureaucracy's decisive attack against the left wing and defend ourselves from it, not by making concessions, adapting or playing hide and seek, but by a revolutionary offensive."* (37)

As we showed above with numerous quotes, Healy completely shared Pablo's "entryism sui generis" concept that Trotskyists should look for a deep and strategic entry into the reformist parties. His *Socialist Outlook* propagated unconditional loyalty to the Labour Party and urged socialists to be "first and foremost members of the Labour Party." It criticised, for example, in January 1950 the left-reformist *Independent Labour Party* (ILP) that it left Labour in 1932: "The ILP made the great mistake of leaving the Labour Party in 1932. If we are to succeed where the ILP failed we must remember we are first and foremost members of the Labour Party, desirous of serving it." (38)

It is not surprising that Pablo praised Healy's "entryism sui generis" as a model only in the year before the split. "The decision to enter the Labor Party and the conception of the work to be done there was the first experience of the International and by far the most important in the domain of entrism work in general. It has been developing since then in a manner considerably different, I would say, almost qualitatively different, from 'entrism' as it was practiced by our movement in the years 1934-38." (39)

In fact Healy was more liquidationist and opportunist than Pablo. Let us not forget that Pablo and his supporters – even in the years when his Fourth International was entertaining their "entryism sui generis" – kept an independent organ (*Quatrième Internationale / Fourth International*) which openly stated their version of "Trotskyism". Pablo urged Healy to publish also such an organ but for Healy even this was too much! Bob Pitt correctly remarks:



Leading Trotskyists in the 1930s from left to right: Abram Leon, James P. Cannon, Leon Sedov

*"Indeed, for all Healy's later fulminations against 'Pabloite liquidationism', if he had any difference with Pablo in this period it was that Healy favoured a more thoroughly liquidationist course within the Labour Party. After all, the FI leadership did take the view that, in addition to Socialist Outlook, the British section should publish 'a theoretical organ, openly defending revolutionary Marxism' – only to have their repeated requests to this effect ignored by Healy. Indeed, Pablo himself would subsequently criticise Healy's adaptation to Bevanism as an 'opportunist application' of the entry tactic!" (40)*

Healy "Pabloite" opportunism is so obvious that – in an internal document years later in 1964 – he could not avoid hinting at this (for which of course he blamed Pablo). *"During one of his subsequent political zigzags, Healy gave a revealing account of his tendency's perspectives during this earlier entrism period. 'Our politics', he told the Socialist Labour League summer camp in 1964, 'was determined by a conception that it was our task to encourage a centrist movement who we were to provide with a leadership. This left the question open how we were then to lead it.... And it was from this that the Pabloite orientation took place. Pabloism began in England. We had not understood then the nature of Trotsky's theories of entry'."* (41)

We finish this chapter by remarking the meanwhile undisputed fact that Healy later continued to develop gross opportunist relationships with leading left-wing bureaucrats of the Labour Party like Ken Livingston and Ted Knight. This is also accepted by Gerry Downing, the central leader of the SF/LCFI. (42) It is however wrong to suggest, as the SF/LCFI does, that there has been a "golden past" of Gerry Healy. As we have shown he was already an arch-opportunist back in the late 1940s and 1950s.

To summarize, Healy applied a liquidationist policy independently of Pablo. He started to do so years before the split and continued for years after the split. His struggle against Pablo was in no way a "defence of Trotskyism against liquidation and revisionism" nor did it represent "a definite continuity of Trotskyism."

### **Healy's Alleged Struggle against Pablo's Capitulation to Stalinism**

As is known, Healy would later sharply denounce Pablo's capitulation to Stalinism. But in the years of the split, Healy himself capitulated to Stalinism no less than Pablo. First let us recall that Healy, as well as Cannon's SWP, Lambert's PCI, and Moreno's group fully supported Pablo's capitulation to Tito in 1948. When Pablo published his call to Tito "to form together a Leninist International," none of these so-called "orthodox Trotskyists" raised a word of criticism. Neither did they later, even after the split, raise a word of self-criticism for their capitulation to Tito.

It is remarkable that when Pablo raised some mild criticism on Tito, one of Healy's closest collaborators, Mike Banda, was the first "who denounced Pablo for criticizing the Yugoslavs as undermining their relationship with their Yugoslav comrades". (43)

As we have already mentioned above, Healy himself was closely collaborating with pro-Stalinist bureaucrats in the Labour Party. In the following we reprint a splendid summary of Healy's opportunist adaption towards Stalinism by the former WRP member Bob Pitt:

*From then on Healy uttered not a word against Tito, the butcher*

*of the Belgrade Trotskyists, while a letter from Millie Lee criticising the Yugoslav Communist Party was refused publication in Socialist Outlook.*

In 1950, Healy organised a youth brigade to visit Yugoslavia which came back spouting eulogies to the YCP's success in building socialism in one country, dismissing as 'groundless' allegations that political repression existed under the Stalinist regime there. Alas for Healy, the brigade's return coincided with the Yugoslav government's declaration of support for the United Nations in the Korean War, a development which left Healy and his supporters floundering. Mike Banda described Yugoslav Foreign Minister Kardelj's speech to the UN as 'regrettable' and appealed to this Stalinist bureaucrat to observe 'the moral principles of Truth and Justice'! Even in the Club's internal bulletin, Healy could do no more than criticise the Yugoslav decision as 'opportunist' – and in any case subordinate to 'progressive developments' in a YCP which had 'broken with Stalinism' and was 'returning in many respects to Bolshevik practice'.

As part of his strategy to build the left wing in the Labour Party, Healy had cultivated figures like Jack Stanley of the Constructional Engineering Union, Jim Figgins of the NUR and the MPs Tom Braddock and S.O. Davies. These were essentially Communist Party sympathisers who were drawn to the Socialist Fellowship because they rejected the 'cold war socialism' of the Labour left around Tribune, and Healy maintained his relationship with them by making unprincipled concessions to their views in Socialist Outlook. (...) So although Healy correctly defended the North in the Korean War, he remained silent on the Stalinist character of the regime, while the Chinese Communist Party received uncritical acclaim in Socialist Outlook. Even the Soviet bureaucracy was treated tenderly, Stalin's support for anti-imperialist movements being described editorially as 'neither as consistent nor as socialist as we would like it to be'! It was only after this scandalous position had opened Healy to attack inside the Trotskyist movement that factional considerations forced him to take a clear stand against Soviet Stalinism. With the outbreak of the Korean War, the opportunist set-up which Healy had stitched together in the Labour Party came apart at the seams, when Smith, Brockway and Bessie Braddock walked out of the Socialist Fellowship in protest at its condemnation of the United Nations." (44)

Healy's capitulation to Stalinism did not only take place before the split with Pablo in 1953 but later as well. As Bob Pitt reports: "In early 1967, Mike Banda's admiration for Maoism was allowed full rein in the 'Newsletter', which devoted several articles to enthusiastically supporting the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards. A year later, in an editorial in the theoretical journal Fourth International, Banda delivered a eulogy to the guerrilla warfare strategy of Mao and Ho Chi Minh. After protests by the Lambert group, a correction was pasted into the next issue of the journal, making the excuse that the article should have appeared under Banda's byline and was not an editorial at all. But Healy failed to distance himself or his organisation from Banda's views, or take up a struggle against them."

To summarize, Healy's struggle against Pablo was in no way a political struggle against the Fourth International's capitulation towards Stalinism. Healy himself repeatedly capitulated to Stalinism, both before and after the split with Pablo. This is just another example that Healy's and the International Committee's struggle against Pablo was neither a "defence of Trotskyism against liquidation and revisionism" nor did it represent "a definite continuity of Trotskyism."



### Healy and the IC: Adaption to Bourgeois and Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism

As we have shown, Healy's centrist policy involved a systematic opportunistic adaption to social democratic and Stalinist bureaucrats. He – and the whole "International Committee" with Cannon, Lambert, and Moreno – also continued this method with regard to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists in the colonial and semi-colonial world.

#### Algeria

In the 1950s and 1960s Pablo and the "International Secretariat" supported (uncritically) the radical petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Algerian FLN who were waging an armed insurrection for the country's independence since 1954. Marxists, of course, had to unconditionally support this anti-imperialist struggle without lending any political support to the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FLN. Pablo and the "International Secretariat" were involved in various forms of solidarity work which included material support for the nationalist liberation fighters (like counterfeiting money and smuggling guns). Pablo himself was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment for these activities in 1961. After the victory of the Algerian independence struggle, Pablo even became a minister in the FLN government. While Bolshevik-Communists denounce the political opportunism of Pablo and the "International Secretariat" towards the FLN, we also appreciate their solidarity campaign for the Algerian liberation struggle.

There is no doubt that their practical work was more valuable than the position of the centrist "International Committee" of Healy, Lambert, and Cannon. These "orthodox Trotskyists" sharply denounced "the Pabloite revisionists" for their support of the FLN. But they didn't organize any practical solidarity campaign for the Algerian liberation struggle of comparable size like the Pabloites, which is particularly shameful given that one of their three main sections was located in France (the colonial power ruling Algeria) and the other two were located in the two other imperialist great Powers at that time (the USA and Britain).

However, not only did they not support the liberation struggle as it concretely took place, they even made a worse opportunist capitulation than that made by Pablo and Mandel. They uncritically hailed the *Mouvement National Algérien* (MNA) of Messali Hadj. This petty-bourgeois nationalist formation was much less active in the liberation struggle and soon started collaboration with French imperialism. In 1958, Messali supported the proposals of President Charles de Gaulle which were an attempt of French imperialism to stop the liberation struggle. The MNA became a pawn in the hands of the French government against the FLN and the national struggle and finally ended up in a block with the fascist OAS.

A bourgeois US journalist splendidly characterized at that time the difference between the FLN and the MNA which he compared the Tito partisans to the Chetnik collaborators in Nazi-occupied Yugoslavia during World War II. As he wrote in June 1957: "The F.L.N., which perpetrated the Melouza massacre, is stronger than the rival M.N.A. Furthermore, it is more extremist in its demands vis-a-vis the French.

*In terms of what became familiar in Yugoslavia between 1941 and 1944, the F.L.N. somewhat resembles Tito's Partisans except that it isn't Communist led. The M.N.A. is more similar to Mikhailovitch's Chetniks. Its military organization is weaker than the F.L.N.'s. And its political demands are relatively milder."* (45)

Unimpressed by the nature of the FLN and the MNA, the fake anti-imperialists of the "International Committee" gave full support to Hadj's MNA and denounced the much more anti-imperialist FLN. Lambert's paper *La Vérité* offered to defend "the genuine Algerian revolutionaries against FLN killers." (46)

The "International Committee," with Gerry Healy as its secretary, adopted a resolution at a meeting in November 1955 which expressed its unconditional political solidarity with Messali Hadj without a single word of criticism and praised him: "In the person of Messali Hadj, the oppressed and exploited of the world possess a living symbol of this struggle." (See the footnote below for the full resolution of this meeting.) (47)

The "International Committee" went even further. In its paper *La Vérité* in October 1956, the Lambertists called Messali Hadj incredibly "the Algerian Lenin"! Two years later this strange version of "Lenin" would support de Gaulle and his bonapartist coup d'état! (48)

In November 1955, Healy published in the Labour Left paper *Tribune* an account of his visit to Messali Hadj. In it he paid tribute to "the amazingly confident personality" of Messali Hadj and to his ability to create "an atmosphere which is unique for its calm, impressive feeling." He also conveyed to him a message of political solidarity for the MNA from the "International Committee," in line with the resolution mentioned above. (49)

Let us finally mention that the opportunist capitulation of the "International Committee" to the pro-imperialist traitor Messali Hadj was so obvious that ten years later, one of its leaders had to admit semi-self-critically in its theoretical journal, in a longer article about the Algerian experience: "In other words, we can say that the error made was of a 'Pabloite' nature or, to be more precise; that its origins lie in the series of imprecisions and confusions on which the Trotskyist movement lived after the Second World War and which facilitated the development of the revisionist tendency and its first victories." (50)

Unfortunately the author does not go further and recognize that the fundamental problem of the Fourth International after the World War II was not "Pabloism" as a specific phenomena but centrism, of which Pablo's politics was one version while Cannon's, Healy's, Lambert's, and Moreno's were another.

#### Sri Lanka

This cross-class collaborationism was not limited to the Algerian liberation struggle. Healy and the "International Committee" kept friendly relations with the Fourth International's section in Sri Lanka – the *Lanka Sama Samaja Party* (LSSP). They did not raise any criticism of the LSSP's centrist and finally left-reformist degeneration which was expressed by the cowardly retreat of the party's leadership during the mass insurrection in August 1953 (the *Great Hartal*), its "responsive co-operation" with the bourgeois SLFP when it was in power in 1956 or its "critical support" for

the SLFP government. As is known, this Menshevism finally resulted in the LSSP joining the popular front government, led by the SLFP's Sirimavo Bandaranaike, in 1964. (51) Healy and the "International Committee" would later denounce the Pablo/Mandel-led Fourth International for this reformist capitulation of the LSSP (for which it was expelled, belatedly, by the now fused "United Secretariat" led by Mandel). But it is a matter of fact that Healy, Cannon, and Lambert didn't launch any serious opposition to the LSSP's centrist and finally reformist degeneration – a process which already began in the early 1950s, if not earlier. They did not attack the Menshevik LSSP leadership, because they had no fundamental political differences with their opportunism.

This becomes also obvious from the politics which Healy and his supporters in Sri Lanka applied later. The Sri Lankan Trotskyist veteran Edmund Samarakkody reported in 1973:

*"Having kept aloof from the politics of the LSSP from the time of the 1953 split of the International, the leader of the so-called International Committee and of the SLL, Gerry Healy, parachuted himself into the Ceylon scene in June 1964. Having arrived in the same plane with Pierre Frank a day before the LSSP conference, Healy, who had a few followers in the LSSP opposition, sought to gate-crash into the conference hall of the LSSP. Of course, he was not permitted to enter.*

*What Healy's politics were in relation to the issues at the conference was unknown. Nor did he seek to place his views before the LSSP membership through documentation prior to the conference. Instead, what he sought to do was to take the left opposition into the fold of the International Committee by disruption.*

*It was this same line of disruption that his followers – Prins Rajasooriya (now with Tampoe), Sydney Wanasinghe (now with the LSSP coalitionists), Wilfred Perera and R.S. Baghavan pursued. It was thus that the Healy group gave full co-operation to the Karlo coalitionists to fight the revolutionary tendency. In fact, a section of the Healy group actively participated in the organisation of the Karlo faction, "the Sakthi group," which in their factional paper publicly called for the support of a coalition government.*

*Nor were the Healyites strange bed-fellows with the Karlo coalitionists. While denouncing the Mandels and the Franks for the betrayal of the LSSP leaders, and while also denouncing the [Edmund] Samarakkody-Meryl Fernando group for advocating united-front action to include the coalition trade unions against the victimisation by the UNP government, the local Healyite "theoretician" Wilfred Perera was in fact pursuing coalition politics.*

*Here is a sample of Wilfred Perera's theory which he put out in 1967 during the UNP regime.*

*"We should propose to the rank and file of the left parties [referring to LSSP and CP] and of the trade-unions under their control to bring pressure on the Left party leaders to demand*

*1. a revision of the Joint Program [coalition program] so as to include working-class demands and socialist measures [!], and that the demands should be formulated by a united front of the trade-unions. And we should make our own proposal regarding the demands;*

*2. a more equitable apportionment of the parliamentary seats for the next election, say on a 50-50 basis as between the SLFP and the left parties.*

*'The first demand will show how far Mrs. Bandaranaike is prepared to go towards socialism, and at the same time expose the*

*impotence of the left fakers to push her leftwards. The second will show how sincere Mrs. Bandaranaike is when she says she needs the co-operation of the working-class to defeat the UNP-led coalition.'*

*Advocating coalition politics could not be more explicit than this!*

*From the outset however, the policies and practice of this league were at variance and in conflict with the program of Trotskyism. Whilst their reputed leader Healy, of the so-called International Committee, continues to rightly castigate the Mandels and the Pierre Franks for their responsibility for the LSSP debacle, the RSL (the Ceylon Unit of this Healyite IC) called for and supported the SLFP-LSSP-CP coalition in the elections of May 1970, the outcome of which was the present SLFP-led coalition government.*

*The Healyites were thus consistent with their policy within the LSSP(R), when they compacted with the Karalasingham-led coalitionists, who in their factional paper "Sakthi" called for support of the SLFP-LSSP-CP coalition. However, the RSL suddenly somersaulted. About two months after the coalition government was formed (May 1970), when sections of the masses that supported these parties were expressing their disappointment at the policies of the government, the Healy group announced that they had made a mistake when they supported the coalition at the elections." (52)*

It is worth mentioning that Healy's supporters in Sri Lanka not only crossed the class-line when it supported the popular front coalition of SLFP, LSSP, and CP. It also meant giving electoral support to the same bourgeois government which less than a year later would slaughter several thousands youth involved in the insurrection of the Guevarist Janatha Vikmuthi Peramuna (JVP) led by Rohana Wijeweera.

### *Latin America*

After the split of the International in 1953, both the "International Secretariat" as well as the "International Committee" kept supporters in Latin America. While the Pablo-supporters in Latin America were led by Posada, the Cannon/Healy/Lambert supporters were led by Nahueal Moreno. They formed the *Latin American Secretariat of Orthodox Trotskyism* (SLATO) in 1957 to act as the continental bureau of the "International Committee."

However both, the pro-IS as well as the pro-IC group, continued the centrist method of the Fourth International. Argentina is another example which proves what we stated already above: *"The IC criticised Pablo for putting forward deep entryism into the Stalinist movement. However the sections of the IC would practise a much deeper entryism in the very heart of the social democratic and bourgeois nationalist movements, none more so than the Argentinean IC section under Moreno." (53)*

As is known, General Juan Peron ruled Argentina between 1946 and 1955, when he was overthrown by a military coup. Despite the bourgeois class nature of his party, he was capable via the combination of anti-imperialist rhetoric, social reforms, and the oppression of rival working class organizations to build an organized base in the working class. This was enough reason for the centrist degenerated Fourth International to apply the opportunist method not only on Tito, various other Stalinists, and the British Labour Party, but also to the bourgeois Peronist

party in Argentina.

However, while the pro-Pablo group, led by Posadas, at least maintained an independent party, the pro-IC Moreno group (called *Revolutionary Workers Party*, POR) was much more right-wing than the "Pabloites." Moreno's POR liquidated itself into Peronism. In 1954 the POR dissolved itself to join the newly formed *Socialist Party of National Revolution* (PSRN), which was a pro-Peronist party. Moreno gained control of the PSRN paper *La Verdad* (The Truth). After the overthrow of Peron in 1955, which drove the Peronist forces underground and Peron himself into exile, Moreno's group continued to work with the Peronists. They published jointly a paper called *Palabra Obrero* which declared itself an "organ of revolutionary workers' Peronism" produced "under the discipline of General Peron and the Peronist Supreme Council." The paper was linked to a group of "left" Peronist trade union leaders called the "62 organisations" which acted as the transmission belt for maintaining the hold of Peronism over the Argentinian trade unions.

This paper was full of praise for General Peron, but lacked references to Marx, Engels, Lenin, or Trotsky. Moreno's paper called itself "Workers' Peronism of the hard line" and promised that it "carries to its ultimate conclusion the economic programme begun by General Peron (which, of course, was thoroughly pro-capitalist, MP)." It fully subscribed the idea that the working class should rally behind the bourgeois leader General Peron: "Analysis of our progress shows that we do not pick fights with anyone; in order to maintain the unity of Peronism we propose to the best activists (...) that they join *Palabra Obrero* to give the Peronist movement the direction that the working class deserves, along with General Peron."

The class-collaborationist policy of Morenoism of subordinating working class interests to a faction of the bourgeoisie went even further. In the February 1958 elections, Peron was not permitted to stand. He therefore formed an alliance with other bourgeois, pro-imperialist forces – amongst them the prominent businessman Rogelio Frigerio. After the oldest party of the Argentine bourgeoisie, the liberal *Unión Cívica Radical* (UCR), had split in 1956, Peron formed with the help of Frigerio an alliance with the candidate of one of the two UCR wings, Arturo Frondizi. Despite the General's appeal to his supporters to vote for Frondizi, many Peronist workers were disgusted by this alliance and refused to follow his instructions. Hundred of thousands of workers abstained in this presidential election.

Marxists are prepared to form united fronts and practical blocs for actions in order to defend democratic rights, to oppose imperialist attacks, etc. However we consider it as a break of fundamental principles to give electoral support for candidates of the bourgeoisie at elections (as for example the centrist *Revolutionary Socialists* in Egypt – sister organization of the Cliffite SWP(UK) and ISO(US) – did recently when they called in 2012 to vote for the Muslim Brotherhood candidate Morsi).

Not so the Latin American representative of the "orthodox Trotskyist" International Committee: Moreno refused to call for independent workers candidates and thereby to use the election campaign to fight for the independence of the working class from the different factions of the bourgeoisie. The Pabloite section by the way stood candidates in three districts in the province of Buenos Aires under the name of a "Workers' Party" and got 15,424 votes. Moreno

however was much more opportunist than the Pablo group and stressed the importance of discipline and loyalty ... with General Peron! Hence he called for a vote for Peron's choice for the candidate of the bourgeoisie, Frondizi. He justified this with the remarkable explanation:

*"On deciding to call for a vote for Frondizi, Palabra Obrero, despite considering it extremely dangerous that splits could appear in the masses when everyone is 'carried away' with the blank vote, accedes in a disciplined way, not because it considers it better than a blank vote, but in order to safeguard the unity of Peronism and only for that."*

The same opportunist and liquidationist line was applied in other countries by the Moreno/IC supporters. In Peru for example the group allied to Moreno participated in 1956 in the creation of the bourgeois party *Acción Popular* led by Fernando Belaúnde. It liquidated itself into this party and published, within the party, a periodical. (The Pablo supporters did the same with the stronger bourgeois party APRA which also had more support in the working class.) The peasant uprising led by Hugo Blanco which we mentioned above was crushed under the presidency of this bourgeois figure Belaúnde.

Later Moreno would change the subjects of his centrist opportunism. When this Latin American leader of the "orthodox Trotskyist" International Committee saw the opportunity to form a political alliance with Castro supporters he was prepared to openly refute the theory of permanent revolution. Hence he declared in 1961:

*"Of course, life has brought out the gaps, omissions and errors of the programme of permanent revolution . . . The dogma that only the working class can accomplish the democratic tasks is false. Sectors of the urban middle class and peasantry are, on occasion, the revolutionary leadership. (...) History has rejected the theory that the proletariat, in the backward countries, is the revolutionary leadership. (...) Mao Tse Tungism, or the theory of guerrilla war, is the particular reflection in the field of theory of the present stage of world revolution."* (54)

Finally we shall remark that neither the "International Secretariat" of Pablo and Mandel nor the "International Committee" of Cannon, Healy, Moreno, and Lambert made a serious analysis or drew up any balance sheet of the betrayal of the POR – the Bolivian section of the Fourth International – during the Revolution in 1952. At that time the POR had mass influence, but instead of fighting for the formation of workers and peasant soviets and militias and a government based on them, they called for a government led by the bourgeois-nationalist MNR in which working class representatives should participate. (55)

So when we examine all these cases in Argentina, Peru or Bolivia, we can state that all this makes the right-wing centrist Comintern in the period of the Stalin-Bukharin leadership in the mid-1920s, when it praised the English trade union leaders and China's Chiang Kai-shek, look like ultra-left sectarians!

In short, we see again how wrong the SF/LCFI comrades are when they claim that Healy's and the "International Committee's" struggle against Pablo was a "defence of Trotskyism against liquidation and revisionism" and that did it represents "a definite continuity of Trotskyism." It was neither of the two.

We can also observe that the political capitulation to bourgeois-nationalist forces in the name of "anti-imperialism" has a long tradition in Healyism. They supported the

MNA of Hadj against the more radical petty-bourgeois nationalist FLN which also led the national liberation struggle supported by the popular masses. Later in the 1970s and 1980s they praised Gaddafi and distributed his "*Green Book*" and also hailed Saddam Hussein and Khomeini for which they are said – according to an internal investigation – to have received over one million Pounds. They failed to attack these reactionary dictators when they brutally oppressed militant workers, Kurdish liberation movements, and left-wing organizations. And, unfortunately, the SF/LCFI today continues such reactionary support for bourgeois regimes against revolutionary-democratic struggles of the workers and peasants. In 2011 they supported the reactionary bourgeois dictatorship of Gaddafi against the democratic popular revolution, and today they side with the equally reactionary Assad regime against the Syrian Revolution. Surely, they add. They don't support Gaddafi and the Assad regimes only in their military repression but not in their politics. But in the face of an actual counter-revolution, it doesn't matter how critical you support the counter-revolution! Their erroneous support for the centrist tradition of Gerry Healy in the 1950s and 1960s is an awful legacy which forms the theoretical background for their choice of the wrong side of the barricades in the Libyan and Syrian Revolution.

### III. CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

So let us summarize the conclusion of our analysis and formulate its consequences. As we will show below, the issue of the revolutionary Fifth Workers International is related to the assessment of the political development of the Fourth International and its splitters since 1948-52.

#### The "revolutionary continuity" of Trotskyism by Healy and the 'International Committee' is a myth

The tradition of Healy, Cannon, Lambert, and Moreno is not a revolutionary one. They supported Pablo and Mandel after the World War II in the main issues that marked the collapse of the Fourth International from a revolutionary into a centrist formation. (the decisions of the Second and Third World Congress in 1948 and 1951 concerning Titoism and Stalinism, the capitulation in Bolivia 1952, the liquidationist opportunism towards the British Labour Party, etc.). When they broke with Pablo/Mandel in November 1953 they raised correct partial criticism (concerning their liquidationist opportunism towards the Stalinist parties). But at the same time, as we have shown, they propagated and implemented liquidationist opportunism towards social democracy and petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist forces. The IC opportunism was qualitatively not superior to Pablo's and Mandel's version. Both represented trends of centrism. Neither reconstituted the revolutionary tradition of the Fourth International in Trotsky's time and which was kept – with vacillations – by his successors after his death until the first years after the end of World War II.

As we have analyzed in our book, which the SF/LCFI comrades wrongly reject, the leadership of the Fourth International was, by then, disorientated by new and un-

expected political developments – in particular the counter-revolutionary defeats which ended the revolutionary phase 1943-47, the strengthening and expansion of Stalinism, the consolidation of capitalism, and the failure of the Fourth International to overcome its isolation from the masses (with a few exceptions like Bolivia, Sri Lanka and Vietnam). They were faced with a new situation and failed to apply the method of Trotsky's Transitional Program to the new phenomena and to adapt their perspectives to the changed circumstances. As a result, they distorted the revolutionary program in order to adapt to non-revolutionary forces – Stalinism, Social Democracy, and Petty-Bourgeois and Bourgeois Nationalism - which were stronger than the Fourth International.

We are fully aware that the possibilities for revolutionary work were very difficult for the Trotskyists under such circumstances. But their centrist failure was not that they remained numerically weak. Neither was their centrist failure that they made mistakes. Only those who don't do anything make no mistakes. Their centrist failure was that they became uncritical or even hailed Stalinist, left social democratic, and petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist forces. Their centrist failure was that they spread illusions amongst vanguard workers (and their own members) in the revolutionary potential of Tito, Mao-Tsetung, Aneurin Bevan, Messali Hadj, General Peron, etc instead of warning of their inevitable betrayal of the workers. Their centrist failure was that they failed to understand and to teach the workers' vanguard that *only* a revolutionary party fighting under the Trotskyist banner can lead the proletariat to victory. Their centrist failure was that, instead, they mis-educated the workers vanguard that an objective revolutionary process would push the Titos, the Maos, the Bevans, and the Perons to provide the workers and oppressed authentic leadership towards the revolutionary toppling of the capitalist system. No Stalinist agent forced them into these centrist failures! These failure were their own volition and responsibility! And it is these failures which marked the centrist degeneration of the Fourth International and all of its leaders in the years 1948-52.

When we say that Healy and the "International Committee" were centrist from the beginning, does this mean that we consider everything they ever did and said as useless crap? No, certainly not! For example, Healy and the "International Committee" played an important role in winning-over 200 or so members from the Communist Party to Trotskyism in 1956/57. They also spread Trotskyist ideas amongst many working class youth. Their publication house "New Park" published numerous books of Marxist classics and about the history of the Bolsheviks. Their theoretical journal *Labour Review* and *Fourth International* contained various interesting and thought-provoking articles. They made the works of the materialist dialectician Evald Ilyenkov known in the English-speaking world. And yes, even if Healy's writings on dialectical materialism had a strong idealist touch, at least he tried to spread the Marxist philosophy. One can hardly give similar compliments to the anglo-empiricists of the CWI or the Cliffite SWP tradition which was and is divided between adapting to reactionary structuralism à la Althusser (Alex Callinicos) and praising the idealist Georg Lukács (John Rees *et al*).

But, then, the fact is that this is similarly true for various other centrist currents. Mandel was an excellent Marxist

economist (even if one does not support his “long wave” theory) and despite his Kautskyian revisionism he often wrote thought-provoking analyses. Or let us take the Marxist economist Andrew Kliman, who might erroneously support the centrist US group of the Marxist-Humanists, but who nevertheless provides highly useful writings on value, the transformation problem, and his analysis of the tendency of the profit rate to fall, which advance Marxist political economy.

We can go even further and state that there have been various Stalinist historians (e.g., Eric Hobsbawn), economists (e.g., Jürgen Kuczynski) or even a philosopher (Evald Ilyenkov) who produced valuable insights. This is even true for one or another bourgeois theoretician (e.g., Carr) or natural scientists.

All of these are insights which don’t make the persons we named above authentic Marxists. But their insights are valuable contributions which will become part of an ever-increasing – but never-ending – process of understanding Marxist truth which revolutionaries are fighting for.

However there is certainly nothing which distinguishes the tradition of Healy and the ‘International Committee’ as superior to other centrist currents coming from the Fourth International. They applied a centrist method which was in no way superior to the centrist method of Pablo and Mandel. They just had different objects of opportunist adaption. The different pressures from different non-proletarian forces pushed the various wings and sections of the already centrist Fourth International into different directions and made their leaders capitulate to different non-revolutionary trends. This is the background against which an organizational struggle developed in 1953 between Healy/Cannon/Lambert/Moreno on one hand and Pablo/Mandel on the other, which led to a split. But, this was not a split in which one side was politically superior to the other. They were two centrist forces which accused each other of revisionism. In other words, it was like two thieves accusing each other of stealing.

So the heart of the differences between the RCIT and the SF/LCFI on the issue of the post-WWII history of the Fourth International is the following: The SF/LCFI believes – as they wrote in their document: *“Workers Power has characterised the split in 1953 as a centrist split and did not break with Pablo’s method. WP are wrong theoretically. In 1953 the opposition to Pablo did fight. (...) The 1953 split was a principled defence of Trotskyism against liquidation and revisionism and was therefore a definite continuity of Trotskyism.”*

We in the RCIT state that the Fourth International degenerated in the late 1940s and early 1950s when it betrayed the

method of the Transitional Program of Leon Trotsky by its capitulation to anti-proletarian class forces. Concretely, the leadership of the Fourth International and all its leaders of the future splits – Pablo, Mandel, Cannon, Lambert, Healy, Moreno, etc. – capitulated either to Stalinism (in particular Titoism and Maoism), Social Democracy (e.g., the Labour Party in Britain), or bourgeois nationalism (e.g. MNR in Bolivia 1952, Peron in Argentina or the SLFP in Sri Lanka).

### **“Principled Reunification of the Worldwide Trotskyist Movement” or Revolutionary Fifth Workers International?**

These differences between the SF/LCFI and us are not only of historical interest. They also form the background for important differences on the revolutionary program today. The Healyite method of opportunist adaption to non-proletarian class forces have constituted the theoretical background for the SF/LCFI’s reactionary support for the bourgeois Gaddafi and the Assad regimes against the revolutionary-democratic struggle of the workers and peasants since the beginning of the Arab Revolution.

Furthermore, these differences of the historical question of revolutionary continuity form the background for our different perspectives. The SF/LCFI comrades orientate themselves towards a regrouping of the so-called “worldwide Trotskyist movement.” They don’t understand that, for many decades already, these forces have been centrist, or rather they consider them as a different, qualitatively superior version of centrism (as the ridiculous theory of the short-lived *International Trotskyist Committee* differentiated between two versions of centrism).

Therefore it is only logical when the SF/LCFI comrades conclude their document: *“The 1953 split was a principled defence of Trotskyism against liquidation and revisionism and was therefore a definite continuity of Trotskyism. The task for Trotskyists is for a principled reunification of the worldwide Trotskyist movement and this is the role that the Liaison Committee for the Fourth International has set itself.”*

We at the RCIT reject such an orientation. Naturally, we welcome it when an organization claiming to stand in the Trotskyist tradition develops into a revolutionary direction. In such a situation, we would be most inclined to advance a serious discussion and collaboration towards joining our forces.

But we are not naïve and we are certainly not blinded just because various so-called “Trotskyist organizations” praise Trotsky and the Transitional Program. No sensible person



is blinded by an advertising slogan. The proof of authentic Trotskyism is the test of practice. And – as we have shown in our book *The Death Agony of the Fourth International* as well as numerous other documents – for more than half a century practice has shown that *all* of the major currents of Trotskyite centrism have failed the test of class struggle. They have failed this test first and foremost programmatically, by adapting to various reformist, petty-bourgeois or bourgeois forces.

This is why we say that the so-called “*worldwide Trotskyist movement*” is politically rotten. In fact, it is in a death agony. For more than sixty years, all of these major currents of Trotskyite centrism have proven in practice that they are incapable of self-reform.

This bankruptcy of the centrist forces wrongly claiming the banner of Trotskyism has been proven time and again by the revolutionary events following 1968, by the historic events of 1989-91 and after, and finally by the period of imperialist wars since 2001 and, in particular, by the new historic period that commenced in 2008. (56) It is in such historic tests that self-proclaimed “revolutionary organizations” are tested *programmatically*. Such tests – and not abstract proclamations on the “*Transitional Program*” or the “*continuity of Trotskyism*” – are what show revolutionaries if an organization is healthy or not. And the truth is that *all* the major organizations of the “*worldwide Trotskyist movement*” have failed these tests and proven to be irreparably beyond self-reform. Our call for the Fifth International expresses that we completely reject any orientation towards and illusions about this centrist milieu.

In a recent document on the world situation we wrote the following assessment, the understanding of which, in our opinion, is vital:

*“The accelerated crisis and class struggle in the new historic period also exposed the incapability of centrism to understand these developments, to elaborate a revolutionary program and to transmit this into the class struggle. Since centrism adapts itself to the labor bureaucracy, the latter’s decline also massively affects centrism and throws it into crisis. This explains the seemingly contradictory phenomena that the centrist organizations – despite their revolutionary rhetoric – could not grow in the new revolutionary period but rather went into stagnation, crisis and decline. (See for example the recent crisis of the British SWP/IST or of the French NPA).*

*As a result of all this we have seen in the last years a new shift to the right of centrism and left-reformism. Historically speaking we see the death agony of reformism and centrism. This does however not mean that reformism and centrism will simply dissolve. The bureaucratic apparatus has a certain strength which can keep its position for quite some time if it is not consciously attacked and replaced by the revolutionary workers vanguard. Furthermore new forces of left-reformism or centrism can emerge which appear to sectors of the masses as something new and authentic (like SYRIZA in Greece did in 2012). Only the formation of a revolutionary mass workers party can eliminate the plague of reformism and centrism.”* (57)

This is why we say that the Fourth International is programmatically and organizationally dead. When Lenin and the Bolsheviks arrived at this conclusion in 1914 they called for the building of the Third International. So did Trotsky after the failure of the Stalinist centrist Comintern in 1933. And so do we, since history has shown so many times that the so-called “*worldwide Trotskyist movement*”

has degenerated into ossified centrism and cannot be reformed.

It is time to start organizing revolutionary workers and youth to build the revolutionary Fifth Workers’ International! The issue is not an abstract question of numbering. We in the RCIT don’t mind if the future revolutionary Workers’ International will be called the “Fourth” or the “Fifth,” or maybe unnumbered, like the “*International Workingmen’s Association*” at the time of Marx and Engels. What is important is first and foremost *the program* on which it will be based. As Bolshevik-Communists we will fight for a revolutionary program of the new International.

Secondly towards which social strata should the International orientate itself and upon them be built? The RCIT strongly rejects any orientation of building the new International towards the so-called “*worldwide Trotskyist movement*.” We maintain that the slogan “*rebuilding the Fourth International*” either expresses an illusionary belief that any of the centrist fragments claiming to be Trotskyist in fact represents, in any way, a continuum of authentic Trotskyism, or that any of these fragments is somehow capable of self-reform.

Finally, for us, this slogan can also express the political distracting illusion that from out of the so-called “*worldwide Trotskyist movement*” the new and healthy militant elements of the working class will emerge. We repeat that we don’t reject the possibility that this or that force from the so-called “*worldwide Trotskyist movement*” may move towards an authentic revolutionary direction under the impact of deep class struggles. The central force to orientate to is not this rotten centrist milieu but rather the new, fresh elements of working class fighters who emerge in the wave of class struggles.

In our document on the world situation we have formulated the challenge for all authentic revolutionaries in the following way:

*“As a consequence the Bolshevik-Communists have no hope in any self-healing power of the milieu of left-reformism or centrism. We therefore reject an orientation towards this milieu which is so strongly affected by the complacent, passive and aristocratic prejudices and modes of thinking. The only possibility for a revolutionizing of the workers movement is the organization of new layers of the massively growing world proletariat. This means first and foremost the proletariat of the semi-colonial world and China as well as the lower strata of the proletariat in the old imperialist metropolises. Only these lower and middle layers of the working class – in other words the ‘mass type’ and not the ‘aristocratic type’ of the workers – can provide the human material out of which new generations of revolutionary fighters can develop. The militant textile workers in Egypt’s Mahalla, the revolutionary militias in Misrata (Libya) and Syria, the Asturias miners, the impoverished public sector workers in Greece, the militant youth in the streets of Athens, Barcelona and on Cairo’s Tahrir Square, the migrant and poor workers revolting in Tottenham and Buenos Aires, the super-exploited workers in the Indian and Chinese factories etc. – these are the fighting layers which represent the face of the working class’ future. Therefore the Bolshevik-Communists orientate to those new, militant and growing layers of the working class instead of the old, agonizing sectors of the reformist or centrist left and their basis, the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the labor aristocracy. We are determined to fight for a revolutionary program amongst these*

layers in order to organize them on such a basis.

It is because of its orientation to the labor bureaucracy and the petty-bourgeoisie intelligentsia that the bulk of the centrist and left-reformist milieu is increasingly poisoned by pessimism, skepticism, moaning about the lack of "left unity", hysterical renunciation of the "Leninist hyper-centralism" and the "vanguard party" concept as well as praising of liquidationism. Authentic revolutionaries however orientate towards the new, militant layers from the working class and the oppressed who are looking for a program and a strategy to fight against exploitation and oppression. This is where our optimism and firmness stems from. Those who wish to develop in a revolutionary direction must break from an orientation towards the centrist and left-reformist swamp and look for rooting themselves in the healthy, militant proletarian milieu.

This does not mean that revolutionaries should ignore the reformist parties or the centrist groups. The policy of the united front tactic remains in full force as well as the need for a hard struggle to remove these revisionists' influence in the workers vanguard. But in the first line the RCIT orientates towards new militants and initiatives from the ranks of the workers and the oppressed. From these layers only, new promising forces and a new dynamic will come. And such developments might affect healthier elements from the ranks of left-reformism and centrism and help them to break with the revisionists' rotten method.

Revolutionaries have to understand in depth that not only has capitalism entered a new historic period of massive instability and sharp turns, but the international workers movement has too. No stone is left unturned. Those forces, who don't understand the character of the period and its corresponding tasks, are doomed to degenerate more and more and get pushed to the right. For those forces however, who are coming closer to an understanding of the sharply antagonistic nature of the present period, who are willing to join the masses in their struggles – in particular the lower strata of the working class and the oppressed – without arrogantly sneering about their "backward consciousness" and who are at the same time determined to fight intransigently for the revolutionary program and who ruthlessly attack the reformist and centrist traitors – those forces can revolve themselves and play a healthy and utterly positive role in the struggle to build the new World Party of Socialist Revolution. Being aware of the limitations of historic analogies, one has to see that to a certain degree the present period bears similarities to the years after the outbreak of World War One in 1914. In this period the workers movement went through sharp crisis, splits and transformations. In this period the rottenness of the centrist majority of the Second International – which existed already before 1914 but was less obvious – came to full light. The orientation and tactics of Lenin and his supporters are highly instructive for the Bolshevik-Communists today.

The RCIT seeks to discuss and collaborate with all those organizations and activists who share such a general orientation. Indeed we consider it of utmost importance to rally those forces that show in words and deeds that they move into such a direction. Clearly there will be various differences which the RCIT might have with other organizations and activists. Similarly Lenin and the Bolsheviks had various differences inside the Zimmerwald Left and the early Communist International as Trotsky and the ICL did inside the Bloc of Four and indeed even inside the Fourth International. Such differences must be openly acknowledged and debated. They must however not constitute obstacles for serious attempts to move forward and to test in comradely discussion and joint practice the possibilities to fight in a com-

mon organization for the building of the World Party of Socialist Revolution (which will be the Fifth Workers International in our opinion). The RCIT will launch initiatives in order to accelerate such a process in order to build a stronger, authentic revolutionary international organization." (58)

This perspective remains fully valid. The RCIT considers the Fourth International and its splitters since 1948-52 as a political corpse. We don't waste time with the illusory project to revive a politically dead body. We need a new International which will be built by new forces of the broad mass of the working class and the oppressed and free from the corrupted milieu of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the labor aristocracy. This is why we call all revolutionary organizations and militants to join us in the struggle for the new International which will be the Fifth Workers International.

By their orientation to the "worldwide Trotskyist movement" the SF/LCFI comrades become involuntarily intellectual prisoners of this politically rotten milieu. Irrespective of their numerous polemics against this or that centrist current, they retain the hope that the future International will have to be built by sectors of the "worldwide Trotskyist movement", nearly-dead carcasses who will somehow miraculously be revived and infused with new life, new revolutionary breathe. But miracles only happen in fairy tales. Unfortunately, for the SF/LCFI comrades, we live in the very real world of class struggle.

The SF/LCFI comrades should break with their loyalty to any version of the Healy tradition and their support for the counter-revolution in Libya and Syria. Otherwise they remain Healy's pupils who fail to break with their master.

## Footnotes

(1) Laurence Humphries: The Epigones Destroy Trotsky's International 1940-1953. A Reply To 'The Death Agony of the Fourth International' by Workers Power, Socialist Fight, September 2013, <http://socialistfight.com/2013/09/25/the-epigones-destroy-trotsky-international-1940-1953-a-reply-to-workers-power/>. All quotes from the LCFI in our document are from this article if not stated otherwise.

(2) Workers Power (Britain) and Irish Workers Group: The Death Agony of the Fourth International, London 1983

(3) Bob Pitt: The Rise and Fall of Gerry Healy (1989), <http://www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/Pages/Healy/Contents.html>. The paragraphs which the LCFI incorporated covertly are all located in chapter 2 and 3 in Pitt's study.

(4) Workers Power (Britain) and Irish Workers Group: The Death Agony of the Fourth International, London 1983, pp. 35-36

(5) The Militant: Fight Against War Goes On (Editorial), 15.3.1941, p. 1, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspaper/themilitant/1941/v5n11-mar-15-1941.pdf> (Emphasis in the original)

(6) James P. Cannon: Socialism on Trial (1942), New York 1973, p. 52

(7) Workers Power (Britain) and Irish Workers Group: The Death Agony of the Fourth International, London 1983, p. 23

(8) LRCI: The Trotskyist Manifesto (1989), p. 4

(9) LRCI: The Trotskyist Manifesto (1989), p. 132

(10) Workers Power (Britain): The Fourth International and the Second World War, in: Workers Power No. 198 (March 1996), p. 11

(11) Workers Power (Britain) and Irish Workers Group: The Death Agony of the Fourth International, London 1983, p. 25

(12) See on this e.g. the Foreword of Healy's ICFI in the book George Vereeken: *The GPU in the Trotskyist Movement*, London 1976, published by Healy's printing house New Park.

(13) We are aware that Gerry Downing, the central leader of the SF/LCFI, has a more critical attitude to the Healy/IC "Security and the Fourth International" campaign. See Gerry Downing: *China: deformed workers' state or rising world imperialist power? Reply to the International Bolshevik Tendency and the Spart "Family"*; in: *In Defence of Trotskyism*, No. 1, Winter 2009-2010, p. 15

(14) *Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International* (this was the name of our predecessor organization at that time); *Barbaric Trotskyism: a History of Morenoism (Part 1)*; in: *Trotskyist International No. 1* (1988), p. 48

(15) See Martin Richard Upham: *The History of British Trotskyism to 1949*, Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Hull, September 1980, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/revhist/upham/upmen.htm>

(16) See on this Keith Hassel and Dave Stocking: *The Collapse of British Trotskyism After the War (Part 1)*; in: *Workers Power No. 39*, February 1983, pp. 4-5; See also Ted Grant: *History of British Trotskyism*, London 2002, pp. 169-173

(17) Sam Bornstein and Al Richardson write that by 1951 90% of the supporters of the RCP majority in 1947-49 had left the Trotskyist movement either because of demoralization or because had been expelled by Healy. (See Sam Bornstein and Al Richardson: *The War and the International. A History of the Trotskyist Movement in Britain 1937 - 1949*, London 1986, p. 232)

(18) "*Nor had the Club itself registered any numerical gains, despite the large circulation of Socialist Outlook and the Healyites' energetic pursuit of positions in the Labour Party.*" (Bob Pitt: *The Rise and Fall of Gerry Healy* (1989), <http://www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/Pages/Healy/Contents.html>)

(19) Mark Hoskisson and Dave Stocking: *The Rise and Fall of the SLL' (1986)*; in: *Workers Power No. 80*, Theoretical Supplement (February 1986), p. 2

(20) It should not go unmentioned that Pablo as well as Healy/Cannon/Lambert hotly denied such an end of the revolutionary post-war period and the opening of a democratic counter-revolutionary period. Instead they all predicted for many years the imminent economic slump, World War III and revolution. Healy advertised in his paper *Socialist Outlook* Pablo's pamphlet "*The Coming World Showdown*", in which the later predicted the imminent world war. (See Sam Bornstein and Al Richardson: *The War and the International. A History of the Trotskyist Movement in Britain 1937 - 1949*, London 1986, p. 211)

Amusingly the Spartacist family still denies that in the 1950s and 1960 a "long boom" and democratic-counter-revolutionary stabilization took place. They call "*the 'long postwar boom' ... a revisionist myth.*" (Jan Norden: *Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe and the Fourth International: The Evolution of Pabloist Liquidationism*, New York 1993, p. 35)

Unfortunately the SF/LCFI document, which base its arguments partly on the Spartacists critique against our tendency, quote approvingly Jan Norden's polemic against our program "*The Trotskyist Manifesto*" adopted in summer 1989. In it we explained: "*Trotsky's Transitional Programme, written in these years, pronounced that the crisis of humanity was reduced to the crisis of leadership. However, today it would be wrong simply to repeat that all contemporary crises are 'reduced to a crisis of leadership'. The proletariat worldwide does not yet face the stark alternative of either taking power or seeing the destruction of all its past gains. Nevertheless, in many countries and, indeed, whole continents, the crisis of leadership does reach such a level of acuteness.*" (LRCI: *The Trotskyist Manifesto* (1989), p. 19). The Spartacists and the SF/LCFI pose as defenders of "orthodox Trotskyism" when they claim that a statement of Trotsky that was written in 1938 at a specific political conjuncture is actual at all times since then. In his "*Transitional Program*" wrote: "*The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened';*

*they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. The turn is now to the proletariat, i.e., chiefly to its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership.*" (Leon Trotsky: *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International. The Transitional Program* (1938), in: *Documents of the Fourth International. The Formative Years (1933-40)*, New York 1973, p. 181) So we see that Trotsky related his statement about "*the historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership*" to the specific situation close to the World War II. It is telling that all the supporters of the centrist 'International Committee' tradition denied the end of the revolutionary period in the late 1940s and fully shared Pablo's nonsense of the imminent World War III and Revolution-War and War-Revolution. They confused the conjunctural perspective of Trotsky's program in 1938 with its methodological and programmatic substance. So they didn't mind to drop the Transitional Program's method by capitulating to social democracy and bourgeois nationalism because they "orthodoxly" defended that humanity is close to catastrophe and hence everything is "*reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership*".

Characteristically these fake "orthodox Trotskyists" are now – when we really live in an actual revolutionary period – either completely demoralized (like the Spartacists) or incapable to recognize a real revolution when it is taking place (like the SF/LCFI denial of the "Arab Revolution" and its support for the counter-revolution in Libya and Syria).

(21) See Sam Bornstein and Al Richardson: *The War and the International. A History of the Trotskyist Movement in Britain 1937 - 1949*, London 1986, p. 210

(22) For the quotes in this paragraphs see our article by Keith Hassell: *The Collapse of British Trotskyism (Part 2). Bevan's Trotskyist Cheerleaders*; in: *Workers Power No. 40*, March 1983, pp. 6-7

(23) Quoted in Keith Hassell: *The Collapse of British Trotskyism (Part 2). Bevan's Trotskyist Cheerleaders*; in: *Workers Power No. 40*, March 1983, pp. 6-7

(24) Michel Pablo: in: *The Building of the Revolutionary Party* (1952); in: *SWP Education for Socialists, International Secretariat Documents 1951-1954*, New York 1974, Vol. 1, p. 36 (Emphasis in the original)

(25) Quotes in this paragraph from Mark Hoskisson and Dave Stocking: *The Rise and Fall of the SLL' (1986)*; in: *Workers Power No. 80*, Theoretical Supplement (February 1986), p. 1

(26) Mark Hoskisson and Dave Stocking: *The Rise and Fall of the SLL' (1986)*; in: *Workers Power No. 80*, Theoretical Supplement (February 1986), p. 1

(27) Quoted in Bob Pitt: *The Rise and Fall of Gerry Healy* (1989), <http://www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/Pages/Healy/Contents.html>

(28) Quoted in Sam Bornstein and Al Richardson: *The War and the International. A History of the Trotskyist Movement in Britain 1937 - 1949*, London 1986, p. 213

(29) Quoted in Mark Phythian: *The Labour Party, War and International Relations, 1945-2006*, New York 2007, p. 43

(30) Bob Pitt: *The Rise and Fall of Gerry Healy* (1989), <http://www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/Pages/Healy/Contents.html>

(31) Quoted in Don Milligan: *Off The Cuff*, No. 159, March 31, 2012, [www.donmilligan.net](http://www.donmilligan.net)

(32) Quoted in John Callaghan: *The Labour Party and Foreign Policy A history*, London 2007, p. 225

(33) Quotes in this paragraph from in Keith Hassell: *The Collapse of British Trotskyism (Part 2). Bevan's Trotskyist Cheerleaders*; in: *Workers Power No. 40*, March 1983, pp. 6-7

(34) Bob Pitt: *The Rise and Fall of Gerry Healy* (1989), <http://www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/Pages/Healy/Contents.html>

(35) Michel Pablo: in: *The Building of the Revolutionary Party* (1952); in: *SWP Education for Socialists, International Secretariat Documents 1951-1954*, New York 1974, Vol. 1, p. 35



(36) Leon Trotsky: *The State of the League and its Tasks. A Contribution to the Discussion* (1934); in: Trotsky Writings, Supplement 1934-40, p. 494

(37) Leon Trotsky: *Lessons of the SFIO Entry* (1935), in: *The Crisis of the French Section*, New York 1977, pp. 125-126

(38) Quoted in Mark Hoskisson and Dave Stocking: *The Rise and Fall of the SLL'* (1986); in: *Workers Power* No. 80, Theoretical Supplement (February 1986), p. 1

(39) Michel Pablo: in: *The Building of the Revolutionary Party* (1952); in: SWP Education for Socialists, International Secretariat Documents 1951-1954, New York 1974, Vol. 1, pp. 31-32

(40) Bob Pitt: *The Rise and Fall of Gerry Healy* (1989), <http://www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/Pages/Healy/Contents.html>

(41) Quoted in Bob Pitt: *The Rise and Fall of Gerry Healy* (1989), <http://www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/Pages/Healy/Contents.html>

(42) See Gerry Downing: *W.R.P. Explosion. The Sabotage to Regenerate Trotskyism 1985-1991*, written originally in 1991, republished by Gerry Downing in 2011.

(43) Reported in Sam Bornstein and Al Richardson: *The War and the International. A History of the Trotskyist Movement in Britain 1937 – 1949*, London 1986, p. 212

(44) Bob Pitt: *The Rise and Fall of Gerry Healy* (1989), <http://www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/Pages/Healy/Contents.html>

(45) Sulzberger: *The Test. De Gaulle and Algeria* (1962), New York 1962, p.29

(46) Quoted in *Workers Power (Britain) and Irish Workers Group: The Death Agony of the Fourth International*, London 1983, p. 58

(47) *Resolution of Solidarity with the Algerian Struggle for National Liberation*, International Committee of the Fourth International; in: *Resolutions adopted at the International Committee meeting in Paris on November 7-8, 1955*, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/healy/1955/11/07.htm>

**“Resolution of Solidarity with the Algerian Struggle for National Liberation**

*Speaking for the Trotskyist militants of the whole world, the International Committee of the Fourth International greets the heroic struggle of the peoples of North Africa. Despite fierce repressions, they have already struck significant blows against French imperialism. The struggle these people are waging is bound to end with their winning complete independence.*

*The International Committee greets the Algerian revolution, which for the last year has pressed the offensive. The revolution has dealt increasingly severe blows to French imperialism in one of its vital centers, although the government has concentrated in Algeria the greatest part of the repressive forces at its disposal. These are more considerable than the forces employed at any given time in the Indo-Chinese war. The Algerian revolution has also advanced in the face of repressive measures of unprecedented ferocity whose victims—murdered or locked up in concentration camps—number in the tens of thousands.*

*The International Committee is fully aware of the enormous importance the Algerian revolution holds for the development of the proletarian revolution in France and all Europe.*

*It hails the Algerian National Movement, which operating under the most stringent conditions of illegality, wages an intransigent fight against imperialism under the leadership of the working masses. In the person of Messali Hadj, the oppressed and exploited of the world possess a living symbol of this struggle.*

*The International Committee treats with scorn the efforts of petty-bourgeois democrats, Stalinists, and Stalinoid groupings to help French imperialism. They rush to aid imperialism now that the imperialists, forced to retreat by the Algerian revolution, seek to set up a “bargaining agent” that will accept—behind the backs of the Algerian masses—any scheme providing for “independence by stages,” This would safeguard the essential positions of imperialism in the country.*

*For their part, the Trotskyists give wholehearted support to the central slogan of the Algerian National Movement. This slogan—the only one in keeping with the principles of democracy and socialism—calls for a Constituent Assembly in Algeria enjoying sovereign power in the nation.*

*The International Committee salutes the Internationalist Communist Party (French Section of the Fourth International) in its campaign to organize the active solidarity of French workers with their Algerian brothers and link them in a fight against their common enemy.*

*The International Committee calls on the exploited and oppressed of the whole world to demonstrate concretely their solidarity with the Algerian revolution. It calls on the Trotskyist militants to organize this solidarity by every means at their command.*

*This was unanimously adopted, but Comrade Peng asked that his following statement he included in the report: “We accord our solidarity to all mass movements in North Africa in the struggle against French imperialism even if their political features are still not clear.”*

(48) Stéphane Just, in *La Vérité* No.°426, 12.10.1956, quoted in: Jean-Paul Salles: *Les Trotskystes et la Guerre d’Algérie*, in: *Dissidences*, No. 3 (2012), <http://revuesshs.u-bourgogne.fr/dissidences/document.php?id=1881#ftn19>. See also Vincent Préseume: *Obituaries: Pierre Lambert (1920-2008)*, published by Revolutionary History, <http://revolutionaryhistory.co.uk/obituaries/obituaries/lambert94.htm>

(49) Quotes take from Bob Pitt: *The Rise and Fall of Gerry Healy* (1989), <http://www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/Pages/Healy/Contents.html>.

(50) David Francis; *Algeria. A Discussion Article*, in: *Fourth International*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (April 1966), *Journal of the International Committee of the Fourth International*, pp. 69-70

(51) See on this e.g. *Blows Against The Empire. Trotskyism in Ceylon. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party 1935-64*, London 1997, pp. 145-218. Edmund Samarakkody: *The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon*; in: *Spartacist* No. 22, Winter 1973-74. Leslie Goonewardene: *A Short History of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party* (1960), <http://www.whatnextjournal.co.uk/Pages/history/Lssp.html>

(52) Edmund Samarakkody: *The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon*; in: *Spartacist* No. 22, Winter 1973-74, pp. 21-22, <http://www.bolshevik.org/history/smk/SMK01.htm>

(53) *Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International: Barbaric Trotskyism: a History of Morenoism (Part 1)*; in: *Trotskyist International* No. 1 (1988), pp. 48-49

(54) Quotes in this chapter on Moreno are taken from the journal of our predecessor organization ‘*Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International*’: *Barbaric Trotskyism: a History of Morenoism (Part 1)*; in: *Trotskyist International* No. 1 (1988), pp. 48-49

(55) See on this e.g. the excellent study of our then comrade José Villa: *Bolivia: A Revolution Betrayed. The POR and the Fourth International in the Bolivian Revolution*; in: *Revolutionary History*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Summer 1992, pp. 58-87. *Workers Power (Britain) and Irish Workers Group: The Death Agony of the Fourth International*, London 1983, pp. 37-39

(56) As a summary of the failures of left-reformism and centrism in the new historic period since 2008 see e.g. the following two documents of the RCIT: ‘*Revolutionary Unity in the Struggle for the Fifth Workers International! Open Letter to All Revolutionary Organizations and Activists*’, 15.5.2013, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 11 (June 2013), <http://www.thecommunists.net/rcit/open-letter-to-revolutionaries>; RCIT: *The Arab Revolution is a central touchstone for socialists! Open Letter to All Revolutionary Organizations and Activists*, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 15 (October 2013), 4.10.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/open-letter-on-arab-revolution>

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

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

# New Books from the RCIT

## Michael Pröbsting: The Great Robbery of the South

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

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

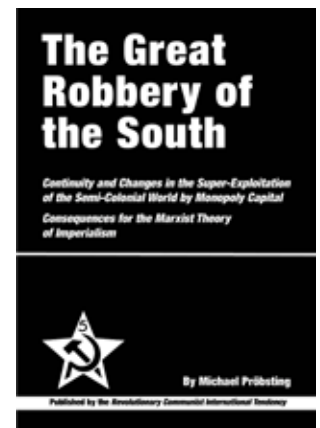
In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He shows that the relationship between the small minority of rich capitalist countries and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

*The Great Robbery of the South* demonstrates the important changes in the relationship between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries. Using comprehensive material (including 139 Tables and Figures), Michael Pröbsting elaborates that never before has

such a big share of the world capitalist value been produced in the South. Never before have the imperialist monopolies been so dependent on the super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world. Never before has migrant labor from the semi-colonial world played such a significant role for the capitalist value production in the imperialist countries. Never before has the huge majority of the world working class lived in the South – outside of the old imperialist metropolises.

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

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



Look for details of the books at [www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net](http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net) and [www.cuba-sold-out.net](http://www.cuba-sold-out.net)

## Michael Pröbsting: Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?

The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism

The RCIT is proud to announce the publication of a new book. It's called *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?*. The book's subtitle is: *The Road from Revolution to the Restoration of Capitalism*. The book is in English-language. It has 5 chapters plus an appendix, 108 pages and includes 19 Tables and Figures. The author of the book is Michael Pröbsting who is the *International Secretary* of the RCIT. In *Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* Michael Pröbsting analyses the character of the Cuban Revolution 1959-61, its bureaucratic degeneration, and the recent march of the Castro leadership towards capitalism.

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

*Cuba's Revolution Sold Out?* describes in detail how a number of relatively recent political, economic, and social measures were purposely taken by the Cuban government to open the road back

to capitalism. Pröbsting elaborates the key role of the world's new great imperialist power, China, in Cuba's state policy as exemplified in the June 2011 Sino-Cuban agreement for a first Five-Year Plan of cooperation between these two states.

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

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

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



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

# Revolutionary Communist International Tendency:

## What does the RCIT stand for?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

emancipation of the working class.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



