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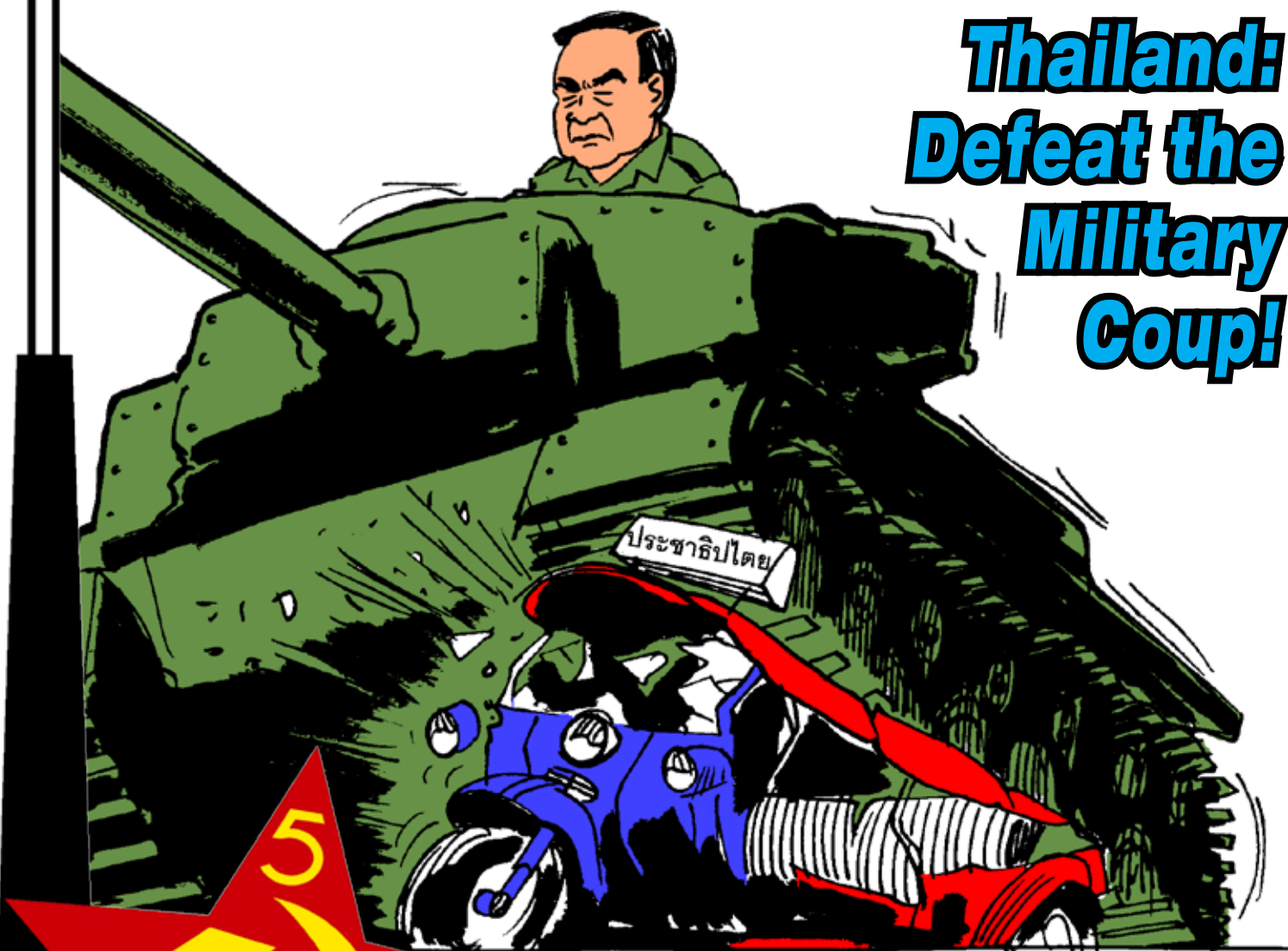
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**Thailand:
Defeat the
Military
Coup!**



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Thailand: Smash the Developing Military Coup!

No Trust in the pro-Thaksin Pheu Thai Party Leadership!

Mobilize the Working Class and Poor Peasants to Defeat the "Yellow Shirts", Army Command, and Monarchy!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 21.5.2014

1. On 20 May, Thailand's army command declared martial law "to restore peace and order for people from all sides" without consulting the government. It also ordered the censorship of the media in the interests of "national security." According to a statement made by General Prayut Chan-O-Cha and delivered on all television stations, the army "prohibits all media outlets from the reporting or distribution of any news or still photographs detrimental to national security." While the army command claims that this "is not a coup," there can be no doubt that a military coup is in fact underway. On 7 May, the country's Constitutional Court already dismissed the elected government of Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra.

2. The background of the military coup is the attempt of the old elite to overthrow the democratically-elected government of the bourgeois-populist pro-Thaksin Pheu Thai Party. Since November 2013, the so-called "Yellow Shirts" led by the Democrat Party, have organized reactionary demonstrations aimed at provoking a coup d'état against the government. The Democrat Party is the traditional representative of the reactionary political elite which is composed of the army command, the upper echelons of the state bureaucracy, the majority of Thai's big business, and – as their figurehead – King Bhumibol. It is a neoliberal, royalist, big business-oriented party which has its main base of support among the urban middle class of Bangkok. The Democrat Party has never actually won a parliamentary election, but rather has gained positions in the government via a succession of previous coup d'états and interference from the military.

3. Why is the traditional elite hostile towards the present government? During the last thirteen years, the strongman behind all democratically elected governments has been the deposed and exiled former Prime Minister, Thaksin Shinawatra. Thaksin is a multi-millionaire, and his bourgeois party is inextricably linked with the capitalist system. However, it also has the support of the working class and the poor peasants due to some social reforms it has introduced. As a result, the pro-Thaksin forces have won every parliamentary election in the recent past. These popular forces form the basis for the so-called "Red Shirts" movement.

4. However, the government of Yingluck Shinawatra and the leadership of the Pheu Thai Party have reacted to the "Yellow Shirts" provocations in an utterly cowardly way. From the start of the current crisis last November, they have actively discouraged their mass base among the poor from mobilizing against the reactionary demonstrations of the "Yellow Shirts." Even now, they refuse to call for mass protests against the coup d'état. This is not surprising. Given the fact that the main goal of the pro-Thaksin leadership is to find a compromise with the traditional elite, they are unwilling to mobilize their working

class and poor supporters. They fear that this might provoke bloody clashes and pre-revolutionary developments, as has happened several times in the past, and get out of hand.

5. From the start of the present crisis, the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT) has warned that the demonstrations organized by the Democrat Party are of a reactionary nature and are aimed precisely at provoking a coup d'état. Similarly, we have issued warnings about the pro-Thaksin leadership's demobilizing tactics. Naturally, socialists cannot give any political support to these forces. However, we have repeatedly maintained that the united front tactic must be employed by the "Red Shirts" movement to defend the democratically-elected government against the utterly reactionary coup d'état orchestrated by the constitutional court and army command.

6. In order to decisively defeat the immanent counter-revolution and to open the road towards real democracy and social justice, the working class and the poor peasants must be mobilized for mass demonstrations and a general strike. It is urgent that socialists work towards breaking the rank and file Red Shirts away from the cowardly pro-Thaksin leadership. The goal must be to build an independent workers' party. The RCIT believes that such a party must raise the banner of permanent revolution, i.e., the intermeshing of the democratic and socialist revolutions, which will lead to an armed uprising of the workers and poor peasants aimed at overthrowing capitalism and founding a workers' and peasants' republic.

7. The developing coup d'état also demonstrates the bankruptcy of centrist pseudo-Trotskyists like the "Committee for a Workers International" (CWI). As we had previously shown, the CWI supported the reactionary mobilizations of the "Yellow Shirts" and the Democrat Party which paved the way for the present coup d'état. This position is a serious political crime, similar to the support of various centrists (CWI, the Cliffite SWP/IST, the ISO [USA], and the Morenoite LIT-FI, and the UIT-FI) for the reactionary Euro-Maidan movement in the Ukraine. These forces are incapable of differentiating a revolution from a counter-revolution. Once again, we see how centrism, which adapts to non-proletarian forces while canting Marxist phrases, only confuses and misleads the workers' vanguard.

8. Authentic revolutionaries in Thailand should work to build a revolutionary workers' party in conjunction with their participation in the creation of a new World Party of Socialist Revolution which, in our opinion, will be the Fifth Workers' International. They should fight for a program centered around the following slogans:

* *Defeat the reactionary coup d'état! Prepare for mass demonstrations and a general strike!*

* *For the abolishment of the monarchy and the establishment of a*

republic! Down with the army command and the constitutional court!

* Down with the reactionary constitution! For a Revolutionary Constitutional Assembly controlled by armed, mass organizations of the workers and peasants!

* Expropriate big business and nationalize the banks! Place large industrial and service enterprises under workers' control! Nationalize the media under workers' control!

* Expropriate the big landowners and distribute the land to the poor peasants!

* Unconditional support for the right of national self-determination for the Muslim people of Patani in the south of Thailand

* For a workers' and poor peasants' government based on councils and popular militias of the armed masses!

Appendix:

We also refer our readers to past statements by the RCIT on the recent crisis in Thailand:

RCIT: Thailand: Defeat the looming reactionary Coup D'état! Mobilize the Working Class and Poor Peasants as an independent force against the "Yellow Shirts", Army Command and Monarchy! 4.12.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/thailand-looming-coup-d-%C3%A9tat/>

Michael Pröbsting: Thailand: CWI's Disgraceful Support for the Bosses' "Yellow Shirts", RCIT, 15.1.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/cwi-on-thailand/> ■

International Secretariat of the RCIT



Source: Wikipedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography_of_Thailand#mediaviewer/File:Thailand_2002_CIA_map.jpg

Thailand: How Should Socialists Fight Against the Coup?

A Critique of the Statement "Oppose the coup regime!" by several Asian Left Organizations

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 27.5.2014

A number of socialist organizations in Asia have issued a statement against the recent military coup d'état in Thailand. (1) Below, we reprint the statement in its entirety:

"We, the undersigned organisations, strongly condemn the latest coup d'état staged by the Thai military under the leadership of Prayuth Chan-ocha.

The current coup, which took place almost eight years after 2006 coup, will do nothing to enhance democracy and social justice in Thailand. Instead it will only tighten the grip of dictatorial rule and attempt to crush any democratic institution that exists.

The army has already started its crackdown on media and the internet, and has arrested people who oppose the coup.

The coup is set to protect the interests of the section of the Thai ruling class who want to reduce democratic space to consolidate its power. The military junta in Thailand has no interest in bringing about free and fair elections to solve the political crisis, and certainly will not protect freedom of expression, which it sees as a threat to its rule.

The Thai military has been notorious for its ruthless crackdowns on democratic movements, for instance, the bloody massacre of Red Shirt pro-democracy protests in 2010.

Hence, we demand:

** Immediate repeal of martial law in Thailand.*

** Restoration of the election process to let the people of Thailand choose their future government democratically.*

** Stop the crackdown and arrest of political dissidents in Thailand and free all the political prisoners.*

** The governments of ASEAN to get together to condemn and assert pressure to end the coup in Thailand.*

** All governments to withdraw their ambassadors from Thailand as a demonstration that they do not recognise the military junta."*

Such an international initiative to mobilize against the reactionary military coup is highly welcome. For socialists, the defense of bourgeois-democratic rights against an open dictatorship is a question of principle. This is because bourgeois democracy provides socialists with advantageous conditions to organize, fight for, and spread revolutionary ideas. In addition, it is incumbent that socialists fight *alongside* bourgeois-democratic mass movements actively resisting the arch-reactionary old elite, so as to break the rank-and-file away from their bourgeois leaders and bring them to a socialist perspective.

For these reasons, from the beginning of the political crisis in Thailand in November 2013, the RCIT continually maintained that it was necessary to mobilize against the reactionary protests of the *Yellow Shirts* and the looming military coup d'état. We have stated that, in the actual confrontation between the government and the military putschists, socialists have to defend the former against the latter. Socialists should work towards a united front with

the workers and poor peasants of the *Red Shirt* movement who have repeatedly shown their support for the ruling *Pheu Thai Party*. At the same time, socialists must not give any *political* support to this party. We have called for the formation of a revolutionary workers' party which will aim to break the workers and poor peasants away from the *Pheu Thai Party* and win them over to a revolutionary socialist perspective. For these reasons we reject ultra-left sectarians who refuse to defend the bourgeois government of Yingluck Shinawatra against the army command.

While we fully support the comrades' desire to mobilize for an international campaign against the coup, in the campaign to organize the necessary resistance, the RCIT considers the above statement as most inadequate and even misleading. Below we shall briefly outline our critique, with the hope of engaging in critical debate the comrades who have signed the statement.

How to Bring Down the Military Dictatorship?

Our first criticism is that the statement doesn't say a single word about *how the masses in Thailand* should bring down the dictatorship of General Prayuth Chan-ocha. The only slogans they raise to threaten the regime are calls to the capitalist governments of ASEAN and other countries "*to condemn and assert pressure to end the coup in Thailand*" and "*to withdraw their ambassadors from Thailand*". How is it that socialist organizations fail to emphasize that the resistance of *the working class and the oppressed masses* is the one and only tool to fight the military dictatorship?!

As we have maintained in our statement released immediately after the coup, it is urgent that the trade unions and *Red Shirt* movement mobilize for *mass demonstrations and a general strike*. No appeals to capitalist governments in other countries can bring down the military dictatorship, but only *revolutionary activity of the masses in Thailand and the international solidarity of the international workers' movement*. Naturally, given the new conditions under the military dictatorship, socialists in Thailand must be extremely careful in organizing such protests. However, such mass protests *must* be prepared.

Combined with these efforts, it is vital to *clandestinely conduct organizational work among the soldiers* of Thailand's army in order to undermine the generals' authority and, in the long run, to win the soldiers over to not shooting at demonstrators but, instead, to turn around and point their weapons at their commanders.

Socialists should also state that, ultimately, the dictatorship has to be brought down by a *popular armed insurrection*. Such an uprising would create the preconditions for smashing the reactionary state apparatus, abolishing the monarchy, and opening the road towards a revolutionary transformation of Thai society.

What is the Alternative to the Dictatorship: Parliamentary Elections or a Popular Armed Insurrection?

In this light, the RCIT considers the following slogan in the statement as both dangerous and misleading: “*Restoration of the election process to let the people of Thailand choose their future government democratically.*” We are fully aware that many Red Shirt activists hope for another election. Naturally, if such elections do take place, socialists will have to defend them against any reactionary interference by the army or the *Yellow Shirt* thugs.

However, at the same time, socialists should patiently explain that none of the parliamentary elections conducted in Thailand during the past thirteen years have helped overcome poverty, weaken the powerful role of the army command, or even abolish the reactionary monarchy.

While socialists *defend* bourgeois democracy against a military coup d'état, it is not permissible for them to propagate bourgeois democracy as the *positive alternative*. Quite the opposite, it is vital that socialists openly state that the masses should *not* trust such a corrupt and undemocratic institution like a parliament. Socialists should not be complicit in yet another betrayal of the masses by calling for new elections which will only return to power the pro-Thaksin forces which, in turn, will leave the army command and the monarchy in power.

We defend bourgeois democracy only because it gives tactical advantages to working class organizations and because the popular masses still have illusions in it. However, as socialists, we do not actively call for bourgeois democracy which inevitably only betrays the masses hopes to eradicate poverty and repression.

The positive alternative of socialists to the present situation in Thailand should be a call to form popular action committees as the basis for a general strike and an armed mass insurrection. Such committees could be, when the mass struggle against the new dictatorship fully unfolds, transformed into action councils (like the soviets in Russia in 1917) and hence open the road to real democracy, i.e., a *workers' and peasants' republic based on councils and popular militias of the armed masses*.

Therefore, socialists must not direct the struggle towards another parliamentary election. It is certainly true that the popular masses still have great illusions regarding bourgeois democracy. To this situation, socialists should relate by calling for a *Revolutionary Constitutional Assembly*. Such a constitutional assembly would not be controlled by the old state apparatus, which has repeatedly proved in the past its hostility to any serious social and democratic reforms. Such an assembly should, rather, be controlled by armed, mass organizations of the workers and peasants. In such an assembly, socialists should fight for the program of a workers' and peasants' republic.

Lack of Criticism of the Bourgeois Government of Yingluck Shinawatra and the Pheu Thai Party

Related to these weaknesses is the statement's lack of any criticism for the government of Yingluck Shinawatra and the Pheu Thai Party. This is particularly unfortunate, as it was precisely these bourgeois forces which, for six months, refused to mobilize the powerful *Red Shirt* movement in order to drive the *Yellow Shirts* from the streets and pre-

vent the military coup. It is obvious that the leadership of the pro-Thaksin forces itself is capitalist in nature and, as such, is mainly concerned about reaching a compromise with the monarchy and the old elite.

This is why it is vital that socialists work towards building an *independent workers' party*. Such a party is essential, because it will provide new leadership for the workers and poor peasants who currently follow the leaders of the *Red Shirts*. The RCIT believes that such a party must fight for the program of permanent revolution, i.e., the intermeshing of the democratic and socialist revolutions, which will lead to an armed uprising of the workers and poor peasants aimed at overthrowing capitalism and founding a workers' and peasants' republic.

How to Put International Pressure on the Military Dictatorship?

Of course, the RCIT fully agrees with the comrades' desire to call for an international campaign against the dictatorship. But instead of calling for action by capitalist governments, it should call upon the trade unions and popular organizations in Asia and around the world to take action against the dictatorship in Thailand.

Socialists should call upon the trade unions to refuse to handle commerce linked to the Thai military and the country's new dictatorial regime. They could call for a boycott of Thailand's economically significant tourist industry – both by boycotting airline companies with links to the country as well as by calling upon individuals and groups not to vacation in Thailand. Socialists should call for mass protests in front of Thailand's embassies. In addition, they should call for an international solidarity campaign to raise financial and material support for progressive militant forces of the trade unions and *Red Shirt* movement.

Conclusion

The RCIT looks forward to discussing, with comrades in Thailand and other Asian countries, the above remarks and, in general, the critical issue of revolutionary strategy against the military dictatorship. We are an international organization with sections in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Brazil, Occupied Palestine/Israel, the USA, and Austria. We recognize as urgent the uniting of authentic revolutionaries to build a revolutionary workers' party in conjunction with the creation of a new World Party of Socialist Revolution which, in our opinion, will be the Fifth Workers' International.

Footnotes

(1) 'Oppose the coup regime!', Green Left Weekly, May 24, 2014 <https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/56532>; Amongst the signatories are Parti Sosialis Malaysia, Turn Left (Thailand), Partido Lakas ng Masa (Philippines), Socialist Alliance (Australia), Social Action for Change (Cambodia), Awami Workers Party (Pakistan), Thai Alliance for Human Rights (Australia), Unite Union (New Zealand/Aotearoa), Socialist Aotearoa, Communist Party of Bangladesh-ML, National Democratic Action Society (Bahrain), Transform Asia Gender and Labor Institute (Philippines), Solidarity (Australia) ■

Thailand: Ultra-Leftism and the Coup

Reply to a Neo-Bordigist Polemic of the “Liaison Committee of Communists”

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 24.5.2014

The “Liaison Committee of Communists” (LCC) has published a polemic against the RCIT’s statement on the recent military coup d’état in Thailand. (1) Their criticism is an illustrative example of ultra-left confusion which completely ignores the importance of democratic struggles. In fact, the LCC’s critique is a remake of the sterile accusations of the Italian ultra-left communist, Amadeo Bordiga, against the Bolshevik method as developed and defended by Lenin and Trotsky. In our statement – as well as in other documents on Thailand – we have elaborated the necessity for socialists in Thailand to mobilize against the military coup d’état and to call for joint actions with the *Red Shirt* movement. We have stated that, in the actual confrontation between the government and the military putschists, socialists have to defend the former against the latter. While socialists should work towards a united front with the workers and poor peasants who have repeatedly shown their support for the ruling *Pheu Thai Party*, they should not give any political support to this party. We have called for the formation of a revolutionary workers party which will aim to break the workers and poor peasants away from the *Pheu Thai Party* and win them for a revolutionary socialist perspective.

The LCC considers the RCIT’s approach as “Menshevism, Kautskyism and even Stalinism”. According to this neo-Bordigist caricature of communism, it is impermissible to defend a bourgeois-democratic government which has clear support among the popular masses against a military coup d’état:

“The May 20th coup by the commanders of the Thai army is indeed a military coup by any classical criteria. Nevertheless, we are not champions of the kind of “democratic elections” that bring pro-Thaksin Pheu Thai Party politicians to power, any more than elections that lead to Democratic Party governments. It is not permissible for socialists to call upon the workers to shed their own blood for the defense or the restoration of any of these “democratically elected” governments! You cannot pass off any such call as a Leninist United Front tactic. This has nothing to do with Lenin and everything to do with Menshevism, Kautskyism and even Stalinism. We reject the agency of alien class forces and institutions as the necessary precondition for entry of the masses onto the revolutionary road.”

The Unfortunate Comparison with Egypt

The LCC comrades correctly draw a parallel with our disagreements over policy in Egypt. In the latter case, they have similarly attacked the RCIT in the past for defending the *Muslim Brotherhood* against the bloody military dictatorship. However, in the case of Egypt their position was even more inane, since they actually denied the counter-revolutionary nature of the military coup d’état (in fact, astonishingly, they deny it’s having been a coup d’état at all!) and called it “an advance in the Arab revolution”. (2) In

present day Thailand, they too again somehow envision a “revolutionary advance” when, in fact, the counter-revolution is advancing: “*In the concrete circumstance of the masses own discontent with the Thaksin dynasty to call for the restoration of the status-quo ante is to pronounce a retreat in a revolutionary advance.*”

These comrades clearly imagine “acting revolutionarily” as denying defeats and passing off a retreat as an advance. Unfortunately, delirium is the diametric opposite of an authentic recognition of reality. No one who has followed the events in Egypt can deny that the military dictatorship is consolidating its control by suppressing all forms of resistance. Since their coup d’état on 3 July 2013, the regime of General Sisi has slaughtered thousands, arrested tens of thousands, its judges have ruled in favor of imposing the two greatest mass death sentences, anywhere, in living memory, and more and more political organizations are becoming suppressed and outlawed. Only pro-imperialist reactionaries and ignorant sectarian boneheads can deny that it is the counter-revolution which is advancing in Egypt and not the revolution.

Similarly in Thailand: anyone who has followed the events there in the past six months has to recognize that a “revolutionary advance” could only have been perceived as having taken place in the confused fantasy world of a neo-Bordigist. No, unfortunately, it was the reactionary Yellow Shirt movement which was continually mobilizing and advancing during the last half year, and now the counter-revolution has pulled off– it would seem – a successful military coup.

The LCC claims that the RCIT is urging the workers towards bourgeois parliamentarism when we call for the defense of a democratically-elected government against a military coup:

“It is non-dialectical and it is schematic in the extreme to keep repeating this idea that the workers movement must pass through a stage of bourgeois parliamentarism when concrete conditions show that the bourgeoisie has no especial confidence in or patience for bourgeois parliamentarism. Not only will they not fight for it themselves, but in the general world crisis of capitalism they find “democracy” unnecessarily expensive and dispense with it at their earliest opportunity. Trotsky in 1938 thought bourgeois democracy might prove too expensive even for the bourgeoisie of the U.S.A.”

Here the orthography is in accordance with the political substance. It might well be the case that the bourgeoisie has lost confidence in “bourgeois parliamentarism (sic!)”. But, for a Marxist, it should be of primary interest to determine whether *the workers and peasants* have lost confidence in bourgeois democracy, and whether they are striving towards a higher form of democracy, i.e., proletarian soviet democracy.

Unfortunately, in Egypt, reality has shown that the masses are not – until now – striving towards higher forms of democracy. The reactionary sectors of the petty bourgeoisie

support the dictatorship, while important sectors of the popular masses continue to support the strongest mass force – the bourgeois Islamist *Muslim Brotherhood*. Other sectors of the masses are currently passive and don't follow any political force.

Similarly, until now we have seen in Thailand no indications that the popular masses have overcome their illusions in bourgeois democracy. The reactionary sectors of the middle class follow the *Democrat Party*, the *Yellow Shirts* and the army command. The progressive sectors of the popular masses have repeatedly demonstrated their support for the pro-Thaksin forces and the *Red Shirts* through mass mobilizations, militant street battles, as well as electoral support. Would the LCC comrades have the courtesy to prove their thesis – preferably by providing a concrete analysis of the situation in Thailand or Egypt, and *not* by quoting Trotsky's *Transitional Program*?! Such a sober analysis of the class struggle might really be disappointing for couch potato "revolutionaries." But such an analysis is precisely the precondition for any serious revolutionary work.

Would Lenin have "called upon the workers to shed their own blood for the defense of bourgeois democracy"?

What, exactly, is at the heart of the LCC's sterile ultra-leftism towards the mass movements struggling against the suppression of democratic rights? It is primarily *not* their ignorance of the class struggle situation in the respective countries, but rather a methodologically rejection of Lenin's and Trotsky's program on the democratic question, as well as their approach to the united front tactic in such cases where mass movements follow a non-revolutionary, bourgeois leadership.

The LCC comrades shout: "It is not permissible for socialists to call upon the workers to shed their own blood for the defense or the restoration of any of these "democratically elected" governments!" We reply that it is not permissible to claim such nonsense while pretending, at the same time, to be a Marxist. In fact, the Marxist classics have repeatedly called workers "to shed their own blood" in defense of bourgeois democracy against the threat of a dictatorship and fascism.

We have already demonstrated this to the LCC comrades in detail in previous documents. (3) Unsurprisingly, they have never replied to our arguments and facts we have presented. Let us briefly summarize a few examples.

As is well known, the Bolsheviks were prepared to make practical agreements with petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois forces against Czarism. During the Russian Revolution in 1917, they called for united front actions for the defense of the bourgeois-republican Kerensky government when General Kornilov attempted a reactionary coup d'état against it in August 1917.

Lenin generalized the invaluable experience of the Bolsheviks in his famous book *Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder* in 1920. He emphasized the importance for every revolutionary party to recognize the possible contradictions between the classes and even those within different factions of the same class. He insisted that revolutionaries must take advantage of such divisions and conflicts and must be prepared to form alliances for the purpose of practical actions without giving any political support

to such allies and under the condition that such practical agreements help to advance the working class struggle.

"After all, the German Lefts cannot but know that the entire history of Bolshevism, both before and after the October Revolution, is full of instances of changes of tack, conciliatory tactics and compromises with other parties, including bourgeois parties! (...)

The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and by the most thorough, careful, attentive, skilful and obligatory use of any, even the smallest, rift between the enemies, any conflict of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of any, even the smallest, opportunity of winning a mass ally, even though this ally is temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this reveal a failure to understand even the smallest grain of Marxism, of modern scientific socialism in general. (...)

Prior to the downfall of tsarism, the Russian revolutionary Social-Democrats made repeated use of the services of the bourgeois liberals, i.e., they concluded numerous practical compromises with the latter. In 1901-02, even prior to the appearance of Bolshevism, the old editorial board of Iskra (...) concluded (not for long, it is true) a formal political alliance with Struve, the political leader of bourgeois liberalism, while at the same time being able to wage an unremitting and most merciless ideological and political struggle against bourgeois liberalism and against the slightest manifestations of its influence in the working-class movement. The Bolsheviks have always adhered to this policy. Since 1905 they have systematically advocated an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, against the liberal bourgeoisie and tsarism, never, however, refusing to support the bourgeoisie against tsarism (for instance, during second rounds of elections, or during second ballots) and never ceasing their relentless ideological and political struggle against the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the bourgeois-revolutionary peasant party, exposing them as petty-bourgeois democrats who have falsely described themselves as socialists. During the Duma elections of 1907, the Bolsheviks entered briefly into a formal political bloc with the Socialist-Revolutionaries." (4)

Based on such a method, the leadership of the revolutionary Communist International called the Bulgarian communists to defend the bourgeois-populist Stamboliyski government, which had mass support among the peasants, against a military coup d'état in June 1923.

In short, the Bolsheviks have repeatedly called workers "to shed their own blood" in defense of bourgeois democracy against the counter-revolution.

Is Raising Democratic Slogans "Menshevik Stageism"?

However, this is not the only example in which the LCC demonstrates its unfamiliarity with the writings of Lenin and Trotsky. Another criticism raised by them against the RCIT is our demand for a republic and the abolition of the monarchy in Thailand. The LCC claims that this amounts to the Menshevik concept of inventing a special state before the socialist revolution.

"Still we wonder why the RCIT raises a special slogan for the establishment of a republic? What would the class character of such a republic be? And what does the establishment of a republic have to do with the permanent revolution the world has seen many dictatorships that have been republics. The whole

history of the west is littered with them. Connelly's program for a workers republic in Ireland and the Socialist Republics of the USSR were qualitatively different than any republic established by capitalists. The five republics of French history have solved none of the problems of humankind's future existence. So this is not an idle question for us. We wonder while reading the RCIT's program how many stages the workers must endure before they can establish their own state."

Obviously the RCIT openly propagates a "workers' and peasants' republic," as the LCC comrades would know if they would have only actually read the resolution which they condemn so strongly. (5) However, having raised this strategic goal, Marxists must not renounce employing a number of democratic slogans in order to advance the struggle for the proletarian revolution. This is urgent, first because, given the coup d'état, the issue of democratic rights, is in the forefront of the current situation; and, second, because the popular masses still have many illusions in bourgeois democracy.

In the history of the Bolsheviks and the Trotskyists the slogan of a republic in the struggle against the monarchy has repeatedly played a prominent role. For example, in answering similar ultra-left criticism by the Bordigists, Trotsky himself emphasized the role of democratic slogans, including the slogan of a republic, in the program of the Bolsheviks before 1917.

"The whole work of the Bolsheviks between the two revolutions went under the slogans of 1. A democratic republic; 2. the land to the peasants (democratic-agrarian reform); 3. eight-hour day (demand for workers democracy). The Bordigists will certainly explain that all this was a complete error, that it belongs to the dark period in which the truth about the proletarian dictatorship had not yet been discovered." (6)

Trotsky also raised the slogan of a republic at the beginning of the Spanish Revolution in 1931 when the masses rose up against the reactionary monarchy.

"The slogan of the republic is, it is understood, also the slogan of the proletariat. But for this, it is not merely a matter of replacing the king with a president, but of thoroughly purging the whole of society of feudal refuse. (...) To oppose the course directed towards the dictatorship of the proletariat to the problems and slogans of revolutionary democracy (republic, agrarian overturn, the separation of church and state, the confiscation of church properties, national self-determination, revolutionary constituent assembly), would be the most sorry and lifeless doctrinarism." (7)

So, we see that Trotsky understood that the slogan of the "republic," meant as the democratic abolition of a monarchy, was part and parcel of the revolutionary program. But perhaps Trotsky himself adhered to the Menshevik program of stageism, and did not have the advantage of the fruits of the LCC's wisdom.

Revolutionary Use of Bourgeois Democracy

The LCC's rejection of the Bolshevik understanding of the democratic program as part of the revolutionary strategy is a prime example of the sterility of ultra-leftism. They maintain that defending a bourgeois government, elected in parliamentary elections, against a military coup d'état raises "bourgeois democratic illusions" and retards the progress of the worker's consciousness towards socialism. Nothing could be further from the truth!

It is the first duty of revolutionaries to derive their analysis and their tactics *not* from their own desires but from a *concrete analysis* of the political and organizational condition of the working class and oppressed masses. Based on facts – and *not* pseudo-Marxist imaginings – one has to concretely determine whether the masses have overcome their bourgeois-democratic illusions. If – as we have seen in Thailand during the past thirteen years – the masses continue to defend their bourgeois democratic rights (to elect their government, to assemble freely, etc.) with huge sacrifices against the repeated intervention by the old elite; and if these masses are still bound to the bourgeois-populist pro-Thaksin forces because of a lack of a revolutionary workers' party; then it is utter nonsense to fantasize that these same masses have lost their illusions about bourgeois parliamentary democracy. In these circumstances, it is pure lunacy to maintain that defending the government of Yingluck Shinawatra against the coup could "pronounce a retreat in a revolutionary advance" as the LCC accuses us.

Similarly in Egypt – as well as in many other Arab countries – we saw the masses rise up against the dictatorship in 2011. Yet, until now, they have not built soviet organs – as they existed in the Russian Revolutions in 1905 and 1917 – and begun fighting for their seizing of power. In Egypt, the masses on the streets are fighting for bourgeois democracy and the return of the Mursi government. Naturally, communists do not share such illusions, but it would be a political crime not to base one's tactics on these facts.

Lenin once warned young communists with politically infantile disorders about the dangers of ultra-leftism: "It is obvious that the 'Lefts' in Germany have mistaken their desire, their politico-ideological attitude, for objective reality. That is a most dangerous mistake for revolutionaries to make. Parliamentarianism is of course 'politically obsolete' to the Communists in Germany; but -- and that is the whole point -- we must not regard what is obsolete to us as something obsolete to a class, to the masses." (8)

Unfortunately, the leaders of the LCC have neither the privilege of youth nor are they politically inexperienced. Here, we seem to be dealing, rather, with politically senile stubbornness.

Under the circumstances described above in both Thailand and Egypt, revolutionary democratic demands like fighting for democratic rights and defending a bourgeois democratically-elected government against a coup d'état are imperatives for communists. Such tactics don't spread democratic illusions, because the masses already have such illusions *independent* of the communists. The task of communists is to help the masses to overcome these illusions by fighting with them for such democratic demands, by showing them, that their present leaders (like the *Pheu Thai* Party or the *Muslim Brotherhood*) are incapable of fighting consistently for such democratic demands, and by explaining to them that coherent democracy is *only* possible via a socialist revolution.

In addition, it should be clear to revolutionary communists that the working class and the oppressed masses have to defend bourgeois democracy against a military coup d'état, because such a defense provides the masses with advantageous conditions to organize, to fight and to spread revolutionary ideas.

The political illness of neo-Bordigist ultra-leftism makes revolutionaries incapable of grasping the contradictory

development of the class struggle and mass consciousness. It condemns revolutionaries to stand passively at the sidelines of mass struggles and movements, as they concretely take place today – with all the backwardness in consciousness and leadership characteristic of the latter. It is only to be hoped that the LCC comrades will one day learn to break with their own neo-Bordigist method, so that they can overcome their passive propagandist method of purely commenting on the class struggle, and instead play an active, intervening, i.e., revolutionary, role in the class struggle. We call on comrades in the LCC who want to break with such neo-Bordigist senile stubbornness to join the RCIT, with the aim of building a strong international revolutionary organization.

Footnotes

(1) LCC: Thailand: Defeat the Coup d'état! A Response to the RCIT, May 22, 2014, <http://redrave.blogspot.com/2014/05/thailand-defeat-coup-detat-response-to.html> (Emphasis by the LCC)

The original RCIT's statement is: Thailand: Smash the Developing Military Coup! No Trust in the pro-Thaksin Pheu Thai Party Leadership! Mobilize the Working Class and Poor Peasants to Defeat the "Yellow Shirts", Army Command, and Monarchy! 21.5.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/thailand-coup/>

We also refer our readers to past statements by the RCIT on the recent crisis in Thailand:

Thailand: Defeat the looming reactionary Coup D'état! Mobilize the Working Class and Poor Peasants as an independent force against the "Yellow Shirts", Army Command and Monarchy! 4.12.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/thailand-looming-coup-d-%C3%A9tat/>

Michael Pröbsting: Thailand: CWI's Disgraceful Support for the Bosses' "Yellow Shirts", RCIT, 15.1.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/cwi-on-thailand/>

(2) We have dealt with the confusion of the LCC comrades in our documents:

Michael Pröbsting: The Military's Coup d'État in Egypt: Assessment and Tactics. A reply to the criticism of the WIVP and the LCC on the meaning of the Military's Coup d'État and the slogan of the Revolutionary Constituent Assembly, 17.7.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-meaning-of-coup-d-etat/>

Michael Pröbsting: The Coup d'État in Egypt and the Bankruptcy of the Left's "Army Socialism". A Balance Sheet of the coup and another Reply to our Critics (LCC, WIVP, SF/LCFI), 8.8.2013, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 13, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-and-left-army-socialism/>

For a closer analysis of the events in Egypt in the past 11 months, we refer our readers to the RCIT's latest statement on Egypt and the list of documents in the appendix there: General Sisi – The Butcher of the Egyptian People – Sentences another 683 People to Death. Statement of the RCIT, 1.5.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-mass-death-sentences/>

As the readers of our numerous documents on Egypt will recognize themselves, the LCC claims such as the following are a pure pipe dream: "The RCIT initially called for a Untied (sic!) Front with the Muslim Brotherhood in defense of the Mursi government. Shortening their jib after this gaffe, they still continued to call for the restoration of the Mursi government claiming it was democratically elected and called for a united front to accomplish this restoration, and failing that called for a constituent assembly to assemble democratic forces to fight the 'coup.'" As a matter of fact, we never called for restoration of the Mursi government. Naturally, the LCC comrades fail

to provide any evidence for their claims and are forced to rely to nonsensical inventions.

(3) See on this in particular Michael Pröbsting: The Coup d'État in Egypt and the Bankruptcy of the Left's "Army Socialism", Chapter III. "The Marxist classics on reactionary coups d'états".

(4) V. I. Lenin: Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder (1920), in: LCW Vol. 31, Progress Publishers 1966, pp. 70-72

(5) See Thesis 6 in the RCIT's statement: Thailand: Smash the Developing Military Coup!

(6) Leon Trotsky: Critical Remarks about Promoteo's Resolution on Democratic Demands (1931), in: Trotsky Writings 1930-31, Pathfinder 1973, p. 136

(7) Leo Trotzki: Die Revolution in Spanien (1931), in: Leo Trotzki: Revolution und Bürgerkrieg in Spanien 1931-39, Band 1, ISP-Verlag 1986, p. 66 and 68; in English: Leon Trotsky: The Revolution In Spain (1931), <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1931/spain/spain04.htm> (our emphasis)

(8) V. I. Lenin: Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder (1920), in: LCW Vol. 31, Progress Publishers 1966, p. 58 ■



Cartoon by Carlos Latuff

The Conflict over the Paracel Islands in East Asia: No to China's Imperialist Threats against Vietnam!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 16.5.2014

1. The world is witnessing the escalation of the long-standing conflict between China and Vietnam over control of the *Paracel Islands* in the *South China Sea* (as the Chinese call it, while Vietnam calls it the *East Sea*). This escalation started recently after China, on 1 May, towed a deep-sea oil rig close to the Paracel Islands. China also sent about eighty ships to ward off any Vietnamese resistance. Indeed, there have been already several clashes between vessels from both sides. As a result, violent mass protests started in Vietnam on 13 May, when 20,000 workers took to the streets in the Binh Duong province. About a hundred factories owned by Chinese and Taiwanese capitalists were attacked, and some of them have even been set ablaze. Until now, at least five Vietnamese and sixteen Chinese have been killed, and police have detained 440 people.

2. It is clear that China, as an emerging imperialist power, is determined to enforce its control over the Paracel Islands by any means necessary. In fact, China is threatening Vietnam with war. The *Global Times*, the English-language newspaper put out by the *People's Daily* – the leading organ of the ruling party in China – blustered in its editorial of 6 May: “We believe Hanoi has no guts to attack China’s drilling platform directly. (...) If Vietnam takes further actions in Xisha, the level of China’s countermeasures must be elevated. (...) China should evaluate whether Vietnam would stick its head out and become a more aggressive provocateur than the Philippines. If so, China should alter its Vietnam policy and give Hanoi a lesson it deserves to get.” This is not the first time that China has used such threats in order to reinforce its claim on the Paracel islands: In June 2011, it similarly threatened Vietnam: “China has to send a clear message that it will take whatever measures necessary to protect its interests in the South China Sea. If Vietnam continues to provoke China in this region, China will first deal with it with maritime police forces, and if necessary, strike back with naval forces.”

3. China invaded and conquered the western half of the Paracel Islands in 1974 which were then under Vietnamese control (the eastern half was already a Chinese possession). Since then, Vietnam has protested and laid claim to the islands. The islands themselves are important for both geostrategic reasons (relatively, they are centrally located in the northern part of the *South China Sea*) as well as because of their productive fishing grounds and their potential oil and gas reserves.

4. The following factors form the background for the recent escalation.

i) China has become a great imperialist power. It has become the world’s leading industrial manufacturer, it is the country with the second largest number of the world’s leading corporations, and it also one of the world’s leading foreign investors. In addition, China has the world’s second largest military budget, surpassed only by that of the US, it has the fifth largest nuclear arsenal, and it is ranked

fifth among the competitors in the global armaments market. On the other hand, Vietnam is a small, semi-colonial country, dependent on and dominated by foreign powers. Indeed, Chinese capital is one of the main sources of foreign investments in Vietnam, where it exploits the latter’s cheap labor force.

ii) China’s ruling class is determined to enforce its dominance throughout the entire South China Sea. Its so-called “*nine-dashed line*” openly claims the entire sea for itself, leaving only the coastal areas for all other neighboring countries like Vietnam, Malaysia, and the Philippines. These efforts express China’s ambition to dominate the southern and eastern neighboring regions, as well as to strengthen its position as a global power. The South China Sea is a main international shipping route for world trade, as well as the location of huge oil and gas reserves.

iii) Both China and Vietnam were degenerated workers states ruled by Stalinist bureaucracies. In both countries, these regimes facilitated the process of capitalist restoration during the 1990s while retaining the dictatorship of a Stalinist-capitalist ruling class. Both regimes are faced with increasing inequality and social polarization and hence try to utilize nationalism to deflect unrest among the working people towards a foreign enemy.

iv) To this one must add the history of hostile relations between China and Vietnam. While the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy more or less aided the Vietnamese Stalinists in their heroic wars of liberation against the French and later the US imperialists, they themselves shamelessly invaded Vietnam in 1979.

5. The RCIT has closely analyzed China’s rise as a great imperialist power. We have shown that China has become one of the world’s great powers (along with the US, the EU, Japan, and Russia). This is why US imperialism is increasingly alarmed by this new rival and plans to position 60% of its navy in the region of Asia by 2020 (Obama’s “*Pivot to Asia*”). This increasing rivalry is also the background for the conflict between China and Japan over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands.

6. The RCIT considers the US, Japan, and China all to be imperialist powers. In a military conflict between them, we will refuse to support one of the two warring sides. Such a war would simply be one between the respective ruling classes of these countries, each aiming to increase its hegemony and super-exploitation of the semi-colonial countries. Therefore, in such a conflict the correct tactic will be that of revolutionary defeatism, where workers in both camps raise the slogan “*The main enemy is at home*” and strive to turn the imperialist war into a civil war against their own ruling class.

7. However, in any conflict between an imperialist power and a semi-colonial country in the South China Sea, Marxists will have to concretely analyze the specific situation. This means that we will have to work out whether the

imperialist drive to subjugate a given (semi-) colonial nation is the dominant aspect in the war, or rather determine that the ostensible struggle for national defense must more correctly be seen as a proxy war for an imperialist power. From this will follow whether Bolshevik-Communists should take a revolutionary defeatist or a revolutionary defensist position concerning the struggle of the (semi-) colonial nation.

8. In the case of Vietnam, it is clear that this country is *not* acting as a lackey for the US or any other imperialist power. The RCIT therefore considers the currently brewing conflict as a clash between Vietnam, a semi-colonial country, and China, an imperialist power which is attempting to increase its hegemony and its profits at the cost of the former. Under these circumstances, the main enemy is Chinese imperialism and, therefore, the international workers' movement should defend Vietnam in this conflict.

9. Naturally, socialists in Vietnam should oppose any anti-Chinese nationalism which is whipped up by the regime. Socialists should also explain that the enemy is not the Chinese workers but the Chinese ruling class. At the same time, they should call for a class struggle of the Vietnamese workers against their domestic Stalinist-capitalist ruling class. Both Vietnamese and Chinese workers should confront the capitalists and their brutal dictatorships as their true enemies, and thus should fight jointly against them. Only a working class revolution against these regimes can end the tyranny of capitalist exploitation and oppression. The transformation of East Asia into a socialist federation of workers' and peasant republics would open

the road for joint exploitation of the natural resources in the South China Sea.

International Secretariat of the RCIT

We refer readers also to the RCIT's analysis of imperialism in general and China as an imperialist power in particular:

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, 2013, <http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/>;

Michael Pröbsting: China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power, in: Revolutionary Communism No. 4, <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4>

Michael Pröbsting: More on Russia and China as Great Imperialist Powers. A Reply to Chris Slee (Socialist Alliance, Australia) and Walter Daum (LRP, USA), 11 April 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/reply-to-slee-on-russia-china/>

Michael Pröbsting: No to chauvinist war-mongering by Japanese and Chinese imperialism! Chinese and Japanese workers: Your main enemy is at home! Stop the conflict on the Senkaku/Diaoyu-islands in the East China Sea! No to chauvinist war-mongering by Japanese and Chinese imperialism! 23.9.2012, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/asia/no-war-between-china-and-japan/> ■



After the Fascist Pogrom in Odessa: Advance the Struggle against the Counterrevolution in the Ukraine!

Commemoration for the Fallen Fighters in the Struggle against the Counterrevolution! All Out for the International Day of Antifascist Solidarity on 8 May!

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 6.5.2014

1. The recent massacre of forty antifascists in Odessa, killed in a trade union headquarters set ablaze by a fascist mob, is just another alarming development in the growing counterrevolutionary danger in the Ukraine. This fascist pogrom further demonstrates the desperate measures to which the right-wing regime in Kiev will resort to smash the spreading uprising of workers and youth in the eastern and southern Ukraine.

2. The RCIT salutes the antifascists who died in Odessa as well as those who perished in the eastern Ukraine in the just struggle against the counterrevolutionary regime in Kiev. We send our sincerest condolences to the families and friends of the victims. The RCIT repeats that it is the duty of socialists in the Ukraine and internationally to support the uprising in the Ukraine against the right-wing regime, while at the same time giving no support to Russian imperialism.

3. The antifascist pogrom in Odessa demonstrates once again the reactionary character of the Maidan movement. Naturally, we do not maintain that all those who participated in the protests at Maidan Square were fascists. But, from its beginning, this movement rallied around reactionary goals (joining the imperialist EU) and was controlled by right-wing parties, including the fascist *Svoboda* and *Pravy Sektor* parties. As a result, when these forces successfully overthrew the Yanukovich government, the new right-wing regime immediately subordinated itself entirely to US and EU imperialism. In addition, the fascist forces, *Svoboda* and *Pravy Sektor*, hold eight out of the twenty-seven governmental portfolios, and account for four out of twenty-four regional governorships.

4. All this illustrates just how scandalous was the support given by numerous centrist forces to the Maidan movement – support which paved the way for the strengthening of the fascist pogromists and which, therefore, makes the following centrist organizations complicit in a political crime: the Mandelbrite Fourth International, Peter Taffee's CWI, the Cliffite SWP/IST, the ISO [USA], and the Morenoite LIT-FI. The UIT-FI even outdid the irresponsibility of the others by hailing the Maidan movement and its victory against the Yanukovich government as a “democratic movement” or even as a “democratic revolution.” The future revolutionary Workers' International, which in our opinion will be the Fifth International, has to be built without the participation of and against such centrists who support the counterrevolution.

5. These political crimes of centrism once gain emphasize how illusionary was, is, and will continue to be, the building of a joint pluralistic Left Unity Party or even a “reconstructed Fourth International” which purports to unite those who support the counterrevolution with those who are waging a life and death struggle against such re-

action. The new International must be built by authentic revolutionary forces which will fuse with fresh forces of the advanced and militant sectors of the working class and youth.

6. The socialist Ukrainian organization Borotba, who lost comrades in the Odessa pogrom, has called for an international day of antifascist solidarity on 8 May. The RCIT fully supports this initiative and calls all socialist and democratic forces to join in antifascist actions on this day.

** Victory to the popular uprising in the eastern Ukraine! For full autonomy rights for the Russian-speaking regions!*

** Build workers' and popular councils and militias to defeat the reactionary regime and its armed forces!*

** Down with the reactionary, pro-Western imperialist regime in Kiev which includes fascist forces!*

** Down with US/EU imperialist expansion towards the East! No to Russian imperialism!*

** Expropriate all oligarchs! For the nationalization of industry and the banks under workers' control!*

** Neither Brussels nor Moscow! For an independent workers' republic in the Ukraine which guarantees full and equal rights to all national groups!*

International Secretariat of the RCIT

Appendix:

We refer readers also to the RCIT's past statements on the Ukraine crisis:

RCIT: Counterrevolution and Mass Resistance in the Ukraine, 17.4.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/mass-resistance-in-ukraine/>

Joint Statement of the RCIT and the Movement to Socialism (MAS, Russia): Ukraine: Rivalry between Imperialist Powers escalates after Right-Wing Coup: Stop the Imperialist Saber-Rattling! 2.3.2014

MAS: Ukraine/Russia: The victory over the imperialist colonialism is impossible without the proletarian revolution! <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/mas-declaration-5-3-2014/>

RCIT and MAS: Right-Wing Forces Take Power in the Ukraine: Mobilize the Working Class against the New Government! 25.2.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/right-wing-coup-in-ukraine/>

MAS: No to the Terror of the Bandera-Fascists! Stop the Repression against the Communists of Ukraine!, 22.2.2014 <http://www.nuevommas.blogspot.co.at/2014/02/no-to-terror-of-bandera-fascists-stop.html>

RCIT: “Ukraine: Neither Brussels nor Moscow! For an independent Workers' Republic!” 18.12.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/europe/ukraine-neither-brussels-nor-moscow/> ■

Russia: Stop the Attacks on Migrant Workers Rights!

The Marxist position on migration

By the Editors of the Bulletin "Movement to Socialism" (MAS), 13.2.2014

The Russian authorities continue their policy of social genocide against migrant workers. Time and again, the Duma (Parliament) of the Russian Federation has passed laws restricting the labor rights of foreign workers. Currently, the Duma is considering legislation that would amend the country's *Labor Code*. Among other things, the proposed amendments would require employers to dismiss foreign workers when their temporary or permanent residence permit expires or in the event that such a permit is either cancelled or not presented to the authorities within a month of its having been issued.

In this way, all migrant workers are actually turned into laborers working on the basis of fixed-term contracts. This is in contrast to citizens of Russia who, in accordance with the labor laws of the state, as a general rule are employed under unlimited-term employment contracts. In this way, the bourgeois-bureaucratic regime continues in its attempts to drive a wedge between the two components of the working class in Russia: Russians and non-indigenous migrants. This is done to perpetuate the status of migrants as "second class" workers, separating them from privileged employees, turning them into a caste of pariahs.

The Russian regime consciously and intentionally nurtures the growth of nationalist, racist, and xenophobic attitudes among both the citizens of Russia and the migrants. When the working class is fragmented into warring sectors on the basis of ethnicity and privilege, it is most conveniently turned into an object for both capitalist exploitation and state oppression.

The Marxist position on the issue of migration has no relation whatsoever to abstract humanism. Marxist politics are class-based, and strive for a clear understanding of the dialectical relationship between classes. The ultimate

goal of socialists – the destruction of bourgeois society – involves both strategic and tactical objectives which are defined and executed in the context of the various phases and areas of revolutionary activity, together with the specific ways and means of the revolutionary struggle.

For capitalism, particularly in its imperialist stage, the migration of labor is in essence the same as the international flow of capital, and is inextricably linked with it. Any attempts to restrict or prohibit migration, to "close the borders," are merely calls for a reactionary utopia. It is only natural that the predominant flow of migrating labor is from the poor, semi-colonial countries to richer and imperialist centers.

Migrants are economically, socially, and politically powerless. The low cost of the reproduction of migrant labor power is, for the capitalists, a huge boon for increasing the rate of accumulation of surplus value – i.e., profits. In addition, by reducing the price of labor in the national labor markets, migrant workers objectively fill the role of strike-breakers for capitalists. Combined with racial, national, and cultural differences of migrant workers, the inherent role of migrants as scabs is vital to the capitalist's splitting of the working class. Thus, labor migration is beneficial to the bourgeoisie, both economically and politically. Modern economies, including Russia's, are in principle no longer possible without the use of migrant labor. Migrant workers have become part of a big army of the working class in Russia.

For us, Russian Bolshevik-Leninists, the primary strategic objective is the destruction of the Russian bourgeois-bureaucratic state and the expropriation of the entire class of Russian capitalists and its lackeys, whose interests are served by the ruling regime and its replacement by those

Russia continues its Repression against Migrants

The Marxist position on migration

By the Editors of the Bulletin "Movement to Socialism" (MAS), 22.3.2014

While the Russian government is busy "protecting" the rights of Russians in the Ukraine, the imperial secret police in Russia itself continues to repeatedly round up migrants.

Such, for example, did the police, the riot police and the secret service FSB conduct another "preventive raid" in the central market of Kaliningrad on March 22. They arrested 243 foreign citizens. However, according to the police department, only one (!) citizen of Uzbekistan of those arrested was identified as hiding from the investigation.

You can imagine what a howl would have raised by the Russian Foreign Ministry, if, for example, the Security

Service of Ukraine together with the fascist "Pravy Sektor" or the "National Guard" would have acted in such a way! What would they have said if they would have arrested 240 Russian citizens in Kiev as a "preventive measure".

However, such a policy of typical of Ukraine fascism has been the norm in Russia since a long time. Lawlessness and repression, especially against migrants, have become an integral part of the policy of the Russian regime.

This is a translation of an article which appeared originally in Russian language on the MAS website at <http://www.nuevomas.blogspot.co.at/2014/03/blog-post.html> ■

who truly oppose it. We have no allies among the bourgeoisie. For us, the so-called parliamentary opposition composed of liberal bourgeoisie elements is the same as the enemy in power – the oligarchs. We rely only on one class – the class of wage earners – the working class, the proletariat.

The realization of our goals is not possible without, among other things, first achieving the unity of the working class in its struggle against the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state. Such unity can *only* be achieved on the basis of voluntary mutuality and equality, mobilized towards a general, organized class struggle. This, in turn, is not possible without a consistent advocacy of internationalism and the struggle *against* racism and nationalism and *for* full and complete equality of democratic rights for migrant workers.

Therefore, our revolutionary Bolshevik struggle against the oppression of migrant workers is based on the following principles:

1. Without exceptions *all* migrants in the territory of Russia should be legalized. Without exception, *all* migrant workers must be granted full citizenship rights.
2. All special legislation pertaining to migrants should immediately be lifted.
3. All persons who are currently in custody for the violation of immigration laws should immediately be released.
4. Any discrimination – particularly labor-related discrimination – against migrants must be recognized by law to be

a criminal offense.

5. The most commonly used languages of migrants should be given the status of state languages.
6. Migrant workers should be legally granted the right to form defense groups to protect themselves from racist, nationalistic, and fascistic aggression.
7. The state border should be opened to all who want to work in Russia.

The racial and national oppression of migrants is a necessary component of capitalism. Therefore, such oppression cannot be completely eradicated without overthrowing capitalist society by means of a proletarian and multinational socialist revolution.

Workers of Russian citizenship and migrant workers must not succumb to provocations by the racist Russian regime. Workers of Russian citizenship and migrant workers are class brothers and sisters who have common enemies – the capitalist-serving bureaucracies and the bourgeoisie of all nations, states, and races. The workers of Russia and the world have a common historical mission – the destruction of capitalism and the overthrow of the capitalist states. Workers of Russian citizenship and migrant workers need to jointly fight to achieve equal rights and opportunities for all workers. To do so, they need to be united in professional and revolutionary organizations.

Workers have no fatherland. The only fatherland of workers is their class – the proletariat. Workers of all countries, unite! ■



Austria: Police Defends Fascists and Attacks Anti-Fascists!

We Say: Anti-Fascism is not a Crime! Solidarity with Clemens and All other Detained Activists!

Statement of the RKOB (Austrian Section of the RCIT), 18.5.2014

On Saturday, 17 May, a demonstration of about 150 fascists in Austria's capital city of Vienna was responded to by an anti-fascist counter-mobilization of more than 700 persons. Our force successfully prevented the Nazis from holding their inaugural rally, as well as their marching on the city streets as they had announced in advance publicly. Because we clearly outnumbered them, the police directed the fascists into narrow side streets. However, when we had almost reached their final rally point, the police attacked our force with great brutality. As a result, a pregnant woman lost her baby. All in all, the police arrested thirty-eight anti-fascist protesters. One of those arrested was our 16-year old comrade, Clemens. The demonstration was organized by a united front of anti-fascist organizations, including the *Revolutionary Communist Organization LIBERATION* (RKOB, the Austrian section of the RCIT) and our youth organization *RED*REVOLUTION*. Our militant contingent of comrades from the RKOB and *RED*REVOLUTION* was very well organized and exhibited great fighting spirit, actively defending our counter-demonstration. This is documented in the numerous pictures of our block in the bourgeois media. (See, for example, the pictures at the website of the *Standard*, one of the large daily Austrian newspapers: <http://derstandard.at/2000001316139/Der-Marsch-der-Identitaeren-am-Samstag-in-Wien>).

In the course of the police attack against the anti-fascist

demonstration, our comrade Clemens was pepper-sprayed, beaten up, and arrested. He is accused of "obstructing an officer in the performance of his duty" as well as "aggravated assault" against a policeman. During his custody, he was repeatedly provoked and humiliated by the police. For example, he was forced to strip off all his clothes, except for his underpants, in front of the police.

We call upon all anti-fascists to jointly organize a broad campaign in defense of Clemens and all others arrested. Without doubt, their defense is going to cost a lot. We are, therefore, asking for donations to our solidarity account (see below).

For regularly updates on the solidarity campaign with Clemens go to our campaign site on Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/solidarityclemens>

Appendix:

A more detailed report in German can be read at: <http://www.rkob.net/solidaritaet-mit-clemens/stellungnahme-demo-17-5-2014/>

Link to photos of the demonstration: <http://www.rkob.net/solidaritaet-mit-clemens/fotos-demo-17-05-2014/>

Solidarity account for Clemens:

Bank Account: 04310-101-910

Bank Code: 14000

IBAN: AT291400004310101910

BIC: BAWAATWW ■



Activists of the Austrian RCIT section RKOB and the Youth Organization RED*REVOLUTION at the antifascist demonstration in Vienna on 17 May

General Sisi – The Butcher of the Egyptian People – Sentences another 683 People to Death

Statement of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 1.5.2014

1. The Military Dictatorship in Egypt continues its campaign of mass terror against the country's people. In another show trial conducted on 28 April, General Sisi's henchmen sentenced yet an additional 683 persons to death. The condemned are collectively accused of having killed one (!) police officer in the town of Adwa during August of last year. Only a month ago, in a different case, a court sentenced to death 529 alleged supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood for the death of a single (!) police officer in a separate round of clashes which took place during the mass protests of August 2013 following the military coup d'état. In neither trial were the defense attorneys allowed to present their case, no witnesses were heard, and many of the accused were not even brought to the courtroom. According to Amnesty International, these two mass death sentences are the greatest in living world memory. They are simply the latest manifestation of a wave of terror which has already led to the death of more than 6,000 persons and the arrest of at least 17,000 others since General Sisi took power on 3 July 2013. By all meaningful standards, General Sisi has justifiably earned the contemptible title "the Butcher of the Egyptian People."

2. In an addition move, the regime has outlawed the April 6 Youth Movement. This group had initially supported the military coup d'état and welcomed the reactionary suppression of the Muslim Brotherhood. However, subsequently, its members began criticizing some of the totalitarian characteristics of General Sisi's regime and organized a few small protest rallies.

3. These latest developments once again demonstrate the barbarous nature of the military regime in Egypt which is, characteristically, officially recognized and supported by the all the great imperialist powers. Washington continues to provide \$1.5 billion in military and economic aid to post-coup Egypt. Similarly, the European Union, the Putin regime in Russia, and the rulers of China – the latter two oftentimes being praised as "progressive forces" by various Stalinists – also continue to make shady deals with General Sisi. For example, in February, Egypt reached an initial agreement with Russia over an arms delivery deal worth in excess of \$3 billion. Once more, this shows how all great imperialist powers – both in the West as well as in the East – are the enemies of the world proletariat and oppressed peoples.

4. The latest orgy of terror underlines once again exactly how misguided are those reformist and centrist leftists who hailed the military coup last summer as an expression of "popular will" or even as "the second revolution." Among such Sisi enthusiasts then were the Cliffite *Revolutionary Socialists* in Egypt, the SWP (UK), ISO (USA), as well as Alan Woods' IMT. There are even purportedly leftists who still praise the Sisi dictatorship, like the "Communist" Party of Egypt. Authentic socialists in Egypt and internationally must condemn these fake "socialists" and

"communists."

5. On 27 April, the *Revolutionary Socialists* in Egypt announced their support for the bourgeois-liberal Nasserist candidate Hamdeen Sabahi in the upcoming presidential elections to be held on 26 and 27 May. The RCIT condemns this support as petty-bourgeois, treacherous politics, since Sabahi has been a prominent supporter of General Sisi's coup d'état. In their statement of support for Sabahi, the RS itself was forced to recognize that Sabahi "has remained silent on the violations of freedom by the Interior Ministry and the army, including massacres and arrests, torture and storming the university campuses. He has even supported the lie of the "war on terrorism" which the state is using as a pretext for the return of the police state." Even this ostensibly conciliatory statement by the RS is a whitewash. In fact, Sabahi was not "silent" but openly welcomed the wave of terror in August last year, during which at least 1,400 persons were killed in just a few days. According to Wikipedia, in an interview with Al-Hayat television in August 2013, Sabahi said "that the national forces were behind the state apparatus to defeat terrorism: 'We will stay hand in hand, the people, the army and the police.'" Given their electoral support for the coup supporter Sabahi, the RS's protest against the Sisi regime and the ongoing Egyptian counter-revolution have an unabashedly hollow ring.

6. The RCIT repeats that the central task at this stage in time remains the organizing of the struggle against the military dictatorship in both places of work and on the streets. While communists cannot *politically* support the bourgeois-Islamist Muslim Brotherhood, we must defend them – and all other political forces which oppose the dictatorship – against the regime of General Sisi. We call for international solidarity demonstrations and strikes against the repression in Egypt.

7. It is both a vital and urgent task to advance the formation of a workers' party as a political alternative to the Muslim Brotherhood and rotten Stalinism. Such a party must be established on the basis of a revolutionary socialist program. We call for *all* revolutionaries in Egypt to unite in adopting an *authentic* revolutionary program and, with this aim in mind, to open a dialogue and collaboration with the RCIT. Onward to the formation of a revolutionary workers' party in Egypt as part of the Fifth Workers' International!

** Free all political prisoners in Egypt! Down with the show trials against resistance activists of the Muslim Brotherhood and other organizations! For international solidarity demonstrations and strikes against the repression in Egypt!*

** Defend the pro-Morsi demonstrations without giving political support to their leadership! For a broad united front (including Islamists) in defense of democratic rights! For mass action committees to organize the resistance! For armed self-defense units! Prepare for a general strike and an armed insurrection against the military regime!*

** Advance the workers struggle for higher wages and against lay-offs! For the right to form independent trade unions! Fight inside the trade unions against the pro-regime bureaucrats!*

** Down with the new reactionary Constitution! For a Revolutionary Constitutional Assembly elected and controlled by the working people and defended by armed popular militias!*

** Prepare the struggle for a workers' government, with the support of the poor peasantry and the urban poor! Such a workers' government will be committed to the expropriation of the multinationals, big capital, and the banks, all to be placed under workers' control, and will replace the bourgeois state apparatus by workers' and peasant organs.*

** Onward to a workers' revolution to abolish, once and for all, the capitalist system – the root of poverty, unemployment, and repression! For a workers' and peasants' republic in Egypt as part of a socialist federation of the peoples of the Maghreb and Mashriq!*

International Secretariat of the RCIT

For additional RCIT analyses of Egypt's military dictatorship, as well as reports of solidarity activities, we refer readers to the following articles:

RKOB: Egypt: Report with Videos from Demonstration in Austria against the Military Dictatorship on 20 April, 22.4.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-solidarity-demo-in-austria-20-4-2014/>

RCIT: Egypt: Mobilize International Solidarity against General Sisi's Machinery of Repression! 28.3.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/stop-repression-in-egypt/>

RKOB: Austria: Solidarity with the Resistance against the Military Dictatorship in Egypt! Report (with photos and video clips) of a rally on 25 January to commemorate the third anniversary of the revolution in Egypt, 26.1.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/solidarity-rally-for-egypt/>

RCIT: Egypt: Down with General Sisi's pro-Army Constitution! Boycott the Referendum!, 12.1.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/boycott-egypt-referendum/>

RCIT: Tasks of the Revolution in Egypt, July 2, 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/tasks-of-egypt-revolution/>

RCIT: Egypt: Down with the Military Coup d'État! Prepare Mass Resistance! July 8, 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-down-with-military-coup-d-etat/>

Yossi Schwartz: Egypt: The U.S. Support for the Military Coup and the Left's ignorance Notes on the role of US imperialism in the military's coup d'état and the failure of the Egypt left, July 11, 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-us-support-for-military-coup/>

Michael Pröbsting: The Military's Coup d'État in Egypt: Assessment and Tactics. A reply to the criticism of the WIVP and the LCC on the meaning of the Military's Coup d'État and the slogan of the Revolutionary Constituent Assembly, 17.7.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-meaning-of-coup-d-etat/>

Yossi Schwartz: Egypt: Mobilize Resistance against the reactionary military regime! Down with the army's puppet-government! No political support for Morsi and the Muslim brotherhood! For independent working class mobilization with a revolutionary perspective! 27.7.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-no-to-military-regime/>

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

RCIT: Egypt: Appeal for solidarity after steel workers arrested by army, Aug 13, 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-solidarity-with-steel-workers/>

RCIT: Egypt: International Solidarity against the Army Crackdown! August 14, 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-international-solidarity/>

Nina Gunić: Austria: Solidarity Demonstration in Vienna against the military dictatorship in Egypt. Down with Al-Sisi! Long live international solidarity! Report on the demonstration in Vienna against the military dictatorship in Egypt, Aug 18, 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-solidarity-demo-in-austria/>

Yossi Schwartz: Israel and the Coup in Egypt. Israel's primary concerns regarding Egypt are the possible fall of the military regime or a descent into civil war, Aug 21, 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/israel-and-egypt-coup/>

Nina Gunić: Egypt: Solidarity Rally in Austria – Workers and oppressed unite! Down, Down, Down with Sisi! Freedom, Freedom for Egypt! Report from a Rally in Austria in Solidarity with the Resistance in Egypt, Aug 25, 2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/egypt-solidarity-rally-in-austria/> ■



Down with the military dictatorship in Egypt!

Report of the RKOB (Austrian section of the RCIT) on the demonstration against the military regime in Egypt, 5.5.2014

On 4 May 300 Egyptian migrants demonstrated against the military dictatorship of General Sisi. Their protest was triggered by the mass death sentence against 683 people who were accused of being members of the Muslim Brotherhood and the alleged involvement in the killing a single (!) police officer in August 2013.

The RKOB condemned the military regime from the beginning after it came to power on July 3, 2013 via a coup. Hence we participated regularly in the protests of the Egyptian community. Therefore, we were also invited this time by the Egyptian community and participated with a delegation in the protest.

Ibrahim Ali, the organizer of the demonstration, denounced in his speech the support for the Egyptian regime of General Sisi by the U.S. and the EU. He stressed the need for broad unity across political and religious boundaries to bring down the military dictatorship.

Michael Pröbsting, international secretary of the RCIT, stressed in his speech at the opening rally the hypocrisy of the U.S. and EU propaganda for "human rights". He pointed to the massive financial support from Washington

for the apartheid state of Israel and the military regime in Egypt. He also pointed to the support of the U.S. and the EU for the right-wing regime in Ukraine in which fascists participate. Comrade Pröbsting also commemorated the socialist Borotba activists Andrei Brazhewskij and numerous other victims of the fascist terror who died in an arson attack in Odessa on 2 May.

Johannes Wiener, spokesman for the RKOB, spoke twice at the closing rally in front of the U.S. Embassy (both in German and English). He emphasized the need for international solidarity with the liberation struggles of the Syrian and the Palestinian people. He also pointed out that U.S. imperialism – despite its hypocritical propaganda – is the biggest war criminals of the recent past.

Pictures of the demonstration as well as videos of the speeches of Michael Pröbsting and Johannes Wiener can be seen at the RKOB website: <http://www.rkob.net/wer-wir-sind-1/rkob-aktiv-bei/freies-aegypten-demo-04-05-2014/> More about this issue on our international website: <http://www.thecomunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/stop-repression-in-egypt/> ■



Several thousands of Egyptian and Turkish migrants demonstrated on 20 April 2014 in Vienna against the Dictatorship of General Sisi

The Fatah-Hamas Agreement – Another Road to Nowhere

by Yossi Schwartz, Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), 16.5.2014

On April 25, in the wake of the collapse of the so-called “peace negotiations” between the Palestinian Authority and Israel under the auspices of John Kerry, the US Secretary of State expressed his frustration at the Trilateral Commission in New York, saying that “if there was no two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict soon, Israel risked becoming ‘an apartheid state’”. (1)

Later on, under pressure from Republicans and the pro-Zionist lobby, Kerry retracted his statement.

“Risked becoming...”? Israel is an apartheid state from the river to the sea. It was founded as such from the very start when it drove out of its territory most of the Palestinian Arabs, who became refugees. This was in 1948, the same year South African Apartheid was established. The fact that *only now* the US is admitting that Israel “can become an apartheid state” is reminiscent of the US’s opposition, until 1986, of any economic sanctions against South Africa, because it viewed the Apartheid regime as an important ally for decreasing Soviet influence in southern Africa. The US still views Israel as an important ally in its opposition to any progressive, let alone revolutionary changes in the region. However, how much the US can actually rely on Israel against imperialist Russia is not at all clear, as Israel has refused to back the US in the Ukraine.

Following the collapse of the negotiations, on April 24, Fatah and Hamas announced that they have resolved their differences in policy vis. negotiations with Israel, and will subsequently form a Palestinian unity government. “An interim government could be finalized in the next five weeks, with elections possible by early 2015, Fatah spokesman Fayez Abu Eitta said.” (2)

“Senior level Fatah official Jibril Rajoub declared that the emerging Palestinian unity government recognizes Israel in accordance with the policies of Palestinian Authority Chairman Abu Mazen. Reconciliation with Hamas is based on the two-state solution with the 1967 borders. Hamas will also accept all of the stipulations from the international community,” Rajoub stated on IDF (Israeli army) Radio. (3)

However a Fatah Central Committee member, Tawfiq Tirawi, posted a video on YouTube which included his comments from Gaza. A few days before the unity deal, Tirawi said “Gaza will return to the bosom of legitimacy.” Tirawi added “the homeland...is...all of Palestine, from its River to its Sea,” (4)

The Hamas-Fatah deal came on the same day as an Israeli air strike hit the northern Gaza strip, wounding twelve people including children and teenagers, according to Ashraf al-Qidra, a spokesman for the Health Ministry in Gaza. “Al Qidra said it was a drone strike. The Israeli military said it conducted an air strike in a counter-terror operation, but provided no other details.” (5)

Relieved, the Israeli government enthusiastically denounced the Fatah-Hamas agreement. “Does he [Abbas] want peace with Hamas or peace with Israel?” Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said Tuesday in remarks to reporters. “You can have one but not the other. I hope he chooses peace. So far he hasn’t done so.” (6)

As [Israel](#) immediately suspended its talks with the Palestinian Authority, it was once again made perfectly clear that the Zionist regime will not even allow the Palestinians to establish a mini-state in the territories occupied 1967, to say nothing of the return of the refugees that fled or were expelled in 1948.

Reaction of the Great Imperialist Powers

The attitude of the great imperialist powers to the accord was mixed. Russia expressed its support for the recently concluded unity accord between Hamas and Fatah in the wake of a meeting between its Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Bogdanov and Hamas Political Bureau Chief Khaled Meshaal. The Russian Foreign Ministry statement said:

“In the course of the meeting the main focus was directed at recent inter-Palestinian agreements on national unity issues... Restoration of the unity among Palestinians based on the political platform of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Arab Peace Initiative meets the interest of a fair and effective Israel-Palestine settlement, the final cause of which is to fulfill national aspirations of Palestinian people by creating an independent, viable, sovereign state with territorial integrity living in safety and peace with Israel...” (7)

For her part, the US expressed disappointment at the Fatah-Hamas deal: “US State Department spokeswoman Jennifer Psaki had called the Palestinian unity deal “troubling” and said the US was ‘disappointed’ by it. She had also said that Washington would ask the Palestinians to provide clarifications”.... (8)

Israel, in turn, was critical of what she perceived as an overly mild US reaction to the Palestinian accord: “Israel has criticised America’s ‘weak’ reaction to the unity deal reached between rival Palestinian factions, Fatah and Hamas and demanded a clearer and more resolute response, a media report here said. Jerusalem has made it clear to the Americans that it is disappointed with their response and has asked that they take a sharper, clearer tack, as they did when Palestinian Authority (PA) President Mahmoud Abbas threatened to disband the PA,” a senior Israeli official involved in the dialogue with Washington told Israeli daily Ha’aretz.” (9)

The meeting in Russia and the respective announcements by Russia and the US make it clear that the growing inter-imperialist rivalry between the two great powers is now being manifested in the question of Palestine, in addition to the crises in Syria and the Ukraine. Furthermore, the remarks and reactions of the US State Department and Israel are yet another expression of the growing distance between these latter two countries.

Capitulation of Hamas

The question on the mind of many is who capitulated to whom: Hamas to Fatah or Fatah to Hamas?

We believe that Daoud Kuttab of uruknet.info is correct in his assessment that it was Hamas which capitulated to Fatah:

"Abbas' strategy finally paid off, in an agreement that at least on paper suggests a total Hamas capitulation and a clear political victory for Abbas and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The Islamic movement suddenly began speaking of Abbas as president and even applauded one of his speeches that reiterated his commitment to the peace talks. Hamas has agreed to yield its government to a unity cabinet made up of technocrats, none of whom will be known Hamas members.

"Throughout the talks with Israel, there had been arguments concerning whether Hamas would be obliged to separately accept the three conditions set out by the now nearly defunct Quartet: recognizing Israel, renouncing terror and accepting all previous agreements signed by the PLO. The position presented by the PLO was that all of these conditions have already been met by the PLO, and therefore Hamas, by joining the organization — as long as the PLO does not retract its earlier positions — would be in adherence with the three conditions." (10)

Counter-Revolution in Egypt

If so, then the question then becomes why is Hamas capitulating now? One certain reason is the counter-revolution in Egypt that removed Morsi and the Moslem Brotherhood from power. The military coup and its aftermath have weakened Hamas. On this Yari and Zillber from the US-imperialist *Washington Institute* have written:

"Despite the serious challenges arrayed against any sincere Hamas-Fatah rapprochement, the appearance of national reconciliation is likely useful for both sides. Hamas has in recent years been badly damaged by regional developments, specifically the reduction in support and aid from Iran, Syria, and the Gulf states. After last summer's ouster of the Muslim Brotherhood government in Egypt, Cairo's policy vis-a-vis Hamas also changed dramatically, punctuated by the closure of the tunnel networks and border crossing between Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula. For Hamas, the loss of tax revenues from its tunnel operations in particular has spawned an acute financial crisis. By one estimate, Hamas can finance only a quarter of its budget for this year. Rising economic hardship inside Gaza has led to growing resentment against the Hamas government and, in turn, an increased willingness by the Hamas leadership to view national reconciliation with Fatah as a pathway out of its political and economic isolation. Not surprisingly, Cairo has already indicated that it will reopen the Rafah border terminal connecting Gaza to Egypt once a unity cabinet is formed." (11)

While Morsi's government blocked the road to a revolution, it is Sisi's military coup and what followed which has entirely gutted it by reintroducing a Mubarak-type regime in Egypt. In this light, Hamas' capitulation to Fatah is part and parcel of the counter-revolutionary swing in the Middle East.

Fragile Fatah-Hamas Agreement

However, the agreement between Hamas and Fatah may not, in the final analysis, come into being:

"On Saturday, Moussa Abu Marzouk a deputy leader of Hamas [said that Hamas rejected](#) the Quartet's conditions: 'Hamas rejects the Quartet's conditions because it denies some of our people's rights. ... We will always refuse any conditions that deny our Palestinian rights.' Despite Fatah's claims that Hamas had committed to the Quartet's requirements, a leading Hamas figure, [Mahmoud Al-Zahar, asserted](#) that Hamas's reported

change of heart was merely a 'marketing' ploy used by Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas 'to minimize the pressure.'" (12)

If so, this will not be the first time that negotiations between Hamas and Fatah have failed.

"In 2011, [both sides agreed](#) to an Egypt-brokered peace deal. But the rival sides couldn't agree on who to name the interim prime minister of the unity government, and the plan fizzled out. Then, in 2012, [both sides again signed](#) a reconciliation deal, but failed to follow through on plans to cease hostilities. Later that year, Abbas submitted a bid to upgrade Palestine from an observer to a member state at the United Nations. Hamas [sent mixed](#) messages of support for the bid, and Abbas [told the international community](#) that if they do not heed his request, Hamas would gain strength — not the best way to make friends with a rival faction. After that, attempts at warming ties were abandoned, until now." (13)

However, this time it may be different seeing how the power of the US in the region is declining while Russia's influence is increasing. Furthermore, the failure of the last attempt by the US to establish a mini-Palestinian state in the West Bank has collapsed due to Israel's rejection of the demand to stop further settlement activity and to release Palestinians prisoners, citizens of Israel, as promised in an earlier agreement. These US failures are clear, even for Abbas.

Nevertheless, a Fatah-Hamas coalition government alternatively oriented towards Russia and Europe rather than the US will not liberate the Palestinians, as Israel will not, in the foreseeable future, allow a mini, semi-independent Palestinian state to be established. As long as Israel exists, Apartheid will be the de facto nature of the regime from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea.

Working Class-Led Struggle Against Imperialism – The Road to Liberation

For years we of the *International Socialist League* (ISL) have said that neither Fatah nor Hamas can lead to the liberation of the Palestinians from the oppression of Israel. While both factions seek a solution based on capitalism in the framework of the imperialist order, the only way out is an anti-imperialist struggle of the working class at the head of the masses; a struggle that can lead to a socialist revolution, that both the bourgeois Fatah and Hamas organizations have no interest in and are too frightened to unleash. We are living in the epoch of the decline of the capitalist system. At this stage of history, the weak bourgeois and petit bourgeois forces of oppressed peoples are incapable of leading a bourgeois democratic revolution. Therefore, they can only rely on one or another of the imperialist states, rather than on a mass struggle.

On the surface, Hamas is more militant as it supports armed struggle as opposed to the Palestinian Authority which openly collaborates with Israel to ensure the latter's security. However, acts of individual terrorism and the firing of ineffective rockets is no replacement for a mass struggle culminating in armed uprising.

This struggle can only be won by the working class, mostly Palestinians but with the support of a progressive section of the Israeli working class which breaks with Zionism, led by a revolutionary leadership. For anyone who supports the Palestinian cause and who has eyes to see, the

capitulation of Hamas to Fatah it is yet further verification of the fact that the *only* solution is a mass struggle which begins with democratic demands, but which ultimately leads to a working class revolution.

Free all Palestinians prisoners!

For the right of return of all Palestinians refugees to their country!

Down with Apartheid from the river to the sea!

For a Free, Red Palestine!

Footnotes

(1) Abdel Aziz Aluwaisheg: Apartheid is the right word for Israel, Arab News, 12 May 2014, <http://www.arabnews.com/news/569366>

(2) Kareem Khadder and Jason Hanna: Hamas, Fatah announce talks to form Palestinian unity government, 24 April 2014, <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/04/23/world/meast/gaza-west-bank-palestinian-reconciliation/>

(3) Rivka Salomon: Rajoub: "A Unity Government Will Recognize Israel", Jerusalem Post on line, 24 April 2014, <http://www.jerusalemonline.com/news/middle-east/israeli-palestinian-relations/rajoub-a-unity-government-will-recognize-israel-4949>

(4) Fatah leader calls for future without Israel: Haifa, Jaffa, and Acre will all be part of Palestine, www.youtube.com/watch?v=E27xejoptj8

(5) Kareem Khadder and Jason Hanna: Hamas, Fatah announce talks to form Palestinian unity government

(6) Al Jazeera: Hamas-Fatah unity agreement challenges

U.S. Mideast efforts, 23 April 2014: <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/4/23/hamas-plo-unity.html>

(7) The Tower: Russia Backs Fatah-Hamas Unity Agreement, 6 May 2014 <http://www.thetower.org/0267-russia-backs-fatah-hamas-unity-but-insists-on-quartet-conditions/>

(8) Barak Ravid: Israel slams 'weak' U.S. response to Fatah-Hamas unity deal, 24 April 2014, <http://www.haaretz.com/misc/iphone-article/.premium-1.587291>

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(12) The Tower: Russia Backs Fatah-Hamas Unity Agreement

(13) Danielle Wiener-Bronner: A Brief History of the Fraught Relationship Between Fatah and Hamas, 24 April 2014. <http://www.thewire.com/global/2014/04/a-brief-history-of-the-fraught-relationship-between-fatah-and-hamas/361178/> ■



A Palestinian father mourns the death of his child during the latest Israeli war against Gaza in November 2012

Israel/Occupied Palestine: Interview with Hila Slutsky from the Youth Group TIGRE

Internationalist Socialist League (RCIT-Section in Israel/Occupied Palestine), April 2014

Please tell us something about you (name, age, profession, etc.) and your motivation to do revolutionary work?

I am Hila Slutsky, 16 years old, high school student from Israel. There are things about our society in Israel that are unjust and irritating. I can't stand the fact that people are not treated as equals in this country and all around the world. Especially, I am bothered by racism against Arabs, Christians, Muslims and Jews who are "different" from what is considered the elite. I personally went through extreme oppression as a woman. It makes me feel very sad and aggravated whenever I am exposed to ethnic or chauvinist discrimination. I simply know how it feels and don't want anybody else to feel this way.

After my discussions with Boris from the ISL I realized that our society is ruled by the extremely rich bourgeoisie. The democratic "game" is rigged in their favor. That is why all attempts at changing this reality of oppression end up in failure or in the best cases - very poor and dissatisfying results. Capitalist society has done a lot to eliminate or minimize old forms of oppression, but it is stuck and it is failing us human beings, especially the oppressed, who wish to move forward and abolish all forms of oppression.

I am also vegan and cannot stand the oppression of animals. I know that only in a socialist democratic society it will be possible to end all relationships of oppression between human beings and other conscientious beings as well as the planet which we all inhabit.

What would you say are the most urgent political issues in your country today?

The two most urgent political issues in Israel today are the economic austerity measures enforced by the right-wing government as well as the criminal oppression and occupation of the Palestinian people.

What are your experiences until now with oppression (as woman, as adolescent, etc.)?

I have been raped for the first time at the age of 12 (by an Israeli), and then again at 15 (by a Palestinian). The friends of the first rapist responded to my complaint to the police by harassing me and called me a whore. The police started the investigation of the first rape only 6 months after and the rapist got 6 months community service. However, I refused to press charges against the Palestinian rapist because the police detective harassed me and tried to put a lot of pressure on me to do that. I realized that his motivations were racist and I didn't want to give him the satisfaction. Most of all, I am greatly disappointed of the criminal and legal system and its negligence in defending women. As an adolescent I am being daily oppressed by my parents who hate my political views and lifestyle choices. They don't let me speak of my views and opinions on anything, not just politics, at home and around my extended family. They tell me that I am an embarrassment to our family. I

am forced, then, to be politically active in secret. My mom regularly goes through my stuff and my facebook account. Also, my refusal to endorse what I consider barbaric and discriminatory religious practices cause regular mental abuse from my extended family.

What would you like to achieve? What would you like the youth organization "TIGER" to achieve?

I would like to establish a strong youth as well as adult revolutionary socialist organization in my home town. This organization must work to join both Israelis and Palestinians in struggle for the liberation of workers and oppressed groups in this city. I realize that local activism is not enough and that all of humanity and its fate is connected. Nobody is free until all are free. Therefore I seek guidance and the experience of revolutionaries all around the world.

Do you have any final comments?

I am especially in need of theoretic guidance, mainly to clear up phrases and concepts. It seems that socialists use the same language but mean different things and that is very confusing. I wish to thank the RCIT comrades who wrote '100 Questions and Answers about Socialism'. I read it together with Boris a little bit every time we meet. ■



Open Letter to a South African Socialist

Reply to a Regional Representative of WASP on the South African Elections

By Michael Pröbsting, Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT), 5.5.2014

Dear comrade,

On 26 April, you sent us, as well as other socialists including the WASP leadership, a letter in which you elaborated a number of criticisms on the RCIT's statement on the South African elections issued on 25 April. (1) In this statement we expressed our tactic of giving critical support to the *Workers and Socialist Party* (WASP) in the upcoming elections in South Africa. In your letter you deepened the criticism which you had already previously expressed regarding our document on South Africa published on 5 February. (2) In the present open letter, I wish to reply to your criticism and explain the analysis and tactics which the RCIT advocates.

What is the Character of the DSM/CWI?

Your first criticism of the RCIT's analysis is that you reject our characterization of the dominant organization in the WASP's leadership – the Democratic Socialist Movement (DSM), the South African section of the CWI – as a “right-centrist organization”. You say: “To characterize the DSM in South Africa as right-centrist is to not understand anything about the character of left organizations in South Africa. The DSM was the only left wing tendency which read the contradictions and developments of the impending crisis and located themselves politically on the mining belt at least two years before the massacre at Marikana. (...) the DSM led the 2012 mine workers strike movement because of the work they had been doing amongst mine workers. In terms of the actual mine workers struggle no one can fault their revolutionary approach and the successes that came out of this struggle. AMCU today organizes workers in their many thousands because the DSM realizing that workers needed to be organized in unions directed them there. The DSM and WASP is leading the struggle to democratize AMCU. The WASP is a direct product of that struggle and emerged from the mine workers committee and the DSM. The DSM today leads the WASP, and the WASP is growing in leaps and bounds. The DSM though WASP is regarded by NUMSA as the only socialist organization standing in the coming elections, we are the ‘friends of NUMSA’. Many NUMSA leaders and workers are canvassing on behalf of WASP in spite of the official position of not supporting any other party in this election. In that sense in spite of all you have to say, the DSM is in the leadership of the revolutionary struggle in South Africa, and they are conducting it in a revolutionary fashion! If your characterization of them flows from their participation and membership of the ANC during the anti-Apartheid struggle then at least be honest enough to characterize this as a **mistaken view of revolutionaries** who wanted to fight amongst the mass of militant fighter attracted to the ANC. The newspaper of the then MWT, *Inqaba Ya Basebenzi* provided an advanced critique of the politics of the ANC during the 1980's and 90's. The differences between those who struggled to build an independent workers party and those who tactically entered the ANC was based on different

appreciation of what would further the struggle of the working class – they were not enemies of the working class, nor were they your ‘right-centrists’. In 1994 they like the CWG called for a critical vote for the ANC in order to defeat Apartheid. While we had a different view on the matter, this did not disqualify them and the CWG from being comrades in struggle and definitely not ‘right-centrist’ or reformists. In the class struggle there are many tactical issues which are to be considered. Real revolutionaries are those who come to understand that the positions they have taken were wrong and they make the necessary change. The MWT broke from the ANC in 1996 when they adopted the policy of GEAR and started propagandizing the need for an independent Mass Workers Party on a socialist programme.”

Comrade, with all due respect, your defense of the DSM/CWI is completely wrong. We never denied that the comrades of the DSM played an active role in the Marikana miners struggle. Neither have we ever denied the heroic role of many ANC militants in the liberation struggle during the 1970s and 1980s. Equally, Trotskyists have always recognized the heroic struggle of the soldiers of the USSR's Red Army and the partisans in World War II in the struggle for the liberation of their countries from the Nazi occupation. However, recognition of these sacrifices does not exempt revolutionaries from assessing the overall character, program, and perspectives of these forces. Such a character is not determined by this or that episode of the class struggle but by the theory and practice of such a group throughout its entire history.

Unfortunately, in order to defend the DSM/CWI you start to belittle the political crimes of this organization. You speak about “a mistaken view” when you deal with the “critical” participation of the DSM predecessor organization (called “Marxist Workers Tendency”) in the popular front ANC during more than one and a half decades! Since you consider yourselves a Trotskyist, you should be aware that Trotsky condemned the POUM in Spain as a “centrist organization” for participating in the popular front for only a few months in 1935/36 (!) and consequently broke with it. In order to belittle the political crimes of the DSM/CWI you don't mention that the ANC – while at the same time the DSM's predecessor organization was part of it – conducted a democratic counter-revolution in the early 1990s by saving the rule of South Africa's monopoly capital in exchange for abolishing formal Apartheid. This is all the more surprising since this is a view which you yourselves hold – at least you have until recently. It was only the logical conclusion of this political crime that the DSM's predecessor organization called for a vote for the ANC in the elections in 1994 which consolidated the democratic counter-revolution. (3)

All this betrayal by the ANC leadership and the objective help for this betrayal given by the DSM predecessor organization with its “critical” support and participation in the ANC for so many years, including the time of the open counter-revolution, are a sufficiently long historical period

to allow evaluating the political character of this organization.

The trap of the MWT/DSM/CWI right-centrist support for the popular front was not something which could not have been foreseen. Authentic Marxists in South Africa and internationally already condemned the ANC strategy as well as the opportunistic policy of the MWT/DSM/CWI at that time. (4)

You say: *"Real revolutionaries are those who come to understand that the positions they have taken were wrong and they make the necessary change."* But the DSM/CWI never officially and publicly admitted that their capitulation to the popular frontist ANC for one and a half decades was wrong! They broke with the ANC in 1996 when the government's neoliberal policy had become too obvious, and when the workers vanguard began to become more critical towards the ANC. The DSM/CWI just tailed the ANC and the trade union bureaucracy. This tailism was just a reflection of their opportunistic approach in general, something which also found expression in their attitude towards the social democratic parties in Europe. For decades they participated in these parties as a "left" wing and withdrew from them in the early 1990s but, until today, have not expressed any self-critical evaluation.

The DSM/CWI's Reformist Strategy of a Peaceful Road towards Socialism

You also reject our critique of the WASP Manifesto for its reformist position on the state question. In our statement we wrote: *"However, such electoral support – lest it be seen as opportunistic – must be combined with sharp criticism of the WASP program and leadership. WASP's electoral manifesto does not explain that socialism can only be achieved via a workers' revolution. It tirelessly repeats the old reformist slogans of 'democratization of the police' instead of openly calling for armed self-defense units of the workers and poor to defend the working class against massacres similar to Marikana. All this reflects the rotten program of the DSM/CWI which is based on the illusionary dogma of a peaceful transformation to socialism, and their equally reformist notion that police officers are 'workers in uniform.'"*

To this you comment: *"The entire manifesto is a transitional programme for the South African revolution and the underlying message in the manifesto and in various documents is that socialism is not attainable via the electoral process and parliament but through the revolutionary establishment of working class power. It is spiteful nonsense to say that WASP is not orientated towards the revolutionary struggle for working class power and has a reformist approach. Ironically it is the DSM comrades who have drawn up the draft document after various inputs by the affiliates and nowhere do they advocate a 'peaceful transition to socialism'. (...) The question of 'democratisation of the police' as well as the idea that the police are 'workers in uniform' was not thoroughly debated because of time constraints in preparation for the launch of the Manifesto. This question is a very controversial and contradictory one because of the role the police play in defending capitalism while on the other hand they have been unionised in POPCRU and other union formations which led the fight against the Apartheid and Bantustan police in the latter days of Apartheid. The majority view of the various constituents of WASP supports the position as outlined in the Manifesto. This does not mean that the question has been resolved once and*

for all, as the Manifesto was drawn up very hurriedly and much more debate and important changes may still be effected [sic] at the Conference of WASP which is scheduled for June."

Again, comrade, we believe that you are completely mistaken. Trotsky once remarked that centrism is *"being characterized much more by what it lacks than by what it holds"*. (5) The CWI has expressed a number of times their opportunist illusion of a *"peaceful transition to socialism"*. You claim that this view is not expressed in the WASP manifesto. But, comrade, this is a rhetorical trick! The CWI's pacifist and reformist program is the underlying method of the manifesto, and is expressed in the fact that it lacks one of the most fundamental pillars of the Trotsky's method for the Transitional Program: the slogan of the organized arming of the working class in order to oppose bloody state repression and to smash the capitalist state. This is the *only* road to a socialist revolution.

There is not a single word in the 25,000 word long manifesto about the need to build armed self-defense units to fight back against the police thugs who murdered dozens of miners in Marikana and in many other incidents. There is not a single word in the manifesto which prepares the workers vanguard for the unavoidable armed clashes in the process of the socialist revolution. Indeed, it is symbolic that even the words *"socialist revolution"* are mentioned only twice in the wordy manifesto and both times it is only in the context of the international arena, i.e., outside of South Africa, but not *concerning* South Africa.

Instead, the only form of alternative organization to the bourgeois repression apparatus which the DSM/CWI leadership of WASP is shamefully propagating in its manifesto is the so-called *"genuine community policing forums."* These *community policing forums* are nothing but an institution of unarmed deputy sheriffs which the capitalist state of South Africa has introduced to improve its control over the popular masses. (6) It is an outright bourgeois institution subordinated to the police forces. It is in no way an alternative organization for arming the working class against the police!

It is politically criminal that the centrist DSM/CWI leadership fails to prepare the working class for the need to arm itself against the South African capitalist state. This is even more absurd because – as we both agree – since the Marikana strike in August 2012, South Africa has entered a pre-revolutionary phase.

The same tailism of DSM/CWI leadership to reformism is expressed in its failure to criticize the NUMSA leadership for its praises for the "Freedom Charter" and the role of the UDF of the 1980s. Again, you do not mention this political capitulation of the DSM/CWI leadership with a single word!

On the Role of Moses Mayekiso

You also reject our criticism on the DSM/CWI leadership to have chosen Moses Mayekiso as their "presidential candidate." We criticized this choice because Mayekiso – after playing an important role in the trade union movement in the 1980s – integrated himself in leading positions of the ANC and the SACP in the early 1990s. We noted that later he became a corrupt capitalist involved in shady deals. As an example we cited that Mayekiso *"served as CEO of Sanco Investment Holdings which in 1999 received R2.5 million for its*

service in a huge arms deal with the Swedish corporation SAAB, something Mayekiso himself has admitted."

Against this criticism, you defend Moses Mayekiso and reply to the RCIT: "Comrade Moses Mayekiso was a great hero of the anti-Apartheid struggle, probably amongst the leading working class revolutionaries at the time, the one who led the struggle for COSATU to adopt the idea of an independent working class party. With the defeat of the Left in the early 1990's, comrade Mayekiso like many others, capitulated to the pressure of the time and joined with the ANC. This capitulation was not unlike many others – the entire WILSA majority adopted the view in 1990 that the task was to change the ANC into a socialist party. While we condemned this we also understood that we numbered a few and that the 'tactical' shift by the others was a result of the pressures coming from such defeat. Comrade Mayekiso was one of these. Comrade Mayekiso joined the ANC and then later COPE. However he broke with these organisations and formed CONSACOM which is the new and fastest growing Civic Movement in South Africa. Furthermore comrade Mayekiso has been rehabilitated by NUMSA who welcomed his return to working class politics at their Special National Congress in December.

The various allegations of 'corruption' and 'shady deals' were put to comrade Mayekiso. He has a simple response – if you have the evidence of this please be free to put it before the organisation so that it may be investigated and dealt with. If there is one shred of such evidence he will resign immediately. All these allegations were investigated at the time they were made, both internally and even by the police. Not find a single piece of evidence implicating him in any way in corrupt activities was proven. It is spiteful nonsense by those intent on rubbishing WASP who are spreading these rumours. If you have any evidence please feel free to bring it to the attention of WASP.

The election of comrade Mayekiso to the number one position in WASP came out of a democratic process to which the different affiliates contributed. Comrade Mayekiso was proposed as the leading candidate by CONSACOM which is the preminent Civic affiliate in terms of membership and spread through the country. CONSACOM has affiliated Civic structures in all the provinces of South Africa, the most well known being Abahlali in the Western Cape. It goes against the very democratic processes in WASP to call for his removal without a single good reason for this. Comrade Mayekiso has leant great weight to the WASP campaign through his popularity as a great working class fighter – it is amazing how the working class has a memory of those who served them with distinction."

Again, comrade, this is rhetorical trick. Yes, Mayekiso unsurprisingly denies that he was involved in corrupt activities. But we have given a concrete example and a concrete source. According to the *Mail & Guardian*, one of the big weekly newspapers in South Africa, Mayekiso neither denies that he supported SAAB's bid for the arms deal, nor that his company received R2,5-million from the arms dealers. The only thing which Mayekiso denies is that his organization's support for Saab's bid was influenced by the payment.

Here is a large excerpt from a report about Mayekiso's corrupt activities.

"The South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco) received millions of rands from Swedish arms manufacturers who were bidding for the controversial multibillion-rand arms deal. The *Mail & Guardian* has found that R2,5-million was pumped into the coffers of Sanco's investment arm by Swedish arms company Celsius.

The South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco) received millions of rands from Swedish arms manufacturers who were bidding for the controversial multibillion-rand arms deal.

The *Mail & Guardian* has found that R2,5-million was pumped into the coffers of Sanco's investment arm, Sanco Investment Holdings (SIH), by Swedish arms company Celsius, which was later taken over by Saab, the Swedish aircraft manufacturer.

A Saab consortium won the contract to supply the South African Air Force with Gripen fighter aircraft five years ago. In 1999, while the government was negotiating with the Saab consortium, Sanco very publicly endorsed Saab's bid. The arms companies pampered Sanco because of the civic organisation's tantalising proximity to power and its knowledge of how the ruling African National Congress works, as Sanco is an ANC ally. Moses Mayekiso, former CEO of SIH, this week confirmed that SIH received the R2,5-million from the arms dealers, but denied that his organisation's support for Saab's bid was influenced by the payment. Mayekiso said SIH supported Saab's bid "because we understood their approach. We knew they wanted to do business in South Africa. We understood that they also wanted to support developmental projects and we had programmes we wanted funding for," he said. He said the R2,5-million was given to SIH as a loan. SIH, had used the money to establish "approximately" 30 small, medium and micro enterprise (SMME) projects in Johannesburg and in the Eastern Cape.

However, the projects – allocated amounts ranging between R2.000 and R20.000 – had all collapsed, Mayekiso said. Sanco had used the balance of the R2,5-million to cover administration costs. The "loan" has, meanwhile, effectively become a donation. A Saab spokesperson, who asked not to be named, this week said the R2,5-million to Sanco "has been written off internally in connection with Saab's takeover of Celsius". The spokesperson said: "It is also worth noting that at the time it provided the loan, Celsius was a competitor to Saab within the defence procurement." Celsius, according to the spokesperson, was "offering submarines, and Saab's partner BAE Systems was offering submarines".

This is not the first time Sanco has been embroiled in questionable "donations". In 1995, the organisation was investigated by police following charges that the civics body had accepted bribes from developers in the Free State. Former Free State minister for safety and security, Papi Kganare, at the time instructed the police commercial crime unit to investigate corruption charges against Sanco and the developers. It was claimed that the developers had paid, or promised to pay, tens of thousands of rands to Sanco at a time when it could have influenced tender decisions. Saab's spokesperson said Sanco "had no influence over the [arms] procurement". He added: "Saab consulted Sanco and others in search of feedback on the appropriateness of its offset and social responsibility programmes. It was these programmes Sanco expressed support for."

Sanco president Mlungisi Hlongwane said his organisation's national executive committee (NEC) was not aware of the relationship between SIH and arms manufacturers. "I know because I was already president by then. No one in the NEC knew about that relationship," he said. Sanco has moved to contain the fallout from the report in last week's *M&G* that raised questions about the disappearance of millions of rands when Sanco's investment arm was liquidated. The organisation announced that it will convene a meeting of its NEC on Saturday to discuss the affairs of SIH.

The *M&G* reported last week that more than R50-million worth of assets and investments belonging to SIH have vanished. In the

report, Sanco president Mlungisi Hlongwane also raised concerns about the allegedly irregular transfer of some of SIH's investments to former directors of SIH. There are indications that the returns from SIH's investments did not reach communities. The organisation said in a statement that it had no evidence that "any of our officials has been involved in acts of fraud and/or corruption".

However, Hlongwane said last week that former SIH CEO Moss Mayekiso had irregularly transferred Sanco's shares in a company called Hlano Investments to himself and two others, named by Hlongwane as national organising secretary Bonisile Malindi and the late Sandi Mgidlana, the organisation's former head of housing, without the company's approval. SIH once owned a 19% stake in Hlano, listed as one of South Africa's top 300 empowerment companies, with an annual turnover of R100-million. It appears that SIH now holds less than 5% of Hlano. Mayekiso has admitted acquiring the shares, but said he had done so legally and in line with SIH's policy." (7)

We ask you, comrade: is it true or false that Mayekiso admitted the payment from the arms dealer? And is it true or false that Mayekiso admitted that he supported SAAB's bid for the arms deal? If these things are false we can assume that he initiated a libel suit against the *Mail & Guardian* for this report. If this is so, we ask you to refer us to the source which documents such a suit. If no such suit has been undertaken, we can only conclude that Mayekiso was involved in corrupt and shady deals with the imperialist corporations.

I should add to this that the article also quotes Trevor Ngwane, a well known activist in South Africa for social justice, that he denounced Mayekiso's company: "The organisation had now chosen to 'stand with the exploiter.'"

You say that Mayekiso was supported and chosen democratically by the WASP membership. We are not familiar with the internal mechanism of WASP, nor exactly how Mayekiso was selected as its "presidential candidate." But this does not in any way alter our criticism that it is impermissible for a so-called "Trotskyist" organization to promote as a "working class representative" a person who not only joined the Stalinists as a leader and supported their democratic counterrevolution in 1994 but who has also been a corrupt businessman who made deals with imperialist corporations. Unfortunately, this is precisely what the DSM/CWI leadership is doing and what you are defending. A truly socialist organization would have opposed the selection of Mayekiso and, if this organization remained a minority in the democratic selection process, would have accepted the decision but would have continued to express its criticism.

Should Socialists Leave the WASP?

You query the RCIT by your maintaining that: "I am sure you are not advocating that we leave the WASP because of this position." Our reply is "No." But, we ask you to act as revolutionaries inside WASP and openly fight for a revolutionary program, as well as against reformist and centrist positions and those – like the DSM/CWI leadership – who promote them. In fact, you yourselves argued last year – picking up our suggestion – that socialist should act inside WASP the following way: "Within WASP, distinguish yourself from the DSM politically, establishing a revolutionary pole of attraction by publishing a regular paper/bulletin as well

as launching a revolutionary platform." And where are you now? You have launched neither any platform nor any paper/bulletin. Instead of becoming a revolutionary pole of attraction which is politically independent of the DSM/CWI, you act as their defenders.

We are of the opinion that your current policy is short-sighted. The centrist policy of the DSM/CWI leadership will ultimately lead to a crisis. The task of revolutionaries is to prepare the workers' vanguard for the political challenges in the period ahead. An essential precondition for this is to speak openly and honestly about the failures and dangers of the reformist and centrist leaderships instead of defending them. Naturally, this must be done not in a sectarian way but in a way which class-conscious workers can understand. This is the *only* path to building a revolutionary organization in the tradition of the Bolsheviks and Trotsky's Fourth International.

We therefore maintain that authentic socialists in WASP should form a revolutionary opposition against the DSM/CWI leadership and publish their own paper or bulletin. They should openly fight for a revolutionary program and argue against the reformist positions of the DSM/CWI leadership. In short, comrade, we ask you to do what you yourselves already promised to do last year.

Revolutionary Greetings,
Michael Pröbsting (International Secretary of the RCIT)

Footnotes

(1) RCIT: Elections in South Africa: No Vote for the ANC! Critical Support for the WASP! Forward in Building a Mass Workers Party! 25.4.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/south-africa-election-tactics/>

(2) RCIT: South Africa: Forward to the Building of a Mass Workers' Party Based on a Revolutionary Program! NUMSA's break with the ANC is an important step forward. A strong revolutionary organization is needed to overcome mis-leadership and to avoid yet another betrayal of our struggle for liberation! 5.2.2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/south-africa-workers-party/>

(3) See on this e.g. our documents Michael Pröbsting: South Africa: Revolutionary and Centrist Tactics against the ANC's orchestrated Democratic Counterrevolution in 1994. A Reply to Socialist Fight and the Liaison Committee for the Fourth International 7.11.2013, <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/tactics-vs-anc-1994/> as well as LRCI: South Africa: contours of a counter-revolution? in: Trotskyist International No. 12 (September-December 1993), <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/south-africa-counterrevolution-1993/>

(4) See e.g. the article "South Africa: The Crisis of Leadership" which was published by the predecessor organization of the RCIT (Workers Power (British section of the Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International) in 1986. <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/crisis-of-leadership-south-africa-1986/> as well as the LRCI resolution: South Africa: No to a negotiated settlement! Fight ANC betrayal! (Spring 1990), <http://www.thecommunists.net/worldwide/africa-and-middle-east/south-africa-fight-anc-betrayal-1990/>

(5) Leon Trotsky: Centrism and the Fourth International (1934), in: Writings 1933-34, S. 232

(6) See e.g. "The Role of Community Policing Forums", <http://www.microdotsa.info/?p=48> and "Bigger role for community policing", <http://www.southafrica.info/news/cpf-210207.htm>

(7) Mail & Guardian: How arms dealers pampered Sanco, 08 Apr 2005 <http://mg.co.za/article/2005-04-08-how-arms-dealers-pampered-sanco> ■

Brazil: Unify the struggles!

Statement of the Movimento Unificado de Oposição Classista (CCR, LC & PCO)

Note of the Editor: *This is the translation of a MUOC leaflet, the left opposition inside the teacher's trade union in Sao Paulo. MUOC is an alliance of CCR, LC & PCO. CCR is the RCIT group in Brazil.*

20.000 workers in the education sector of Sinpeem (1) gave a resounding NO to Sao Paulo's Mayor Haddad (PT). They resolved to continue the strike that entered its third week for better working conditions and real wage increases in the face of the escalating inflation.

It was beautiful to see these mass of workers occupying the Avenue Paulista (Sao Paulo's main commercial street). On 15 May we will be bigger and more determined to fight for our demands when we join many other workers of the public education and transport sector who are also on strike in Rio de Janeiro, the conductors in the ABC region, the struggle of the homeless against evictions, the set of popular movements against police repression and the right of public manifestations. On 16 May, we will have at our side our brothers and sisters, the teachers of the State of São Paulo in APEOESP (2), who will may be on strike against Alckmin (governor of the State-PSDB) and who must overcome the leaders of the trade union that just have been reelected only by a large electoral fraud.

Our class is taking a step forward by accumulating struggles, experiences and lessons of recent years, including the strike wave of 2012 and the days of struggle of 2013. In 2014 the organized sectors of the working class have pushed for the mass struggles and put the union bureaucracies against the wall. But the spontaneous and trade union struggle is not enough to achieve our goals. We need to coordinate and unify all the struggles, providing them both with a revolutionary political program of the working class, building a general strike as well as a working-class and revolutionary opposition against the bourgeois opposition (PSDB, DEM, PSDB, Rede, PSOL) and which helps the workers to overcome the illusions in the PT government.

In Sinpeem we do not forget the treachery in 2012, when the president of the Trade Union, Claudio Fonseca & Co, had to be escorted by riot police after they decided to openly betray the decisions of the ranks and file assembly. Neither do we forget the defeated strike in 2013. Despite the chaos in the education sector, both trade union bureaucracies (Sinpeem and Apeoesp) use all the scams and tricks to avoid a strike in education. In particular they try to avoid the unification of strikes because they don't want too much pressure on the governments with whom these bureaucracies closely collaborate. We will not allow the repetition of these scams! We need to defeat them and to take our struggle towards victory as did the street sweepers and as the conductors in Rio de Janeiro are doing now!

In this regard we call on all educators to come to join forces to build an INDEFINITE STRIKE until victory, to defeat the government of Haddad and to win our demands. We have to build a general strike together with the workers in other sectors. And we have to build the *OPPOSITION*

OF TRUTH – Slate 06 in the Sinpeem elections which is pushed by the Movimento Unificado de Oposição Classista (CCR, LC & PCO).

We fight for:

* *Equal Pay for Equal Work. No to wage inequality. Down with the bonus policy, different adjustments etc;*

* *For a basic wage that meets the needs of the teachers and their family;*

* *For educational, political and administrative school autonomy. Put the schools under the control of the school community (teachers, parents and students);*

* *Against the pseudo-pedagogical projects and governmental assessments;*

* *Reopening of all closed schools and classrooms;*

* *End of outsourcing and partnerships with NGOs, PPPs etc.;*

* *Not to force the schools to join partnership with capitalist groups;*

* *For better working conditions and an end to the bullying;*

* *Not the "big brother" system of the SGP;*

* *Not to performance evaluations;*

* *For a school of the XXI century: we need all equipment which we have in the society to ensure high quality education schools;*

* *Reduction to 15 students per class in elementary I and 20 in Elementary II;*

* *End of the processes of political and legal persecution of the treacherous Sinpeem bureaucracy and governments of Kassab and Haddad against fellow teachers Adriano Gomes (EMEF lamb - Dre São Miguel) and Professor of History and Geography Ildefonso Hipólito Hairstyle (EMEF Mailson Delane - Dre. Guianazes), and the immediate and unconditional reinstatement of Ildefonso!*

* *Build inter-union meetings and the General Strike!*

* *For the revolutionary socialist and workers' struggle!*

Footnotes:

(1) Sinpeem: Trade Union of the city of São Paulo Teachers

(2) Apeoesp: Trade Union State of São Paulo Teachers ■



25 years ago: The Chinese Stalinist's Tiananmen Square Massacre

Note of the Editor: Below we reprint two resolutions on the Chinese Stalinist's Tiananmen Square Massacre in June 1989. They have been adopted and published by the RCIT's predecessor organization *Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International* in June 1989. They express the Trotskyist position to this crucial event which was a defeated political revolution by China's workers and students.

This massacre, in which the Stalinist bureaucracy killed several thousands of workers and students who were protesting for democratic rights, was a crucial event in the recent history of China. It paved the way for a capitalist restoration process which ended in China's transformation into an emerging imperialist power as we have shown in various writings. (1)

In one of our documents we have explained why the Tiananmen Square Massacre was a key reason for China's much more successful capitalist restoration than Russia's: *"The Russians also tried to become an imperialist power and indeed they did succeed around the turn of the century. However despite the fact that the USSR was much more industrialized than China, possessed much a more developed machinery park, technology and skilled labor forces, despite all these advantages China today is the much more powerful imperialist state. What is the reason for this? (...) The answer can only be found in the form of the capitalist restoration process. Both in China and in Russia capitalism was restored in the early 1990s. Hence in both cases we saw social counter-revolutions. But the forms were very different. In China the Stalinist bureaucracy managed to brutally smash the working class and the youth with the massacre at the Tiananmen Square on 4th of June 1989 where they killed thousands of activists. After succeeding in this they could subjugate the working class, force on it the worst possible labor discipline (remember the draconic hukou- system), and hence squeeze out of it for many years without any interruptions massive volumes of capitalist value."*

Footnote

(1) See 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*, 2013, Chapter 10, <http://www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net/>; Chapter 10 is an enlarged and updated version of the following document: Michael Pröbsting: China's transformation into an imperialist power. A study of the economic, political and military aspects of China as a Great Power, in: *Revolutionary Communism* No. 4 (2012), <http://www.thecommunists.net/publications/revcom-number-4/>; We have also published a summary of these documents in: Michael Pröbsting: Russia and China as Great Imperialist Powers. A Summary of the RCIT's Analysis, 28 March 2014, <http://www.thecommunists.net/theory/imperialist-china-and-russia/>

China: Revolution and Repression

China has just passed through a profound political revolutionary crisis. It was a crisis which objectively posed the possibility of the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling bureaucracy. Faced with mass opposition in the cities the bureaucratic regime was paralysed. Industry ground to a halt. The bureaucracy's control of its armed forces was shaken. In that crisis decisive action by the working class could have overthrown the regime. The potential for political revolution could have been turned into the reality of proletarian political revolution itself.

The Beijing massacre will be remembered throughout the international workers' movement as one of the decisive moments of twentieth century history. Like the slaughter of the Communards in 1871, or Bloody Sunday, 1905, this will be remembered not only as a testimony to the barbarity of reaction or even the heroism of those who fight it, but as a lesson which, when learned, will hasten both vengeance and the eradication of the social orders which can produce such monstrous inhumanities.

The political revolutionary crisis in China was yet one more example of the deep crisis that is afflicting Stalinism globally. One by one the ruling bureaucracies are attempting to solve the problems of their stagnating planned economies by embracing elements of the market mechanism and retreating before imperialism. The events in China are a portent of the crisis looming for the ruling bureaucracies throughout the degenerate(d) workers' states. All of the ruling castes are capable of attempting to unleash such bloody repression should workers' struggles threaten their rule.

The crisis has also served to accelerate further the process of disintegration of world Stalinism as a monolithic tendency and the deep polarisations in its ranks. Fearful for their own political stability the ruling bureaucracies of Cuba, the GDR, CSSR and Bulgaria have openly supported the massacre of "counter-revolutionaries". The ruling Hungarian party and the Eurocommunists have condemned it. Others, like the Chilean party, were struck silent by events.

In the USSR, Gorbachev has taken great pains not to condemn the massacre in the name of "non-interference" in the internal affairs of other states. He needs to keep a free hand to use repression at home should his perestroika so require it. He wants to establish a precedent should he decide to follow that path. He is also keen to prevent a deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations which he was attempting to normalise at precisely the time the crisis erupted. However, mindful of his relations with imperialism, he has been careful not to appear to openly endorse the massacre. Within the Soviet bureaucracy as a whole the Chinese events will serve to strengthen the resolve of those who, like their East German, Czech and Cuban counterparts, will take them as evidence that the relaxation of bureaucratic planning and political control will surely lead to the destabilising of the regimes themselves.

China: a degenerate workers' state

Although capitalism was overthrown in China between 1951 and 1953 this was not done by a revolutionary working class which was then able to assert its own control over the economy and establish a system of planning that could mobilise the creativity and energy of the workers. On the contrary, the expropriation—in many cases, by taxation—was carried through by bureaucratic means. This left the state, controlled by the CCP, with ownership of a very backward and distorted economy which was inadequate to the needs both of the population and of the state. Since that time there have been divisions within the ruling bureaucracy over the methods to be used to develop the economy, all that has united them is a commitment to maintaining their own caste rule against all opposition. Throughout the many changes of policy the basic structure of the industrial economy has remained that copied from the Soviet Union during the first Five Year Plan: central planning agencies have laid down quantitative targets to be met by production units and this has been consistently more successful in heavy industry than in light industry. This form of planning, in the context of a fully stratified economy, was able to achieve a significant increase in production and to re-establish a nationally integrated economy. This enabled China to overcome the systematic poverty and national disintegration which she had suffered under capitalism. Nonetheless, the inadequacies of bu-

reaucratic planning were unable to raise production qualitatively above that needed to raise the population above a minimum standard of living. Average incomes and living standards have changed little since the 1950s.

The planned property relations in China represent a historic gain that must be defended. They represent the abolition of capitalism which is a prerequisite of the transition to socialism and communism. However, in the hands of the bureaucracy these planned property relations are not used to create an ever more classless and egalitarian society. The necessary lifeblood of a planned economy—the democracy of the producers themselves—is systematically repressed. As a result, the planned economies stagnate and inequalities and privilege abound.

The reaction of the ruling bureaucracies, first in Yugoslavia, later in China, and now in the USSR, is to try to solve the problem through closer co-operation with imperialism and, most crucially, through the importation of market mechanisms. But by their nature market mechanisms tend to subvert the centralised political control of the bureaucracy. They create their own disequilibriums. For that reason, the Stalinists have, to a greater or lesser extent, tried to marry elements of marketisation with their continued control over production expressed through centralised planning. Objectively this only serves to exacerbate the crisis of their rule. The impact of marketisation serves to hamper centralised planning and control even further. Attempts at centralised planning, in turn, hamper the func-

NEW RCIT PUBLICATION ON RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM!

Russia as a Great Imperialist Power

The formation of Russian Monopoly Capital and its Empire

By Michael Pröbsting, March 2014

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tioning of the market.

Plan versus market

In China, as elsewhere, this tension is reflected within the bureaucracy itself between those who wish to maintain, or re-strengthen, centralised planning and those who wish to push further down the road of marketisation, a section of whom favour the restoration of capitalism itself. These strategic poles within the bureaucracy cannot be simplistically reduced to representing a division between an authoritarian and a liberalising wing within the bureaucracy. It is true that the advocates of centralised planning and control oppose any significant relaxation of the bureaucracy's politically repressive rule. But so too do the marketeers. That Deng Xiaoping could order the bloody massacre in Beijing while reaffirming his intention to press ahead with market reforms and further openings for foreign capital is proof of this.

Where the so called "liberalisers" in the bureaucracy do call for a relaxation of political control they mean this only to apply to the managerial and technocratic layers of society for whom freedom to discuss the future course of political and economic development is a necessity. None of the bureaucratic factions are genuinely committed to removal of the dictatorial regime over the mass of Chinese workers and peasants.

The present crisis cannot be separated off from the sequence of factional struggles which have centred on this problem of economic growth since the mid-1950s. The "Great Leap Forward", an attempt by Mao to solve the problem voluntaristically, led to a huge drop in output in all sectors. The consequent famine was overcome by allowing a considerable degree of privatised production in agriculture and a return to centralised planning in industry. In an attempt to reverse the social and political consequences of this "capitalist road" the Mao faction resorted to controlled mass mobilisation against their opponents in the mis-named "Proletarian Cultural Revolution". The scale of the factional dispute can be judged by the willingness of the Maoists to allow three years of increasingly independent student and working class activity in a movement which destabilised much of the state administration. Nonetheless, when those mobilisations threatened to go beyond the control of the Mao faction the army was used to restore order. In the aftermath, as the factions fought behind closed doors, the economy stagnated under the increasingly authoritarian rule of the ageing Mao and the "Gang of Four".

Factional divisions

After the death of Mao in 1976, the faction led by Deng Xiaoping fought to regain the leadership. Within the bureaucracy they reassembled many of the leaders who had been attacked during the Cultural Revolution but, at the same time they encouraged the development of the "Democracy Wall" movement which came to a head in 1978-79. With considerable precision, Deng utilised these two forces first to remove Hua Guofeng and then to repress the democracy movement itself.

The very existence of long term factional polarities within the Chinese bureaucracy made it necessary, as well

as possible, for Deng to fashion his own distinct form of Bonapartist rule over the bureaucracy. With close links to the Army High Command through the military commission that he chairs, and through the Standing Committee, he has fashioned the means of exercising his own rule over the party and state bureaucracy and for playing its component groups, including regional groupings within it, against one another when necessary. Control of the armed and security forces—the decisive levers of political repression—has enabled Deng to defeat his rivals and order the massacre on the streets of Beijing.

Roots of the present crisis

In December 1978, the new leadership embarked on its strategy of overcoming the inefficiencies and rigidities of bureaucratic planning by the re-introduction of the market. Privatisation of the communes led, initially, to a sharp increase in production. This success encouraged a similar policy in industry where, although state ownership was retained, individual enterprises were given greater freedom to trade and threatened with closure if they did not become profitable. Foreign capital was introduced extensively into China both by state borrowing and direct investment in the "Special Economic Zones". In industry, too, increases in production were registered in the first years of this programme.

However, these policies bore within them the seeds of the insoluble contradictions which have led to the present crisis. As well as opening the economy to the market, the bureaucracy has to retain a central sector under its own control. Without that the bureaucracy has no base in society and no means of enforcing its rule. Parts of the bureaucracy are more immediately related to, or dependent upon, this state economic sector and this is the material basis for the main factional divisions. However, a further element is supplied by the position of the army High Command which, for historic reasons, is closely integrated into the political leadership and also strongly regionalised. Deng's strategy, which involves major concessions to the market but the retention of a powerful state controlled sector, involves distinct regional implications because the coastal provinces are to be more "marketised" than the hinterland. In sum his strategic objective, "Two Systems, One Country" is a utopia. The same state cannot defend both capitalist and post-capitalist property relations.

The demands of the state sector conflict with the priorities of the "marketised sector" in industry, the procurement prices in agriculture are set below those of the market and this encourages corruption. Peasant production of industrial crops replaces food production for the domestic market. Accumulation of capital in the countryside leads to social class differentiation amongst the peasantry and the emergence of a kulak class. Rapid capital investment and incentive bonuses stimulate the highest rate of inflation since the revolution and, at the same time, the "iron rice bowl", the guarantee of employment to workers which applies to over 96% of the industrial workforce, sets limits to the productivity targets of the market sector. Commitments to overseas trade lead to shortages and bottlenecks in domestic production.

Throughout the Chinese economy, all attempts to carry out the market-strategy lead directly to conflict with the

bureaucracy's political and economic imperatives. This expresses itself in the demands, by those most closely identified with the market both within the bureaucracy and industry, for further relaxation of state and party controls, for the separation of the party from the state and for the introduction of political pluralism, by which is meant openly restorationist parties. As early as 1986, these had led to a renewal of the "Democracy Movement" amongst professionals and students. The General Secretary of the Party, Hu Yaobang was identified with this movement and, in January 1987, Hu was ousted and replaced by Zhao Ziyang—also a protege of Deng.

The factional struggle, however, did not abate. By the Thirteenth Congress of the CCP, October 1987, the faction in favour of further liberalisation was in the ascendant. It was backed by Deng who insisted that the campaign against the Democracy Movement had to be limited to the political sphere and should not be allowed to affect economic policy. Nonetheless, throughout 1988 the economic problems of the regime multiplied and with them the depth of factional divisions in the highest ranks of the bureaucracy. This culminated in the September 1988 Party Plenum which was so evenly balanced as to be paralysed and unable to ratify the politburo's proposals for radical price reform.

It was this political vacuum which ensured the re-emergence of the Democracy Movement. This was at first restricted to specialised publications, where coded arguments about the economy fuelled discussion and debate within the managerial strata and the intelligentsia. The death of Hu Yaobang (15 April, 1989) provided the pretext for this underground movement to break into the light of day.

The Democracy Movement in crisis

For decades faction fights within the CCP have been accompanied by bureaucratically controlled mass mobilisations and by attempts to manipulate spontaneous movements. The student demonstrations at the time of Hu's funeral were called by the Democracy Movement under slogans calculated to avoid charges of political disloyalty and with the hope of pressurising elements of the leading caste.

As the movement grew, sections of the bureaucracy no doubt hoped to try and use it to further their factional ends. However, the strength of the movement and the enthusiastic support of the people of Beijing, meant that there was never any possibility of the movement remaining within limits imposed from above.

Although The People's Daily condemned the students for conspiracy against the party and the socialist system this did not prevent their central demands—for a free press, against corruption and recognition of unofficial student organisations—from being taken up by students throughout China. By 4 May, the anniversary of the first revolutionary nationalist movement, the movement was able to march tens of thousands of students into Tiananmen Square without opposition from the state. These demonstrations were cheered by thousands of onlookers. In response to this, Zhao Ziyang announced that many of the ideas of the students "coincided with those of the party". This was interpreted to mean that Zhao, unlike Deng, was willing to

tolerate the Democracy Movement. At the same time, after 4 May, the movement subsided. Apart from Beida, most universities were re-opened the following day.

This, however, proved to be a lull in the movement, not an end to it. Having taken stock of what they had achieved, the Beijing students decided to go further and to organise mass demonstrations at the time of the visit of Gorbachev on 15 May. This resulted in huge demonstrations during Gorbachev's visit. The Chinese bureaucracy was forced to change schedules time and again because of the sheer scale of the mobilisations, which now included large numbers of workers and also protesting journalists who demanded the right to report accurately what was happening. It was in this context that the student hunger strike began and Tiananmen Square became permanently occupied by tens of thousands of students.

In response to this, the Standing Committee of the Politburo met on 18 May to discuss a proposal from Zhao that concessions be made to the students. The proposal was defeated. Zhao signalled his dissent by visiting the students in Tiananmen Square. This act broke the discipline of the bureaucratic caste and led to the downfall of Zhao. Li Peng, the premier declared martial law in Beijing the following morning. Within hours an estimated one million people had occupied central Beijing. When troops tried to enter the centre they were forced back. On the same day, as strikes paralysed the capital, the Autonomous Workers' Organisation was founded in Beijing.

From stalemate to repression

For the next two weeks a stalemate existed between the students in Tiananmen Square and the deeply divided bureaucracy. Increasing fraternisation between troops and protesters led to the removal of the troops from central Beijing. Rumours abounded of splits in both the army and the bureaucracy as strikes spread throughout China. By the weekend of 27-28 May, the student occupation of Tiananmen Square was beginning to subside and it appeared that a possible compromise had been reached between Beijing student leaders and the bureaucracy: the troops would not be used if the students wound down the demonstrations and ended the hunger strike. However, the arrival of provincial students and the increasing involvement of workers in Tiananmen Square revived the movement within a few days. It was this latter development in particular that concentrated the minds of the ruling bureaucracy and determined it to take decisive repressive action.



On 31 May, leaders of the Autonomous Workers' Organisation were arrested in Beijing and workers were publicly threatened and ordered not to support the Tiananmen occupation. Strikes to protest at this took place and several thousand protesters demonstrated outside the Interior Ministry. The following day troops appeared throughout central Beijing. They were unarmed but located at strategic intersections and buildings. On 2 June, thousands of unarmed troops were marched into central Beijing but mass demonstrations prevented their progress and most returned to their garrisons.

Bureaucratic terror

The scale of the opposition to troop mobilisations in Beijing, coupled with the increasingly nationwide nature of the democracy movement, convinced the core of the bureaucracy, the security services and the army under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, the "paramount leader", of the necessity for a ruthless attack on their opponents. On 3 and 4 June this took the form of the Beijing massacre, in which the majority of victims were from the working class of the city who went to the defence of the students and workers in Tiananmen Square. In the days that followed this was extended across the country as general strikes and barricades expressed the outrage and the solidarity of the workers of China.

Although factional disagreements must have contributed to both the delay in imposing this barbarous repression and provided a material substance for the rumours of actual armed conflict between different army groups, there is no evidence of consciously directed armed actions of this sort. The decision to act nationally, and to utilise inexperienced troops from every section of the regionally-based army, contributed to the barbarism but, ultimately, demonstrated the agreement of the bureaucratic factions to the bloody suppression of the opponents of their dictatorship. Those factions who initially opposed this strategy were rendered powerless by the determination of the Deng faction, to oppose that could only have meant civil war and this would have implied a choice between siding with an insurgent working class or, longer term, with agents of capitalist restoration in, for example, Taiwan. There was no group willing or able to make either of these choices.

The political revolutionary crisis

The mass mobilisations in China had a clear and indisputable political revolutionary potential. This was most sharply expressed by those components of it that gave mass voice to egalitarian, anti-corruption and anti-privilege demands. It represented a mighty struggle against the deeply privileged and secluded bureaucratic leadership and, very noticeably, against their offspring. Note the charges aimed at Li Peng as the adopted son of Zhou En-lai, and at the opulent business career of Deng Xiaoping's son.

Trotsky predicted that the political revolutionary struggle would take the initial form of precisely such a struggle against bureaucratic privilege and also against bureaucratic political oppression. As in all revolutionary crises, the mass mobilisations and the organisations which they created, were far from being politically homogenous or of

a nationally uniform character. This was reflected in the political ambiguity of many of the slogans and demands raised by the movement. Nonetheless, the demands for, "democracy" and against corruption expressed, fundamentally, a deep hatred of political oppression and of their own political expropriation on the part of the urban masses. In giving voice to their hatred of the bureaucracy's material privileges they were also voicing their own anger at the extreme hardship of life for the overwhelming majority of the Chinese proletariat.

The political revolutionary potential of the movement was graphically demonstrated by the fact that it mobilised the mighty Chinese working class itself into mass resistance to the bureaucracy through mass strikes and the formation of independent working class organisations. One of the most important features of the entire crisis was the remarkable uniformity of the working class response to the Beijing massacre throughout the major cities of China. In addition, and very importantly, we also saw the formation of joint worker-student organisations of an open, and later after the repression, an underground character.

For these reasons we recognise the politically revolutionary potential of the events themselves. From the point of view of the future they have given the Chinese working class a taste of its own potential strength and its collective identity after years of repression and profound atomisation at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It has created a river of blood between the Chinese workers and their murderous Stalinist rulers. For that reason it has the potential of playing, for the Chinese working class, the role that the 1905 Revolution in Russia played, despite its eventual defeat, in forging the independent class and political consciousness of the Russian working class.

However, the movement also displayed profound weaknesses and contradictions that precisely prevented the revolutionary potential of the mobilisations being realised and allowed the bureaucracy to ruthlessly reassert its power. These weaknesses were manifested in several different ways.

Firstly, in the initial social composition of the movement itself. As a movement of the students and the intelligentsia it had neither the social nor political weight to mount a challenge to the bureaucracy that could destroy its armed might and fundamentally challenge its political rule. Its non-proletarian character also meant that its initial focus was on an abstract demand for "democracy" and on pacifist tactics supposed to realise that objective.

"Democracy" was posed in a manner that was capable of having several meanings. On the one hand it involved demands to remove the existing inner clique of the bureaucratic leadership and replace it with one that was supposedly more democratic and less corrupt. This allowed sections of the initial student movement to pose their demands in the form of a homage to Hu Yaobang against the existing leadership that had ousted him. And it allowed them later to concretise their demands in terms of support for Zhao against Li Peng. At certain key junctures this opened the road for Zhao to attempt to, or even perhaps to succeed in, mobilising broad sections of the movement behind one particular wing in the bureaucratic faction fight. The "democracy" that placed its hopes in bureaucratic reformers and expressed illusions in them had equally crippling illusions in the Peoples Liberation Army itself. This

was expressed in a naïve and ultimately calamitous belief that the PLA, as the “people’s army”, would never attack the “people”.

Much of this reflected not only the social composition of the original leadership of the movement, (i.e. students) but also the influence of Aquino type notions of “people’s power”. The latter was conceived and articulated in terms of the ousting of the present party leadership through the moral pressure of the display of “people’s power” in Tiananmen Square.

This was to take the form of a passive occupation of the Square, followed by the hunger strike to which the population in general, as the “people”, were asked to give their visible, but still passive, moral support. Only when the movement faced stalemate and the hunger strike failed to achieve its goals and was abandoned, did the leadership of the movement begin to recognise, in a limited way, the potential strength of the working class.

But even then, the working class was still seen only as an auxiliary, although extremely powerful, support to the movement. Despite its massive strength and preparedness to struggle, the leaders of the Chinese Democracy Movement looked to the general strike of the working class as an adjunct to their protests not as the only force that could effectively destabilise bureaucratic rule prior to its insurrectionary overthrow.

While the “democratic movement” called on the working class to give it support as it became increasingly evident that the ruling bureaucracy was refusing to budge, it remained the case that the dominant trends in that movement remained trapped in pacifist, abstract and ultimately profoundly incoherent notions of democratism. This was symbolised both by their enthusiasm for Gorbachev and the construction of a “Statue of Liberty” in Tiananmen Square.

For some sections of that movement, demands for democracy were also combined with demands for further marketisation and the ultimate restoration of capitalism in China. The very policies of Deng himself in the economic sphere and the pressure of imperialism and Chinese capitalism outside mainland China served to strengthen the pressure on sections of the movement to conceive of the realisation of their democratic demands also in terms of hastening the restoration of capitalism in China.

On the other hand, the foundation of the Autonomous Workers’ Organisations on 21 May, starting in Beijing, was an important step forward for the Chinese working class and represented the awakening of genuine independent class organisation even though its founding statements did not clearly express its own class (social and economic) interests.

The road to power

In truth, therefore, the movement was fundamentally inadequate to the task objectively posed, the overthrow of bureaucratic rule. The armed forces remained fundamentally at the disposal of the ruling bureaucratic regime, within whose top ranks the PLA generals are closely integrated; against that armed might, and the determination of the ruling bureaucracy to hold on to power, the tactics of passive protest, in its variety of forms, was absolutely bound to fail. There was not, and could not have been, any

section of the ruling bureaucracy prepared to lead a mass struggle to put an end to bureaucratic oppression and material privileges. Equally, the economic programmes of rival wings within the bureaucracy are neither capable of ending, nor intended to end the material hardship and inequalities suffered by the masses of China.

This is not to say that the victory of the bureaucracy was inevitable or that lessons cannot be learned from this round of struggle that can ensure victory in the next round of struggle.

The key to victory lay in mobilising the working class as an independent force that, far from being subordinate to the emocratic movement, was hegemonic in the struggle to overthrow the bureaucracy. The strike wave of the working class could have been, and in future must be, the basis for the forging of workers’ councils (soviets) in all the industrial centres. Such councils would bring together delegates from all major workplaces as well as from the workers’ districts of the cities and would take on the tasks, not only of co-ordinating strikes and demonstrations, but also imposing working class control over production and distribution, transport, broadcasting and publishing, as well as the arming of the working class to defend itself. Such is the determination of the ruling bureaucracy to hold on to power that it was, and will always be, necessary for the working class to arm itself in organised workers’ militias. Those militias must be trained and prepared for direct military confrontation with the Stalinist regime in order to defend their organisations and destroy the ability of the ruling bureaucracy to deploy its armed bodies of men.

However, the working class has other weapons at its disposal to break up the primarily peasant PLA. It has the weapon of physical force to concentrate the minds of the armed forces as to which side they are on. It has the weapon of fraternisation to attempt to actively win the troops to its side. To focus its campaign to win over the rank and file soldiers the working class needs to commit itself to support for the formation of soldiers’ councils with the right to take their place alongside the workers in the soviets. Those soldiers’ councils will become an active component in breaking the power of the central bureaucracy, in arming the workers and in actively assisting the armed insurrection that alone can put an end to bureaucratic rule.

The successful political revolution in China requires that the working class takes up as its own, and hegemonises, the struggles of key non-proletarian sectors of society and that it gives a proletarian class content to such demands as equality, democracy and political freedom. Against corruption it must demand, and impose, workers’ inspection of all public, industrial and financial dealings and appointments. Against inflation it must demand a sliding scale of wages calculated by working class organisations. Against economic dislocation and sabotage it must fight for workers’ control.

It must take up in its programme the rights of Chinese youth and all sectors of society to an education system, a press and a media that is freed from the stranglehold of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Equally vital to working class unity and strength is the need to champion all measures which liberate women from inequality and oppression and which socialise domestic toil.

To counteract attempts at “divide and rule” tactics, the working class must champion the granting of genuine

equal and democratic rights to national minorities.

Of vital importance in China will be the linking of proletarian struggles with those of the increasingly impoverished poor and middle peasants against the emerging kulak and rural capitalist class, patronised and enriched by the policies of Deng Xiaoping. Because of the historical circumstances in which the CCP was able to seize power, the peasantry has always been its major point of social stability. Indeed, Deng justified taking the risk of attacking Tiananmen Square by declaring that, "the countryside is behind us". To destroy that solid support, the proletariat must advance a land programme that will exploit the differentiation caused by marketisation.

This will, necessarily, vary in detail from region to region but its central component will be demands for state support for the poor farmers, for expropriation of kulak land and mechanical equipment, turned over for use by co-operatives, for public works to employ the rural unemployed and the creation of worker-peasant commissions to oversee prices and deliveries to the cities.

Only in this way can a class alliance be cemented which, after the victory of the political revolution, can make real the introduction of planning and more advanced techniques without either disadvantaging or antagonising the mass of the rural population.

In order to win the working class to such a programme it is necessary to build a revolutionary party in conditions that, while they will be ripe in terms of the potential for thousands of workers to be persuaded on the basis of experience, will also be extremely hazardous given the scale of brutality the bureaucracy is inflicting on working class militants in particular. However, such is the popular hatred of the regime and such was the mass scale of the movement against it, that the bureaucracy can be challenged by a popularly protected underground revolutionary party. That party must steel the proletarian vanguard ready for the inevitable struggles ahead. Workers must be won to see the need to be organised independently and ready to lead. The best young intellectuals must be won to this argument, to strengthening their links with the workers as their political priority and to the recognition that their programme must be one that is based on the needs and the struggles of the workers.

The alternative, particularly amongst the intelligentsia, is that pro-capitalist ideas will strengthen as the intelligentsia despairs of winning any democratic liberties except in conjunction with imperialism and its agents who are, no doubt, already active in the fertile conditions created by Deng's policies. Against this it is vital that the reformed revolutionary communist party defends planned property relations as the prerequisite of developing China's productive forces in a rounded way sufficient to benefit all the masses and to ensure ever greater equality and put an end to bureaucratic privilege.

The bloody terror with which the bureaucracy reasserted its rule has solved none of the fundamental issues that led to the crisis of its rule. A retreat into autarchy, national isolation and further state control of the economy offers no way out. It will meet with the apathy or resistance of the Chinese workers, as will the attempt to step up production by bureaucratic decree. Even if this were accompanied by a rapprochement with the USSR, involving greater trade, it would still not haul China out of its present stagnation.

On the other hand, if the "open door" policy is reaffirmed and deepened this would lead to further disproportions and dislocations in the economy as has been experienced throughout the 1980s. If the "open door" policy were to eventually allow the "capitalist roaders"—in alliance with the Chinese capitalists abroad—to undermine and overthrow the Bonapartist leaders, then the Chinese masses will learn to their cost that capitalism in China will not lead to prosperity for them.

China, back under the yoke of world imperialism, would not for one moment enjoy the democratic liberties and living standards of the advanced, imperialist, nations. On the contrary she would rapidly be plunged back into the desperate poverty, starvation and national disintegration that she suffered in the 1920s and 1930s. Her present population, a quarter of humanity, could not survive a free market and an open door for the goods of the imperialists.

It is the experience of, for example, the Latin American countries under "liberal economics" that would await her, not that of North America or Western Europe. Similarly, aspirations towards political freedom and "democratic rights" will never be fulfilled by a return to unbridled capitalism. In China, the masses would find themselves denied virtually all rights as is the case throughout most of the semi-colonial world. The only road to political and social emancipation is the road of overthrowing the bureaucracy, the road of political revolution.

Solidarity work

The immediate task of solidarity work is for the working class movements throughout the world to take whatever action they can in solidarity with the Chinese students and workers. Cancel all trade union visits and exchanges with the Chinese bureaucrats, fight for unions and federations to send aid and assistance to any autonomous workers' and students' organisations still functioning. Organise demonstrations against the continuing repression. In the present period of active repression of workers and students we are for immediate workers' sanctions to turn back Chinese ships and trade. We reject all popular frontist/class collaborationist solidarity actions. We do not participate in any joint action with any bourgeois administration or any bourgeois figures or parties. We fight in the solidarity movements against any illusions that the imperialist governments will aid the students' and workers' struggles in China. Their interests at the moment lie with Deng Xiaoping not the masses. We fight against any anti-communist tendencies which argue for an imperialist blockade of China as a means of restoring capitalism.

For the right of every student from China to have automatic right of abode in the country in which they are studying if they request it. For the right of every citizen of Hong Kong to enter any foreign country if they so wish.

Solidarity with Chinese workers and students!

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Down with Stalinist butchery in Beijing! For political revolution in China!

Issued by the MRCI International Secretariat, 6 June 1989

Words are too weak to express the horror and outrage at events in Beijing on 3 and 4 June. A brutal and pitiless army was let loose on the unarmed students and workers of the capital with the clear and deliberate intention of drowning in blood the movement for democratic reform. The mighty heroism of the young people of Beijing in the face of this carnage has moved the whole world. Any regime that has to resort to this to sustain its hold on power is condemned by history and doomed to destruction. Yet events in Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and in Kampuchea (1975) indicate that this monstrous crime is neither unique nor a special Chinese phenomenon. No, it is a crime of Stalinism. It is a product of the deadly inner contradictions of the rule of the bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the working class and peasantry.

Although capitalism was overthrown and imperialism excluded in China by 1953, the Chinese Stalinists then and now act to block the road to socialism and maintain their power and privileges over the masses. Isolated in a single country—even one so vast as China—socialist construction is impossible. The CCP was never a force for world revolution, that is, for the spreading of the proletarian revolution to other countries. Despite the initial advances which were the product of excluding the imperialist plunderers, crushing the capitalists and setting up a centralised command economy, China has writhed in the contradictions of the bureaucracy's inability to direct that plan due to the fact that the Chinese masses are excluded from participation in the determination of their needs. In 1978 the bureaucracy elevated Deng Xiaoping to the role of supreme leader on a programme of opening China to world capitalist forces, restoring private ownership in the countryside and using imperialist capital to discipline China's workers through unemployment and rising prices. Yet the bureaucratic caste and its upper clique still had enormous internal divisions. The long term existence of this caste is bound up with the existence of the planned property relations. Any unreversible process of their disintegration spells doom for this caste. On the other hand since the bureaucracy's power and privileges cannot allow them to submit themselves to the democracy of the workers and poor peasants, they cannot solve the crisis of their system by utilising the conscious creativity of these classes. Indeed, they had to suppress even public discussion of the existence of economic crisis. The bureaucracy is polarised between factions who wish to make repeated concessions to capitalism and to allow a certain democratisation and those who see in this the danger that their caste dictatorship will come under a mass challenge as a result. Deng Xiaoping and his clique have balanced between these factions, favouring repeated and far reaching concessions to capitalism but determined to give the workers no democratic scope to oppose the effects of these concessions. Deng precisely reflects the contradictions of bureau-

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cratic rule.

The student movement of recent years represents an attempt by sections of the “liberalising” bureaucrats to mobilise mass pressure to pursue a Gorbachev style policy of glasnost as a necessary condition for economic liberalisation.

Yet this faction fight in the bureaucracy opened the way for the participation of the masses; students at first and then increasingly the workers. The intransigence of Deng and Li Peng obliged the student leaders to broaden their movement. Initially unwilling to draw in the workers, self-defence made them do so. Yet the main student leaders believed that involving the working class was a last resort and concentrated their attention on pursuing the hunger strike to force changes in the actions of the CCP leadership.

Deng decided in favour of the “conservative”, pro-repression faction and rallied the army commanders of the rural hinterland of China. Having restored unfettered private ownership to China’s peasants and allowed for the growth of a rich peasant class, Deng sought to use the indifference and even hostility of the countryside to crush the workers and intelligentsia.

The first phase of the movement has been ended by the bloody carnage of Tienanmen Square. Now Canton students are reported as saying there is a need for a General Strike. This is the right instinct. Peaceful pressure on the bureaucracy, submission to its “liberal” faction is a disastrous policy. Only the working class can paralyse the repression with an all-China General Strike. Only this working class action can lay the basis for winning over the poor peasants in the countryside and the workers and poor peasants in army uniform.

The students and the workers who have formed autonomous trade unions however must go beyond calls for democracy in the abstract. In reality this means to identify with bourgeois, capitalist democracy which will mean unemployment, poverty and renewed imperialist exploitation for China’s millions.

A new political force—a revolutionary party—must arise which openly stands for the maintenance of the nationalised industry of China and its subjection to the control and planning of the toilers not the dictates of the bureaucracy. Such a party must stand for workers democracy in China.

In the struggle to smash the murderers of the people, in the fight to co-ordinate a powerful strike movement, to win over the troops and reach out to the peasantry, strike committees and councils must be formed. These bodies can be the organs of democracy and political power for the workers.

This strategy for victory means total and unreserved identification with the interests of the working class and a total break with the pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist forces in China and beyond it. Dangers exist in the students’ fight for an abstract form of democracy which can lead to a reactionary bloc with pro-capitalist forces. But the use of the Red Flag, their singing of the Internationale and their turn to the working class are all evidence that the movement is not, as the Stalinist slanderers claim, a movement for restoring capitalism in China.

• *Down with the murderers, the parasitic bureaucracy! For proletarian political revolution in China!*

- *For the revolutionary re-unification of all China including Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao under workers’ democracy!*
- *Down with the hypocrisy of the imperialist bourgeoisie who will only take action when they have identified where their own interests lie!*
- *Down with the cant of the British government who dare to speak of democracy even as they maintain their garrison in undemocratic Hong Kong. Chinese workers and students abroad: do not appeal to Thatcher and Bush but to the working class for international class solidarity!*
- *Workers throughout the world must take action to boycott or embargo Chinese trade and transport whilst the slaughter and the strike wave continues!*
- *Force the imperialist governments to recognise the right of students to have political refugee status! No enforced repatriations! ■*

READ MORE DOCUMENTS OF THE RCIT ON SOUTH AFRICA!

The image shows the cover of the journal 'Revolutionary Communism', an English language journal of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT). The cover features a red background with the title in large yellow letters. Below the title, it says 'English language Journal of the Revolutionary Communist International Tendency (RCIT)'. The issue information is 'www.thecommunists.net No. 20 March 2014'. The central illustration is a cartoon by Mogenel Motshumi depicting a scene of violence in a rural setting, with soldiers and civilians, some of whom are lying on the ground. In the bottom left corner, there is a red star with a yellow hammer and sickle and the number '5'. In the bottom right corner, the text reads 'South Africa: The Struggle for Revolution Continues!' and 'WORKERS AND OPPRESSED UNITE!'. At the very bottom, the price is listed as 'Price: €5 / \$7 / £4,5'.

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.

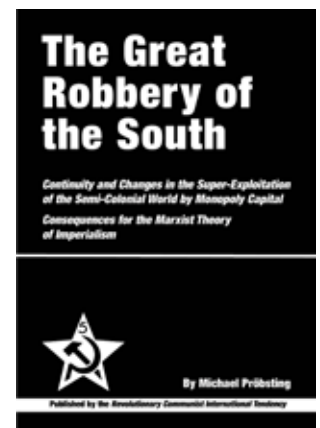
In *The Great Robbery of the South* Michael Pröbsting analyses the super-exploitation and oppression of the semi-colonial world (often referred to as the "Third World") by the imperialist powers and monopolies. He shows that the relationship between the small minority of rich capitalist countries and 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.

Order your copy NOW! \$20 / £13 / €15 plus p+p (21\$ for US and international, £9 for UK, €10 for Europe) ■



Look for details of the books at www.great-robbery-of-the-south.net and 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 5th Workers International on a revolutionary basis!
Join the RCIT!

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



